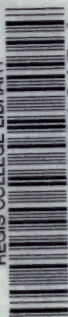


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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

FIRST PART

VOL. II.





# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART I.

S. CLEMENT OF ROME.

*A REVISED TEXT*

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,  
AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY THE LATE

J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

VOL. II.

COLL. CHRISTIAN  
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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART I.

S. CLEMENT OF ROME.

WITH NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT  
TO  
THE CORINTHIANS.





THE authorities for the text are three in number, two Greek manuscripts and a Syriac version.

(1) *Codex Alexandrinus* (A), where the Epistles of Clement are added to the New Testament; an uncial manuscript probably belonging to the fifth century. It is fully described above, I. p. 116 sq. It is much blurred and worn, and a leaf has disappeared towards the end of the First Epistle. Thus it omits from § 57 ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ ἡδίκουν to the end of § 63. In the Second Epistle it breaks off at § 12 οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ τοῦτο, the end of the manuscript being lost. The so-called *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* is almost uniformly inserted. All deviations from this authority in my text are noted in the *apparatus criticus* beneath. The lacunae in this manuscript are not stated, except where a various reading is concerned; but a complete list is given at the end of the Epistles.

(2) *Codex Constantinopolitanus* (C), a cursive manuscript dated A.D. 1056, and containing the whole of the Two Epistles. It is described fully above, I. p. 121 sq. The *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* is systematically omitted, though there are one or two exceptions. All the variations of this manuscript likewise are recorded beneath, with the exception of the *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* which it seemed unnecessary to notice.

(3) *Syriac Version* (S), where the Epistles of Clement are found incorporated among the Epistles of the New Testament in the Philoxenian (Harclean) version. The extant manuscript is dated A.D. 1170. This authority also is described fully in the introduction, I. p. 129 sq. How far this version may be accepted as evidence for the text, and to what extent it seemed advisable to record the variations from the Greek, I have there stated with sufficient precision.

The relations of our three authorities to each other, and the value to be assigned to each, are considered at length in the general introduction.

Besides these authorities (the manuscripts and the version) we have two other sources of evidence ; (1) Clement quotes very largely from the LXX, and the text of the LXX therefore may be used as a testimony. But discretion must be exercised since the degree of accuracy in quoting must be a matter of experience ; and we cannot even assume, where there are variations, that the reading which agrees with the LXX text gives the actual words of our author, a tendency to *restore* the actual form of the original being noticeable in transcribers ; (2) Clement himself is frequently quoted by later fathers, especially by his namesake Clement of Alexandria. But here again discretion is needed, for the fathers—notably the Alexandrian Clement—often quote very loosely and from memory.

Where our chief authority (A) deserts us, it is necessary to be especially careful in dealing with the others. On this account I have given the variations of the Syriac version in greater fulness in these parts than elsewhere ; as this is the only check on possible errors in the one Greek manuscript (C) which we possess here. In these same parts I have uniformly inserted the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, though wanting in C, because it would certainly have had a place in A, and therefore presumably represents the original text of Clement.

A very few words only are necessary to explain the notation. The authorities are designated as above A, C, S. Where an authority omits any word or words, this is signified by 'om.' ; where it is defective by mutilation or otherwise, so that we cannot tell the reading, this is expressed by 'def.' Where the reading is doubtful, as for instance when it is impossible to say what Greek text the Syriac version represents, the abbreviation is 'dub.' The abbreviations 'app.' and 'prob.' stand for 'apparently' and 'probably'. The square brackets [ ] in the text imply that it is doubtful whether the words or letters so enclosed ought to stand as part of the original text. The word 'Clem' in the textual notes signifies Clement of Alexandria ; and, where necessary, the reference to the page of Potter's edition is added.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ.

### Ἡ ἘΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ] For the titles of this epistle in the several authorities see I. pp. 117, 122, 131.

‘THE CHURCH OF ROME to the CHURCH OF CORINTH, elect and consecrate; greeting in Christ Jesus.’

On the form of the address, as connected with the question of the authorship, see the introduction, I. p. 352 sq.

The writer's name is suppressed here, as it seems also to have been suppressed in another letter of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth written more than half a century later during the episcopate of Soter; see Dionys. Corinth. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23.

This address is imitated in the openings of three early Christian documents at least; (1) The *Epistle of Polycarp*, see I. p. 149; (2) The *Letter of the Smyrnaeans*, giving an account of Polycarp's martyrdom, see *Ignat. and Polyc.* I. p. 610 sq; (3) The *Apostolic Constitutions*. For other openings which it has influenced (though in a less degree), see the note on παροικοῦσα below.

I. παροικοῦσα] ‘sojourning in.’

(1) The primary idea in this word is *transitoriness*. The distinction between πάροικος a *temporary* and κάτοικος a *permanent* resident appears from Philo *Sacr. Ab. et Cain* § 10 (I. p. 170) ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίους μόνοις

ἐπανεχών παροικεῖ σοφία, οὐ κατοικεῖ, *de Conf. ling.* § 17 (I. p. 416) κατόκησαν ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης παρόκησαν, Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xiv (I. p. 271) τίς τὴν κάτω σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν (διαιρήσει); τίς παροικίαν καὶ κατοικίαν; *Orat.* vii (I. p. 200) ἐκ τῆς παροικίας εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν μετασκευαζόμενοι: comp. Gen. xxxvi. 44 (xxxvii. 1) κατόκει δὲ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐ παρόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν, Heb. xi. 9, Luke xxiv. 18. Thus πάροικος, παροικεῖν, παροικία, are said of the captivities of Egypt (Acts vii. 6 from LXX, xiii. 17) and of Babylon (Theoph. *ad Aut.* iii. 25, 28). See especially the uses of παροικεῖν, κατοικεῖν, in reference to the migrations of Israel, in Judith v. 7—10. Of these captivities the present earthly condition of the Christian people is the antitype (Heb. iv. 1).

(2) Connected with this primary conception is the secondary idea of *non-citizenship*. In the inscriptions ‘the sojourners’ are opposed to ‘the citizens,’ *C. I. G.* 3595 οἱ τε πολῖται καὶ οἱ πάροικοι πάντες (comp. *ib.* 1625, 1631, 2906, 3049). The Christians are no citizens on earth. They dwell in the world as aliens, ξένοι, παρεπίδημοι, πάροικοι, 1 Pet. i. 17, ii. 11; comp. Heb. xi. 13. So too *Clem. Rom.* ii.



τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, κλη-  
τοῖς, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου

3 παντοκράτορος] A ; τοῦ παντοκράτορος C (comp. *Ap. Const.* 1. 1). 5 ἀλφει-

§ 5 καταλείψαντες τὴν παροικίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (comp. *C. I. G.* 9474 τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν παροικίαν), *Ep. ad Diogn.* 5 πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσιν πάντων ὡς πολῖται καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη, where the writer is describing the Christians. A good illustration of this sense of παροικεῖν is Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 29 αἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαι, συνεξεταζόμεναι ταῖς ὧν παροικοῦσι δῆμων ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς φωστῆρές εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ, *id.* 30 ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικούσας ἐκκλησίαις τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν δῆμων. Compare also the parable in *Hermas Vis.* 1. 1. In the prologue to *Ecclesiasticus* οἱ ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ are the Jews of the dispersion, so that παροικία is almost equivalent to διασπορά; and, as the latter word is transferred to the Christian people, the spiritual Israel (1 Pet. i. 1 παρεπιδήμους διασπορᾶς), so is the former. Hence the form of address here, which appears also *Polyc. Phil.* τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους, *Mart. Polyc.* ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν κ.τ.λ., *Dionys. Corinth.* in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 τῇ παροικούσῃ Γορτύναν, *Epist. Gall.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικούντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ. From this the substantive παροικία came to be used in a concrete sense, 'the body of aliens,' for the Christian brotherhood in a town or district. The earliest instances which I have observed are *Mart. Polyc.* inscr. πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, *Dionys. Corinth.* [?] in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις, *Iren.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 εἰρήνευον

τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρείτο, Apollon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18 ἡ ἰδία παροικία αὐτὸν ὅθεν ἦν οὐκ ἐδέξατο: whence *parochia*, *parish*. It seems not strictly correct to say that παροικία was equivalent to the later term διοίκησις; for παροικία, though it is sometimes a synonyme for διοίκησις (e.g. *Conc. Ancyr.* Can. 18), appears to have been used much more generally. The explanation often given of παροικία, as though it denoted the aggregate of Christian communities in the neighbourhood of a large town, receives no countenance from the earliest usage of πάροικος, etc.; for the preposition is not local but temporal, and denotes not *proximity* but *transitoriness*. For the accusative after παροικεῖν see the note on *Polyc. Phil.* inscr.

1. κλητοῖς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from the salutation in 1 Cor. i. 1, 2, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις. Clement not unnaturally echoes the language of S. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, even where he does not directly quote it. Similarly the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians presents parallels to S. Paul's Epistle to the same church, especially in the opening salutation. The same relation again exists between Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the corresponding letter of S. Paul. For the meaning of ἡγιασμένοις, 'consecrated to be God's people,' see the notes on τοῖς ἁγίοις *Phil.* i. 1.

3. χάρις κ.τ.λ.] χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη is the common salutation in S. Paul, excepting the Pastoral Epistles. With the addition of πληθυνθεῖν however it occurs only in the two Epistles of S. Peter, from whom probably Clement derived the form, as the First



ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

5 I. Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας

δious] αἰφνιδιουσ A. γενομένας] C; .....ενας A. S has a present; comp. § 9.

Epistle is frequently quoted by him. In Jude 1 we have ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη.

παντοκράτορος] The LXX rendering of **יהוה** in the expression 'the Lord of Hosts' (see Stanley, *Jewish Church* II. p. 87), apparently not a classical word. In the New Testament it occurs once only out of the Apocalypse, 2 Cor. vi. 18, where S. Paul is quoting from the LXX. So again §§ 2, 32 (LXX), 56, 60, 62 (comp. § 8 παντοκρατορικῶ), Polyc. *Phil.* inscr., Herm. *Vis.* iii. 3 (*Sim.* v. 7), *Mart. Polyc.* 14. See also Pearson *Exposition of the Creed* p. 78 sq (ed. Chevallier) for its position and significance in the Latin Creed. As a Latin translation of παντοκράτωρ, 'omnipotens' is the survival of the fittest, its defunct rivals being 'omnitenens,' 'omnipollens,' etc. Conversely the Latin 'omnipotens' is sometimes translated by παντοδύναμος for παντοκράτωρ; comp. Caspari *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Taufsymbols* III. pp. vi, 24, 204 sq, 209—212. The two occur together in the Liturgy of S. James, ἄγιος εἰ, παντοκράτωρ, παντοδύναμι (Swainson's *Greek Liturgies* p. 270 sq).

I. 'We should have written sooner, but our own troubles have hindered us. We are grieved to hear that one or two headstrong ring-leaders have fanned the flame of discord among you. This was not your wont in former days. Your firm faith, your sober piety, your large hospitality, your sound knowledge, were the admiration of all. Authority was duly respected by you. Your young men

were modest; your wives were quiet and orderly.'

5. τὰς αἰφνιδίους κ.τ.λ.] This language accurately describes the persecution which the Roman Christians endured under Domitian. Their treatment by this emperor was capricious, and the attacks upon them were repeated. While the persecution of Nero was one fierce and wholesale onslaught in which the passions of the multitude were enlisted on the emperor's side, Domitian on the other hand made use of legal forms and arraigned the Christians from time to time on various paltry charges; see above, I. p. 81, p. 350 sq. Apollonius in Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* vii. 4 distinguishes two kinds of tyrants of which Nero and Tiberius respectively are the types—the one passionate and reckless (ὀρμώσης καὶ ἀκρίτου), the other stealthy and treacherous (ὑποκαθημένης), the one acting with violence, the other using forms of justice. Obviously he places the contemporary tyrant Domitian in this second class. Again Domitian is described by Suetonius (*Domit.* 11) in language closely resembling Clement's, 'non solum magnae sed et callidae inopinataeque saevitiae.' Compare the accounts in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 17 sq, *Chron.* an. 95, Dion Cass. lxvii. 14, Suet. *Domit.* 12, 15. So *Mart. Ign.* 1 speaks of οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ διωγμοί (though this refers especially to Antioch). These and other passages referring to the persecution of Domitian are given in full above, I. p. 104 sq. In one of these attacks the writer's namesake,

ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, ἀδελφοί, βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιῆσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μιαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίου

1 ἡμῖν] AS; καθ' ἡμῶν C.

περιπτώσεις] A; περιστάσεις C; *lapsus et*

*damna* S, which evidently represents περιπτώσεις (see I. p. 136).

ἀδελφοί] A;

ἀγαπητοί S; om. C. See below § 4, where S makes the same change.

βρά-

διον] βραδειον A.

3 παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων] A; πραγμάτων παρ' ὑμῖν C;

and patron (as I venture to think), Flavius Clemens, a kinsman of the emperor, fell a victim; see I. 33 sq. Thus the notice here accords with external testimony which places the Corinthian feuds to which this letter refers in the reign of Domitian; see the introduction, I. p. 347. Volkmar (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, p. 286 sq, and elsewhere), who assigns a much later date to this epistle, is obliged to refer the notice here to the sufferings of the Christians under Trajan; but there is no evidence that this persecution extended to Rome. Our epistle therefore was probably written towards the close of Domitian's reign or on the accession of Nerva (about A.D. 95 or 96). Other notices of time in the body of the letter agree with this result; see above, I. p. 348 sq.

ἐπαλλήλους] 'successive, repeated,' a comparatively late but common word, e.g. Philo in *Flacc.* 14 (II. p. 534 M.) τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους κακώσεις, Plut. *Pomp.* 25 κινδύνους ἐπαλλήλους καὶ πολέμους; see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 471. It is restored indeed by Hermann in *Soph. Ant.* 57, but this restoration is very doubtful, and the word there must have the sense 'reciprocal.' For ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας comp. Alciph. *Ep.* i. 23 χιῶν πυκνὴ καὶ ἐπάλληλος φερομένη. Otherwise we might read ἐπαλλήλως, which occurs *Epist. Gall.* § 14 in Euseb. *H. E.* v. I.

1. νομίζομεν] The whole passage

will mean 'Owing to the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us, we consider we have been somewhat slow to pay attention to the questions of dispute among you.' The reader must be cautioned against the rendering adopted in some translations, English and Latin; 'those things which you enquired of us,' 'the points respecting which you consulted us,' 'ea quae fuerant quaesita a vobis.' This rendering involves a historical misstatement. The expression contains no allusion to any letter or other application from the Corinthians to the Romans. Clement does not write παρ' ὑμῶν, but παρ' ὑμῖν; and τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα means simply 'the matters of dispute,' not 'desiderata,' as it is sometimes rendered, ἐπιζήτημα being 'a question.' It would appear that the Roman Christians had not been directly consulted by the Church of Corinth, but having heard of the feuds by common report (§ 47 αὕτη ἡ ἀκοή) wrote this letter unsolicited.

4. ξένης] Doubtless the right reading; comp. *Clem. Hom.* vi. 14 ὡς ἀληθείας ἀλλοτρίαν οὔσαν καὶ ξένην. No sense can be made of ξένοισ. The doubling of epithets (ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης) is after Clement's manner, especially in this opening chapter; e.g. μιαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίου, προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδη, πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν, etc.

5. πρόσωπα] Not simply 'persons' but 'ringleaders'; comp. § 47, and



5 στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδῃ  
 ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκανσαν, ὥστε τὸ  
 σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγά-  
 πητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι. τίς γὰρ  
 παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν

dub. S. ἀγαπητοί] AC; om. S. 4 ξένῃ] CS; ξενισ A. 8 βλασ-  
 φημηθῆναι] A; βλασφημῆσθαι C; ut laederetur or laedatur (ἡλποδ) S, which  
 perhaps represents βλαφθῆναι.

see the note on Ign. *Magn.* 6. The authors of these feuds are again mentioned as few in number, § 47 δι' ἐν ἧ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

6. εἰς τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] 'have kindled to such a pitch of recklessness'; comp. § 46 εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἐρχόμεθα. Editors have taken offence at the expression, but its awkwardness is no sufficient reason for altering the text; comp. § 45 εἰς τοσοῦτο ἐξήρισαν θυμοῦ. Otherwise ὑπὸ ἀπονοίας might be read. In ἀπόνοια shamelessness rather than *folly* is the prominent idea, so that the ἀπενενοημένος is described by Theophrastus (*Char.* xiii) as one wholly devoid of self-respect.

τὸ σεμνὸν κ.τ.λ.] So § 47 τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς περιβόητου φιλαδελφίας: comp. Ign. *Eph.* 8 ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν.

8. ὄνομα ὑμῶν] 'your reputation' or 'character' or 'worth.' See the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 1. τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει. The addition of the pronoun seems to require this sense, and the epithets as well as the whole context, suggest it. On the other hand the expression βλασφημεῖν τὸ ὄνομα, where there is no qualifying pronoun or adjective, means 'to speak evil of,' 'to blaspheme the Name,' i.e. of Christ or of God; e.g. 2 *Clem.* 13 ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα δι' ἡμᾶς μὴ βλασφημῇται, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 532) δι' οὗς καὶ τὸ

ὄνομα βλασφημεῖται. For this absolute use of τὸ ὄνομα, which is not infrequent in earlier Christian writers, see the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3, and comp. Phil. ii. 10 (with my note). It might be thought that τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν here would mean 'the name of Christ which you bear'; but this would have been expressed otherwise, e.g. James ii. 7 βλασφημοῦσιν τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Herm. *Sim.* viii. 6 ἐπαuschynθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. It is hardly necessary to add that βλασφημεῖν is frequently used of calumniating or maligning human beings; e.g. Rom. xiv. 16 μὴ βλασφημῆσθω ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν (comp. iii. 8).

τίς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] The whole passage as far as ἐπορεύεσθε is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 17 (p. 610) καὶ μὴν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν τύπον τινὰ τοῦ γνωστικοῦ ὑπογράφων λέγει, Τίς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

9. παρεπιδημήσας] This 'bimaris Corinthus' was a natural halting place on the journey between Rome and the East, as we see in the case of S. Paul and his companions, and somewhat later of Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22). Diogenes is represented as visiting it (Dion Chrys. *Orat.* viii. p. 151 ed. Emper) ὅτι πλείστοι ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖ συνίσσι...καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ ἐν τριόδῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος

ὕμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν; τὴν τε σῶφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικῇ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῇ γνῶσιν οὐκ ἐμακάρισεν; ἀπροσωπολήμπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νομί- 5 μοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες

1 ὑμῶν πίστιν] AC; πίστιν ὑμῶν Clem 610.

2 ἐπιεικῇ ἐν] CS Clem;

ἐπιεικῆν A.

3 οὐκ] AC; om. S.

4 ἀσφαλῇ] ἀσφαλεῖν A.

5 ἀπροσωπολήμπτως] A;

ἀπροσωπολήπτως C Clem (edd.).

ἐποιεῖτε] ἐποιεῖται A.

τοῖς νομίμοις] τοισνομοῖς A; *in lege* (ΝΟΜΩΝ) S; ἐν τοῖς νόμοις C; ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις Clem, which is approved by Wotton and others. The rendering of S shows nothing as regards the reading; for (1) the preposition would be required in any case; (2) the singular is explained by the accidental omission of *ritui*; (3) νόμιμον is elsewhere translated by ΝΟΜΩΝ (νόμος) in this version (comp. §§ 3, 40).

ἐκεῖτο. So also it is called the *περίπατος* or 'lounge' of Greece; see [Dion Chrys.] xxxvii. p. 522 with the context, ὡς ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἐναντιὸν καταϊρόντων εἰς Κεγχρέας ἔμπορον ἢ θεωρὸν ἢ πρεσβυτέρην ἢ διερχόμενον. Hence there was an abundant demand for hospitality there; see below on § 10 φιλοξενίαν, § 35 ἀφιλοξενίαν.

πανάρετον] Not found either in LXX or New Testament, but a favourite word with Clement: see §§ 2, 45, 57, 60, with the note on § 57. He delights in such compounds, e.g. *παμμεγεθής*, *πανάγιος*, *παμπληθής*, *παντεπόπτης*.

2. ἐπιεικῇ] '*forbearing*.' This yielding temper, this deference to the feelings of others, was the quality especially needed at such a time. For ἐπιείκεια comp. §§ 13, 56, 58, 62, and see *Philippians* iv. 5. It was eminently a characteristic of Clement himself; see I. p. 97.

τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς κ.τ.λ.] For the reproof lurking under this allusion to their past hospitality, see the note on ἀφιλοξενίαν § 35.

4. γνῶσιν] Here used generally.

For the more special sense see the note on § 48.

5. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως] For this adverb see 1 Pet. i. 17, Barnab. 4. For the forms, -λήμπτως, -λήπτως, see Winer's *Grammar* p. 53 (ed. Moulton). For an instance of the capricious orthography of both our MSS comp. § 12 συλλη[μ]ψομένους, συλλη[μ]φθέντας.

τοῖς νομίμοις] '*by the ordinances*'; so § 3 ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι, § 40 τοῖς νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότητος ἀκολουθοῦντες, *Hermas Vis.* i. 3 εἰς τὴν τηρήσασιν τὰ νόμιμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. The phrase τοῖς νομίμοις πορεύεσθαι occurs LXX Lev. xviii. 3, xx. 23, and ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις πορεύεσθαι Jer. xxvi (xxxiii). 4, Ezek. v. 6, 7, xx. 18. For the dative, denoting the rule or standard, see *Galatians* v. 16, 25, vi. 16.

6. τοῖς ἡγουμένοις] i.e. the officers of the Church, as § 21 τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡμῶν: comp. Heb. xiii. 7 μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, and again xiii. 17, 24; *Hermas Vis.* ii. 2, iii. 9 οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ  
 νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναῖξιν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ  
 10 καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδῆσαι πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε,  
 στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν· ἐν τε τῷ  
 κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον  
 σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάννυ σωφρονούσας.

I have adopted νομίμοις from Clem, but ἐν is not wanted (see the explanatory note) and was probably his own insertion.

6 ἐπορεύεσθε] CS Clem; πορεύεσθαι A. 7 ὑμῶν] AS; om. C. καθήκουσαν] καθίκουσαν A.

8 ὑμῖν] AS; ἡμῖν C.

9 ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ] AC; ἀγνῇ καὶ ἀμώμῳ S (certainly omitting καὶ σεμνῇ), but the transposition of ἀγνῇ and ἀμώμῳ may be due to the convenience of translation; see above, i. p. 137.

13 οἰκουργεῖν] A; οἰκουρεῖν (but apparently γ has been erased) C; curam-gerentes operum (studiose agentes in operibus) S. See the lower note.

Similarly οἱ προϊστάμενοι ὑμῶν, 1 Thess. v. 12. The reference therefore is not to civil officers, as some take it; and the πρεσβυτέροις in the next clause refers to age, not to office, as the following νέοις shows. The 'presbyters' or 'elders,' properly so called, are exhausted in τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, but these are not the only seniors to whom reverence is due, and Clement accordingly extends the statement so as to comprise all older men, thus preparing the way for the mention of 'the young' also as a class. Similarly § 21, where, as here, προηγούμενοι, πρεσβύτεροι, νέοι, γυναῖκες, occur in succession. There is the same difficulty about the use of πρεσβύτεροι in connexion with νεώτεροι in 1 Pet. v. 1 sq. Polyc. Phil. 5, 6.

9. ἐπετρέπετε] 'ye enjoined,' as e.g. in Plat. Legg. p. 784 C, Xen. Anab. vi. 5. 11 (see Kühner's note).

γυναῖξιν τε κ.τ.λ.] See Polyc. Phil. 4 ἐπειτα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κ.τ.λ., where Polycarp follows Clement's language here and in § 21.

11. στεργούσας] It should probably be taken with the foregoing clause, and I have altered the punctuation

accordingly. For the change from the dative (γυναῖξιν) to the accusative (στεργούσας) comp. Mark vi. 39 ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλιθῆναι πάντας, Acts xv. 22 ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κ.τ.λ. ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι, and see Jelf's Gram. §§ 675, 676.

ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι κ.τ.λ.] i. e. 'not overstepping the line, not transgressing the limits, of obedience'; e.g. § 41 μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὁρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα. On the metaphor of κανὼν, 'a measuring line,' see Galatians vi. 16, and the note on § 7, below.

13. οἰκουργεῖν] 'to ply their work in the house.' The classical forms are οἰκουρός, οἰκουρεῖν, and these prevail even at the Christian era and much later; e.g. Philo de Spec. Leg. 31 (II. p. 327) θηλείαις (ἐφαρμόξει) οἰκουρία, de Execr. 4 (II. p. 431) γυναῖκας σώφρονας οἰκουροὺς καὶ φιλόδρους, and the illustrative passages in Westein on Tit. ii. 5. But in Tit. ii. 5 σώφρονας, ἀγνάς, οἰκουργοὺς, ἀγαθάς, ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, which passage Clement may have had in his mind, the great preponderance of the best authorities have



## II. Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες,

οἰκουρούς, not οἰκουρούς; and this reading the ablest recent editors (Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort) have adopted. In this passage of Clement also A has οἰκουρούς, and so apparently it was read originally in C, but the γ has been erased. Bryennios says 'νεώτερα χεὶρ ἀπῆλειψε τὸ γ.' But judging by the photograph, I should imagine that it was impossible to say who erased the letter—whether the original scribe or some later corrector. I am disposed to think that the original scribe wrote down οἰκουρούς, following an older MS which he had before him, and then after his wont (see above, I. p. 126 sq) corrected it into the more classical form. At all events there is a tendency in the later scribes and correctors to return to the more classical form, as we see from the later corrections of AC in Tit. ii. 5. The Syriac here is ܕܢܐܥܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ, the same rendering being given in the Peshito and Harclean in Tit. ii. 5. It seems to represent οἰκουρούς rather than οἰκουρούς, the first element of the word (οἶκος) having been already exhausted in the translation of the preceding τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον and therefore not needing repetition. Perhaps however it may be intended to combine the ideas of -ουργεῖν and -ουρεῖν. The same verb is more commonly a rendering of μεριμνᾶν or ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

II. 'Submission and contentment were the rule of your lives. The teaching of God was in your breasts; the passion of Christ before your eyes. Peace and good-will reigned among you. Spiritual graces and incessant prayers distinguished you. You loved the brethren; you bore no malice to any; you loathed faction; you re-

joiced in doing good. The ordinances of God were graven on your hearts.'

2. ὑποτασσόμενοι κ.τ.λ.] See Ephes. v. 21, Phil. ii. 3, Rom. xii. 10, 16, and 1 Pet. v. 5 (v. l.).

3. ἡδίων κ.τ.λ.] Doubtless a reference to our Lord's words recorded Acts xx. 35, μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν; see below, § 13, where the context of the passage is echoed. It was no new commandment however, though instinct with a new meaning. Maxims similarly expressed had been uttered by the two opposite schools of philosophy, starting from different principles and speaking with different motives. For the Epicureans see Plut. *Mor.* p. 778 C 'Επίκουρος τοῦ εὖ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίων εἶναι φησι, and for the Stoics, Seneca *Epist.* lxxxi. § 17 'Errat si quis beneficium accipit libentius quam reddit' (both quoted by Wetstein on Acts I. c.).

τοῖς ἐφόδιοις κ.τ.λ.] i. e. 'the provision which God has supplied for the journey of life.' Similarly Seneca *Epist.* lxvii. § 3 'Quia quantumcumque haberem, tamen plus jam mihi superesset viatici quam viae,' Epictet. *Diss.* iii. 21. 9 ἔχοντάς τι ἐφόδιον τοιούτων εἰς τὸν βίον, Plut. *Mor.* p. 160 B ὡς μὴ μόνον τοῦ ζῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν τὴν τροφήν ἐφόδιον οὔσαν; comp. Dionys. Corinth. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 ἐκκλησιαίαις πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν. It is the same sentiment as 1 Tim. vi. 8, ἔχοντες διατροφάς καὶ σκεπάζματα τούτοις ἀρκεσθυσόμεθα. The idea of *spiritual* sustenance seems to be out of place here, though ἐφόδια not unfrequently has this sense. For this and other reasons the words

ἩΔΙΟΝ ΔΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ Ἡ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΕΣ, τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ

3 τοῦ Θεοῦ] A; τοῦ Χριστοῦ CS.

τοῖς ἐφ. τοῦ Θ. ἀρκ. must be connected with the preceding clauses, so that the new idea is introduced by καὶ προσέχοντες. The Syriac version indeed attaches καὶ προσέχοντες to the preceding sentence, but it manipulates the words following, as if it had read τοὺς τε λόγους...ἐνιστερνισμένοι (om. ἦτε).

τοῦ Θεοῦ] The reading τοῦ Χριστοῦ is accepted by Bryennios and Hilgenfeld (ed. 2) on the authority of C. On the other hand Harnack retains τοῦ Θεοῦ; while Donaldson hesitates between the two readings.

As regards external evidence, the balance is fairly even. If the view maintained above (I. pp. 124 sq, 139 sq, 142 sq) of the relative value of our authorities be correct, A is entitled to as great weight as CS together. Moreover the obvious doctrinal motive, which in C has led to the deliberate substitution of λόγος for πνεῦμα in another place (ii. § 9), must deprive it of much value in the present case. On the other hand it is urged with probability that, as Photius (*Bibl.* 126) complains of Clement's language in this epistle ὅτι ἀρχιερέα καὶ προστάτην τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξονομάζων οὐδὲ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοτέρας ἀφῆκε περὶ αὐτοῦ φωνάς, he cannot have had τοῦ Θεοῦ in his text. But, as the declaration of Christ's divinity lurks under the reference of the pronoun αὐτοῦ, it might very easily have escaped the notice of Photius who in the course of this single embassy read as large a number of books as would have sufficed many a man not ill-informed for a life-time. Even if the inference were more certain, this evidence would not go far, for Photius is a late writer.

On the other hand Gaius (or rather Hippolytus) early in the third century in the *Little Labyrinth* (*H. E.* v. 28; see Routh *Rel. Sacr.* II. p. 129) mentions Clement with Justin, Miltiades, and Tatian, besides 'several others,' among those ἐν οἷς θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. Routh (p. 145) supposes Clement of Rome to be meant (as also does Bunsen, *Hippol.* I. p. 440), because the author of the *Little Labyrinth* refers distinctly to works written 'before the time of Victor' who became bishop about A.D. 189 or 190, and indeed the whole argument turns on this point. To this it may be added that Hippolytus afterwards (p. 131) uses an expression resembling the language of the Roman Clement here, ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐβούλετο...ἀπολίσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν, and that Clement of Alexandria (who is the alternative) can only have died a few years (ten or at most twenty) before the passage was written. On the other side it may be urged that the order of the names, Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ ἐτέρων πλειόνων, points to the Alexandrian Clement; but this is not conclusive, since in the very next sentence the chronological order of Melito and Irenæus, is inverted, τὰ γὰρ Εἰρηναίου τε καὶ Μελίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ βιβλία; The question therefore must remain undecided; though the reasons in favour of the Roman Clement seem to preponderate. As it is very improbable that so early a writer as Hippolytus should have recognised as genuine any other writings ascribed to Clement of Rome, his judgment must have been founded upon this epistle.



The external evidence therefore is far from conclusive; and if any decision on the reading is possible, it must be founded upon internal evidence. But here the considerations which present themselves are numerous.

(1) As a question of accidental error in transcription, the probability is evenly balanced; for  $\chi\nu$  instead of  $\theta\nu$ , and  $\theta\nu$  instead of  $\chi\nu$ , are equally common with scribes.

(2) On the other hand, if we have a deliberate alteration, the chances that  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  would be substituted for  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  are, I think, greater than the chances of the converse change. Such language as  $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , and the like, though common in the second and third centuries, became highly distasteful in later ages; and this from various motives. The great Athanasius himself protests against such phrases, *c. Apollin.* ii. 13, 14 (I. p. 758)  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\omicron\tau\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\omicron$   $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ; ...  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha$   $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$   $\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$   $\eta$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\acute{\nu}$   $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ . And how liable to correction such expressions would be, we may infer from the long recension of the Ignatian Epistles, where the original language of the writer is deliberately altered by the interpolator, who appears to have lived in the latter half of the fourth century (*Ephes.* i  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , where  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is substituted for  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ; *Rom.* 6  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\omicron\nu$ , where this interpolator softens down the language by inserting  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  before  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\omicron\nu$ , while others substitute  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\mu\omicron\nu$  or  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ). At this time the heresy to which such expressions seemed to give countenance was Apollinarianism. At a later date, when the Monophysite controversy arose, there would be a still greater temptation on the part of an orthodox scribe to substitute  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$

$\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ . The language of Anastasius of Sinai (*Hodeg.* 12, 13, p. 97 sq) shows that these passages of earlier writers (he mentions among others *Ign. Rom.* 6) were constantly alleged in favour of Monophysite doctrine, and he himself has some trouble in explaining them away. Writing against these same heretics Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* i. 124) says  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\omicron\upsilon$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ . On the other hand, it might be said that the Monophysites themselves would be under a temptation to alter  $\chi\nu$  into  $\theta\nu$ ; and accordingly Bryennios supposes that in this passage the reading of A is due to the Monophysites (or, as he adds, perhaps to the Alexandrian divines). This does not seem very likely. (a) In the first place, it would be a roundabout and precarious way of getting a testimony in favour of their doctrine. If  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (thus assumed to be the original reading) had been in direct connexion with  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , a change in this direction would not be improbable; but it would never have occurred to any one to alter  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  into  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , because there happened to be the expression  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  in the next sentence, so that  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  would naturally be referred to the genitive after  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . It would have been much simpler to change  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  into  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  at once. (b) Secondly, the dates are not favourable to this supposition. The MS which has  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  is assigned by the most competent authorities to the fifth century, and by some of them to the earlier half of the century (see above, I. p. 117); and, though not impossible, it is not probable that the Monophysite controversy would have influenced the transcription of the MS at this date. On the other hand Photius, our earliest authority for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (supposing that his evidence be ac-

cepted), wrote four centuries later, when there had been ample time for such manipulation of the text. But, besides the *doctrinal* motive which might have suggested the change from Θεοῦ to Χριστοῦ, there may also have been an *exegetical* reason. The word ἐφόδιον, *viaticum*, was used especially of the eucharistic elements (e.g. *Lit. D. Marc.* p. 29, *Lit. D. Jacob.* p. 75, Neale), and there would be a natural desire to fix this sense on S. Clement here.

(3) The probability that such language as τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ should have been used by an early Christian writer can hardly be questioned. These early writers occasionally used language so strong in expressing their belief of our Lord's divinity, as almost to verge on patristicism; so Ign. *Ephes.* 1 ἀναξωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ, Ign. *Rom.* 6 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου, Melito (Routh *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 122) ὁ Θεὸς πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλίδος, *Test. xii Patr.* Levi 4 ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου (a very ancient writing; see *Galatians* p. 307 sq), Tatian *ad Graec.* 13 τοῦ πεπονθότος Θεοῦ, Tertull. *de Carn. Chr.* 5 'passiones Dei,' *ad Uxor.* ii. 3 'sanguine Dei' (and so elsewhere Tertullian speaks of 'God crucified,' 'God dead,' 'the flesh of God,' 'the murderers of God'; see *de Carn. Chr.* 5, *adv. Marc.* ii. 16, 27, v. 5), *Anc. Syr. Doc.* p. 8 (ed. Cureton) 'God was crucified for all men,' etc. And similar passages from writers of these and the succeeding generations might be multiplied. See Abbot I. c. p. 340 sq, Otto *Corp. Apol. Christ.* ix. p. 445. The nearest parallel in the New Testament is Acts xx. 28, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου; but even if τοῦ Θεοῦ be the correct reading (as possibly it is), the form of expression is far less strong than in these patristic references.

(4) It is more to the purpose to urge that, though such language is not uncommon in other writers, it has no parallel in Clement; that he elsewhere speaks of the blood 'of Christ' (§§ 7, 21, 49) and describes it as 'precious to God His Father' (§ 7); and that throughout this epistle he applies the term Θεὸς to the Father as distinguished from Christ. This argument has considerable weight, but must not be overstrained. The Catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ admits both ways of speaking. Writers like Tertullian, who use the most extravagant and unguarded language on the other side, are commonly and even in the same context found speaking of Christ as distinct from God; and the exact proportions which the one mode of speaking will bear to the other in any individual writer must be a matter of evidence. It is clear from the newly discovered ending (§ 58 ζῆ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.) that he could have had no sympathy with Ebionite views of the Person of Christ. Moreover, in the passage especially quoted (§ 7) one authority, which probably preserves the right reading, omits Θεῷ. And after all the alternative remains which Abbot is disposed to favour (p. 343), that Clement wrote αὐτοῦ negligently, not remembering that τοῦ Θεοῦ had immediately preceded and referring it in his own mind to Christ.

(5) It remains to enquire whether the connexion is more favourable to τοῦ Θεοῦ or τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This will depend partly on the connexion of the sentences. If the punctuation given in my text be retained, τοῦ Θεοῦ is almost necessary; for τὰ ἐφόδια then refers to the ordinary means of subsistence. Hilgenfeld reads and punctuates τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρκούμενοι καὶ προσέχοντες, understanding by the term 'spiritual sustenance.' This seems to me to give an awkward sense (for the mention



ἀρκοῦμενοι· καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπι-  
μελῶς ἐνεστερνισμένοι ἥτε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ  
παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. Οὕτως εἰ-  
ρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκόρεστος  
πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιῖαν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου 5

2 ἐνεστερνισμένοι] C; εστερνισμένοι A.  
δετο A.

4 λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο] λειπαραεδε-  
δοτο AC; plenae effusiones...erant S,  
as if πλήρεις ἐκχύσεις...ἐγίνοντο, for the plural here cannot be explained by *ribui*.

of 'contentment' is then somewhat out of place) and an unnatural punctuation (for καὶ προσέχοντες then becomes a clumsy addition).

1. τοὺς λόγους] For the accusative after προσέχοντες compare e.g. Exod. xxxiv. 11 πρόσχε σὺ πάντα ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι, Is. i. 10 προσέχετε νόμον Θεοῦ, Neh. ix. 34 οὐ προσέσχον τὰς ἐντολάς (v. 1.) σου καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια σου.

2. ἐνεστερνισμένοι] 'ye took them to heart,' i.e. τοὺς λόγους, which is the accusative to ἐνεστερνισμένοι as well as to προσέχοντες; so § 12 εἰσδεξαμένη αὐτοὺς ἐκρυψεν. For ἐνεστερνίζεσθαι compare Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 123) τὸν σωτῆρα ἐνεστερνίσασθαι, Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 8 μείζονα τοῦ σώματος τὸν λογισμὸν ἐνεστερνισμένη, *ib.* 11 μνήμας αὐτῶν (τῶν γραφῶν) ἐνεστέρνιστο, *ib.* *Laud. Const.* 5 § 5 τῶν ἐκεῖ φώτων ἄλεκτον πόθον ἐνεστερνισμένος, *Apost. Const.* proem. ἐνεστερνισμένοι τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ, *ib.* v. 14 ἐνεστερνισάμενος αὐτόν. There seems to be no such word as στερνίζεσθαι, and therefore ἐνεστερνισμένοι must be read. If ἐστερνισμένοι could stand, Cotelier's explanation would probably be correct, 'Clementi ἐστερνισμένοι sunt, qui Latinis pectorosi, homines latī capacisque pectoris (2 Cor. vi. 11), as the analogy of σπλαγχνίζεσθαι suggests; and later critics seem to be wrong in making it equivalent to ἐνεστερνισμένοι, which owes its trans-

itive sense to the preposition.

τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Compare Gal. iii. 1 οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος, of which Clement's expression is perhaps a reminiscence. In this passage it has been proposed to read μαθήματα for παθήματα; and the confusion of μαθητής, παθητής, in Ign. *Polyc.* 7, and μαθήματα, παθήματα, in Ign. *Smyrn.* 5, shows that the interchange would be easy. This emendation was originally adopted to meet the difficulty of the expression 'the sufferings of God.' Among others it found an advocate in the late Ezra Abbot (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, April 1876, p. 313 sq) in a learned paper on Acts xx. 28. But it has obtained some favour even since the discovery of the alternative reading τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Yet (1) The parallels quoted in the note on τοῦ Θεοῦ prove that no alteration is needed, since τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ would be a natural expression to a writer of this age; (2) The reading μαθήματα would destroy the propriety of the expressions in the parallel clauses as read in the MS, ἐνεστερνισμένοι referring to τοὺς λόγους and πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν to τὰ παθήματα, 'the words in your hearts, the sufferings before your eyes'; (3) While τὰ παθήματα is a common expression in the New Testament, being used especially to denote the sufferings of Christ, the word μάθημα does not once occur either there or



ἐκχυσίς ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο· μεστοί τε ὁσίας βουλῆς  
ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβούς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετεί-  
νατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν,  
κετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἰλέως γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρ-  
τετε. ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης

6 ὁσίας] AS; θείας C: see the lower note.

A. ἐξετείνετε] A; ἐξετείνετε CS.

note. ἄκοντες] AC; ἐκόντες S.

7 πεποιθήσεως] πεποιθησεως

9 ἰλέως] A; ἰλεων C: see the lower

ἡμάρτετε] AC; peccabatis (ἡμαρτάνετε) S.

the Apostolic fathers; and in the only passage in the LXX where it is found (Jer. xiii. 21) there is a v.l. μαθητὰς (for μαθήματα), which approaches more nearly to the original (Hebrew); (4) Though τὰ μαθήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ might stand, still αἱ διδασκαί τοῦ Θεοῦ (or some similar expression) would be more natural.

3. εἰρήνη βαθεῖα] 4 Macc. iii. 20 θεῖαν εἰρήνην διὰ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἡμῶν ἔχον, Hegesipp. in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32 ἐκ τῆς εὐνομίας εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Athenag. *Suppl.* 1 ἡ σύμπασα κοινὴ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συνέσει βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύουσιν, *Liturg. S. Basil.* 165 (Neale) βαθείαν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον εἰρήνην, Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. 61.

5. ἀγαθοποιῶν] 'beneficence'; again see below and §§ 33, 34: comp. 1 Pet. ii. 19, *Test. xii Patr.* Jos. 18. The related words occur several times in 1 Peter: ἀγαθοποιεῖν 1 Pet. ii. 15, 20, iii. 6, 17; ἀγαθοποιός, 1 Pet. ii. 14. While καλοποιῶν regards the abstract character of the action, ἀγαθοποιῶν looks to its results and more especially to its effect on others.

6. ὁσίας] For the confusion of εὐσεβος and θεῖος comp. §§ 14, 21, and see above i. pp. 138, 140. For ὁσίας comp. § 45 ἐν ὁσίᾳ καὶ ἀμώμῳ προθέσει, § 46 διὰ τῆς ὁσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ; for ὁσίας, § 40 τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως. There might possibly be a question which of the two words should be read here: but (1) we have a combination

of two authorities (including the best) against one; and (2) the other instances show that the tendency is to change ὁσιος into θεῖος, and not conversely.

9. ἰλέως γενέσθαι] The adverb ἰλέως is recognised by Hesychius, but no instances are given in the lexicons. As it appears only to occur in the expression ἰλέως γίνεσθαι (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* xi. p. 453 (1887) μήτε οἱ θεοὶ ἰλέως αὐτῷ γένοιτο, 2 Macc. ii. 22, vii. 37, x. 26), it is probably a grammatical mistake of the later language, the true construction being forgotten and the word being erroneously treated as an adverb (ἰλέως instead of ἰλεως). In this passage it may be due to the transcriber and not to Clement himself. At all events our MS (A) in the three passages of 2 Maccabees has ἰλέως, where the common text has a proper grammatical construction ἰλεω γενομένου, ἰλεω γενέσθαι, ἰλεω γενόμενον. In Herm. *Vis.* ii. 2, *Sim.* ix. 23, we have the expression ἰλεως γίνεσθαι, but the context fails to show whether ἰλεως is treated as an adverb or an adjective. E. A. Sophocles *Lex.* s. v. gives an instance of the adverb ἰλέως from Moschion, and the inscription above quoted proves it to be a possible word.

10. ἀγὼν ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Col. ii. 1. ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς] Hilgenfeld calls attention to the fact that the

τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι μετὰ δέους καὶ  
 συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ· εἰλι-  
 κρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἦτε καὶ ἀμνησικάκοι εἰς ἀλλήλους·  
 πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν· ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 παραπτώμασιν τοῖς πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα 5

1 μετὰ δέους] C; μετ' ἐλέους (ελαίουσ A) AS.

νεῖσ A. 3 ἀκέραιοι] ακερεοι A.

So I read the MS with Tischendorf, but previous editors gave it ἀμνησικάκοι.

4 βδελυκτὸν] A; add. ἦν C, and so probably S.

2 εἰλικρινεῖς] εἰλικρι-

νησικάκοι] C; ἀμνησικάκοι A.

5 τοῖς πλησίον] A; τῶν

writer elsewhere has the same order 'day and night' §§ 20, 24, and argues thence 'scriptorem non e Judaeis, qui noctem antepont, sed e gentilibus, Romanis quidem, ortum esse.' This argument is more specious than sound. Thus in the Apocalypse the order is always 'day and night,' iv. 8, vii. 15, xii. 10, xiv. 11, xx. 10; in S. Paul always 'night and day,' 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10, 2 Thess. iii. 8, 1 Tim. v. 5, 2 Tim. i. 3; while by S. Luke either order is used indifferently in both the Gospel (ii. 37, xviii. 7) and the Acts (ix. 24, xx. 31, xxvi. 7).

1. ἀδελφότητος] A word peculiar to S. Peter in the New Testament; 1 Pet. ii. 17, v. 9. So Polyc. *Phil.* 10 'fraternitas,' where the Greek is not extant; Herm. *Mand.* 8.

μετὰ δέους] I have ventured to adopt this reading, as other recent editors have done, on the inferior authority of C (μετὰ δεογς for μετελεογς), because it rescues the passage from a difficulty and so commends itself. By this combination μετὰ δέους καὶ συνειδήσεως the whole clause is transferred from God to the believer, and συνειδήσεως becomes intelligible. With the whole expression comp. *Liturg. D. Jacob.* p. 55 (Neale) δὸς ἡμῖν, Κύριε, μετὰ παντὸς φόβου καὶ συνειδήσεως καθαρὰς προσκομίσαι κ.τ.λ. For the idea of fear as an agent in the work of salvation see Phil. ii. 12; and for

the expression μετὰ δέους Heb. xii. 28 λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους (the correct reading), an epistle which has largely influenced Clement's language elsewhere. For the use of συνειδήσις here comp. § 34 συναχθέντες τῇ συνειδήσει. It denotes inward concentration and assent. Zahn (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* Nov. 8, 1876) still retains the reading μετ' ἐλέους, explaining it of brotherly kindness shown towards offenders, and proposes συναθλήσεως for συνειδήσεως. He might have quoted *Apost. Const.* ii. 13 ἐπειτα μετὰ ἐλέους καὶ οἰκτιρμοῦ καὶ προσλήψεως οἰκειοῦ ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ σωτηρίαν for this sense. Lipsius (*Jenaer Literaturz.* Jan. 13, 1877) accepts μετὰ δέους, but holds by his conjecture συνδεήσεως (*Academy*, July 9, 1870), though it is now rendered unnecessary. Donaldson (*Theol. Rev.* Jan. 1877) suggests μετὰ τελείας συνελεύσεως.

2. συνειδήσεως] If the reading ἐλέους be retained, συνειδήσεως must mean 'with the consent of God,' but this is hardly possible. I had accordingly hazarded the conjecture εὐδοκήσεως (εὐδοκῆσεως for σὺνεδῆσεως), which is less violent than συναινέσεως, συνείξεως, συνδεήσεως, and other emendations. This conjecture struck me before I was aware that Davis had suggested συνενδοκήσεως, of which word I cannot find any in-

αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκρίνετε· ἀμεταμέλητοι ἦτε ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀγα-  
θοποιῳ, ἑτοίμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν· τῇ παναρέτῃ  
καὶ σεβασμῷ πολιτεία κεκοσμημένοι πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ  
αὐτοῦ ἐπετελεῖτε· τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα  
10 τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐγγράπτο.

πλησίον C; *vicinorum* S.

6 ἴδια] C; ἴδια A; ἰδίᾳ S.

7 ἑτοίμοι]

αἰτοίμοι A.

8 σεβασμῷ] A, and so apparently S; σεβασμωτάτῃ C (see

I. p. 126).

9 ἐπετελεῖτε] ἐπετελεῖται A.

stance. The clause would then mean 'of His mercy and good pleasure': comp. § 9 *ικέται γινόμενοι τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ*. The lexicons supply a few instances of the form *εὐδόκησις* (e.g. Diod. xv. 6, Dion. Hal. iii. 13), which also occurs below § 40 (see the note). In the N. T. the allied word *εὐδοκία* is generally said of God; Matt. xi. 26 (Luke x. 21), Eph. i. 5, 9, Phil. ii. 13. If however we accept *δέους* (see the last note), no emendation is needed.

*τὸν ἀριθμὸν κ.τ.λ.*] See the note on § 59, where the same expression occurs. So too in our Burial Service, 'shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect.'

*εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι*] For *εἰλικρινεῖς*, see *Philippians* i. 10; for *ἀκέραιοι*, *Philippians* ii. 15.

3. *ἀμνησικάκοι*] So we have *ἀμνησικάκως* below, § 62. Comp. *Test. xii Patr.* Zab. 8 *ἀμνησικάκοι γίνεσθε*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 14 (p. 883) *ἀμνησικάκον εἶναι διδάσκει*, Hermas *Mand.* ix. *αὐτὸς ἀμνησικάκός ἐστι*, and so *Strom.* ii. 18 (p. 398) *δι' ἀμνησικακίας*.

5. *τοῖς πλησίον*] A brachylogy for *τοῖς τῶν πλησίον*. Jacobson quotes Eur. *Hec.* 996 *μηδ' ἔρα τῶν πλησίον*.

6. *ἀμεταμέλητοι κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'When you had done good, you did not wish it undone; when there was an opportunity of doing good, you seized it.' The latter clause *ἑτοίμοι κ.τ.λ.* is from Titus iii. 1 *πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοί-*

*μους εἶναι*: comp. 2 Cor. ix. 8, and see below § 34 with the note.

8. *πολιτεία*] 'the graces of your heavenly citizenship'; see Phil. i. 27, Ephes. ii. 12, 19. For *πολιτεία*, *πολιτεύσθαι*, see §§ 3, 6, 21, 44, 51, 54.

9. *αὐτοῦ*] i.e. *τοῦ Θεοῦ*, understood from *τῇ παναρέτῃ καὶ σεβασμῷ πολιτεία*; comp. § 54 *τὴν ἀμεταμέλητον πολιτείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

*τὰ προστάγματα*] The two words occur together frequently in the LXX: see esp. Mal. iv. 4, and comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 25, Ezek. xi. 20, xviii. 9, xx. 11, etc.

10. *ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη κ.τ.λ.*] Taken from the LXX of Prov. vii. 3, *ἐπίγραφον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας σου*, where *πλάτος* corresponds to the Hebrew *לִּחְ* 'a tablet.' The phrase is repeated in the LXX with slight modifications in Prov. xxii. 20, and in some copies also in Prov. iii. 3; but there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew of Prov. xxii. 20. Wotton's statement that *πλάτος* occurs in this sense 'passim' in the LXX is erroneous. From this LXX reading the expression *τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας* is not uncommon in the Christian fathers (e.g. Iren. i. praef. 3, and other passages quoted by Wotton), and *τὰ πλάτη* was doubtless written by Clement here. But it seems not improbable that the expression arose from a very early corruption of the LXX text (a confusion of *πλάτος* and *πλακός*), since



III. Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμός ἐδόθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἐφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐπαχύνθη καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἡγαπημένος. Ἐκ τούτου ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος, [καὶ] ἔρις καὶ στάσις, διωγμός καὶ ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. 5 οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. διὰ τοῦτο πόρρω ἄπεστιν

1 ἐδόθη] δοθη Α.

3 ἀπελάκτισεν] CS, Deut. xxxii. 15; ἀπεγαλακτί-  
σεν Α.

4 καὶ ἔρις] Α; ἔρις (om. καὶ) CS.

8 ἄπεστιν] Α; est S  
(which probably represents ἀπεστιν); ἀπέστη C, which is nearer to the LXX of Is.

πλάξ is the natural equivalent of *חיל* and is frequently used elsewhere in the LXX to translate it. S. Paul's metaphor in 2 Cor. iii. 3 is derived from the original of Prov. vii. 3.

III. 'But, like Jeshurun of old, you waxed wanton with plenty. Hence strife and faction and open war. Hence the ignoble, the young, the foolish, have risen against the highly-esteemed, the old, the wise. Peace and righteousness are banished. The law of God, the life after Christ, are disregarded. You have fostered jealousy, whereby death entered into the world.'

1. πλατυσμός] 'enlargement, room to move in,' i.e. freedom and plenty, opposed to θλίψις, στενοχωρία, ἀνάγκη; as 2 Sam. xxii. 20 προέφθασάν με ἡμέραι θλίψεώς μου καὶ ἐγένετο Κύριος ἐπιστήριγμά μου καὶ ἐξήγαγέ με εἰς πλατυσμόν καὶ ἐξείλετό με, Ps. cxvii. 5 ἐκ θλίψεως ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν Κύριον καὶ ἐπήκουσέν μου εἰς πλατυσμόν: comp. Ps. xvii. 20, cxviii. 45, Eccclus. xlvii. 12. See also the opposition of ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ and στενοχωρεῖσθαι, Hermas Mand. v. 1 ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ κατοικοῦν ἀγαλλιᾷσεται. Hence the Latin use of *dilatare*, *dilatatio*.

2. ἔφαγεν κ.τ.λ.] A very free quotation from the LXX of Deut. xxxii. 14,

15, καὶ αἶμα σταφυλῆς ἔπιεν (v. l. ἔπιον) οἶνον· καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἡγαπημένος, ἐλιπὴνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη. It diverges still more from the original Hebrew. Justin *Dial.* 20 (p. 237 B) quotes the same passage, but his quotation has no special resemblances to that of Clement.

4. ζῆλος κ.τ.λ.] The words occur in an ascending scale: *first* the inward sentiment of division (ζῆλος developing into φθόνος); *next*, the outward demonstration of this (ἔρις developing into στάσις); *lastly*, the direct conflict and its results (διωγμός, ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος, αἰχμαλωσία).

ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος] These words occur together also below, §§ 4, 5: comp. Gal. v. 20, 21, *Test. xii Patr.* Sym. 4 ἀπὸ παντὸς ζήλου καὶ φθόνου. For the distinction between them see Trench *N. T. Syn.* ser. 1 § xxvi, and *Galatians* l. c. Ζῆλος is 'rivalry, ambition,' the desire of equalling or excelling another. It does not necessarily involve the wish to deprive him of his advantages, which is implied in φθόνος; but, if unduly cherished, it will lead to this; § 4 διὰ ζῆλος Δαυεὶδ φθόνον ἔσχεν, Plat. *Menex.* p. 242 Α πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος, *Æsch. Agam.* 939



ἡ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολείπειν ἕκαστον τὸν  
 10 φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπῆσαι  
 μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορευ-  
 εσθαι μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφό-  
 15 τας, δι' οὗ καὶ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Κόσμον.

lix. 14 ἀφέστηκεν, given in the lower note; see above, I. p. 124 sq. 9 ἀπο-  
 λείπειν] απολειπῖ A; ἀπολιπεῖν C, and so probably S. 10 πιστεῖ] πιστι  
 A. 13 ἀλλὰ] AC, but Bryennios prints ἀλλ', as if this were the reading  
 of C. τῆς καρδίας] CS; om. A. 15 καὶ] AC; om. S.

ὁ δ' ἀφθόντος γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει,  
 Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 4 ὅφ' ὧν ζηλοῦσθαι  
 βούλονται καὶ μὴ φθονεῖσθαι.

5. ἀκαταστασία] 'tumult'; comp.  
 Luke xxi. 9 πολέμους καὶ ἀκαταστασίας,  
 2 Cor. xii. 20 ἔρις, ζῆλος...ἀκαταστα-  
 σίαι, James iii. 16 ὅπου γὰρ ζῆλος καὶ  
 ἐρίθεια, ἐκεῖ ἀκαταστασία κ.τ.λ.

6. οἱ ἄτιμοι κ.τ.λ.] Is. iii. 5 προσ-  
 κόψει τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην,  
 ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς τὸν ἔντιμον.

8. πόρρω ἀπεστῇ κ.τ.λ.] Is. lix. 14  
 καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν.

10. ἀμβλυωπῆσαι] 'grow'n dim-  
 sighted'. The Atticists condemned  
 ἀμβλυωπεῖν and preferred ἀμβλυώτ-  
 τειν; Thom. Mag. p. 39. The word  
 and the form ἀμβλυωπεῖν are as old  
 as Hippocrates, *Progn.* i. p. 38 (ed.  
 Foes.). In the LXX it occurs 1 Kings  
 xiv. 4 (displaced and found between  
 xii. 24 and xii. 25 in B). But in most  
 places where it occurs there is a v. l.  
 ἀμβλυώττειν. Comp. a Gnostic writer  
 in Hippol. *Ref.* v. 16 (p. 133 ad fin.).

12. τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ] The ex-  
 pression has a close parallel in Phil.  
 i. 27 ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 πολιτεύεσθε, from which perhaps it is  
 taken. The emendations suggested  
 (Χριστιανῷ or ἐν Χριστῷ for Χριστῷ)  
 are therefore unnecessary.

14. ζῆλον κ.τ.λ.] Comp. § 45 ἄδικον

ζῆλον ἀνειληφότων.

15. καὶ θάνατος κ.τ.λ.] From Wisd. ii.  
 24 φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν  
 εἰς τὸν κόσμον; comp. Rom. v. 12. The  
 following passage of Theophilus con-  
 nects the quotation from the Book of  
 Wisdom with Clement's application  
 of it: *ad Autol.* ii. 29 (p. 39) ὁ Σατα-  
 νᾶς...ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν θανατώσαι  
 αὐτοὺς φθόνῳ φερόμενος, ἥνίκα ἑώρα  
 τὸν Ἀβελ εὐαρεστοῦντα τῷ Θεῷ, ἐνεργή-  
 σας εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν καλού-  
 μενον Κάιν ἐποίησεν ἀποκτείνειν τὸν  
 ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ, καὶ οὕτως  
 ἀρχὴ θανάτου ἐγένετο εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσ-  
 μον κ.τ.λ.

IV. 'Said I not truly that death  
 came into the world through jea-  
 lousy? It was jealousy which prompt-  
 ed the first murder and slew a  
 brother by a brother's hand; jealousy  
 which drove Jacob into exile, which  
 sold Joseph as a bonds slave, which  
 compelled Moses to flee before his  
 fellow-countryman and before Pha-  
 raoh, which excluded Aaron and  
 Miriam from the camp, which swal-  
 lowed up Dathan and Abiram alive,  
 which exposed David to the malice  
 not only of foreigners but even of the  
 Israelite king.'

The idea of jealousy bringing death  
 into the world had a prominent place

IV. *Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως*. Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας, ἤνεγκεν Κάϊν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θύσιαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Ἄβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπείδεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροισι αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάϊν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύσιαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν. καὶ ἐλυπήθη Κάϊν λίαν καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Κάϊν, ἵνα τί περίλγπος ἐρένογ; καὶ ἵνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ

1 οὕτως] AS; om. C.

2 τῷ Θεῷ] AS; τῷ κυρίῳ C, with the LXX.

3 προβάτων] AC; add. αὐτοῦ S, with LXX.

4 ἐπείδεν] ἐπιδε A.

7 τῷ

προσώπῳ] A with the LXX; τὸ πρόσωπον CS, in accordance with what follows.

9 εἶπεν] A; εἶπεν C.

11 ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ] A; αὐτοῦ ἄρξεις C. S has the same

in the teaching of the Ophites as reported by Iren. i. 30. 9, 'Ita ut et dum fratrem suum Abel occideret, primus *zelum et mortem* ostenderet': and Irenæus himself also speaks of the ζῆλος of Cain, iii. 23. 4, iv. 18. 3 (see the last passage especially). Mill supposes that the idea was borrowed from Clement. As regards the Ophites however it is more probable that they derived it from a current interpretation of the name Κάϊν: comp. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 42 τὸν μὲν πρῶτον καλέσας Κάϊν, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ζῆλος, ὃς καὶ ζηλώσας ἀνείλεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄβελ. In a previous passage (iii. 25) this pseudo-Clement calls Cain ἀμφοτερίζον ὄνομα, because διχῇ ἔχει τῆς ἐρμηνείας τὴν ἐκδοχὴν, ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ καὶ κτήσις (κῆρ) καὶ ζῆλος (κῆρ) κ.τ.λ. The interpretation κτήσις is adopted by Philo *de Cherub.* 15 (I. p. 148), *de Sacr. Ab. et Ca.* 1 (I. p. 163), *quod Det. pot. ins.* 10 (I. p. 197), etc., and by Josephus *Ant.* i. 2. 1.

1. καὶ ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ.] Gen. iv. 3—8, quoted almost word for word from the LXX. The divergences from the Hebrew text are very considerable.

7. τῷ προσώπῳ] The case is difficult to account for, except as a very early transcriber's error in the LXX;

for the form of the Hebrew is the same here as in the following verse, where it is translated συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπον, and the dative though intelligible is awkward.

9. οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς κ.τ.λ.] The meaning of the original is obscure, but the LXX translation which Clement here follows must be wrong. The words ὀρθῶς διέλγης stand for תַּעֲשֶׂה טוֹב בַּדֶּלֶת ('doest good, at the door'), which the translators appear to have understood 'doest right to open'; unless indeed they read תַּתֵּן for תַּתֵּב, as seems more probable (for in the older characters the resemblance of ת and ב is very close). At all events it would seem that they intended διέλγης to refer to apportioning the offerings (comp. Lev. i. 12, where it represents תַּתֵּן and is used of dividing the victim): and they might have understood the offence of Cain to consist in reserving to himself the best and giving God the worst: see Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* i. § 62—64 (I. p. 43 sq, Aucher), *de Agric.* 29 (I. p. 319), and *de Sacr. Ab. et Ca.* 13, 20 sq, (I. p. 171 sq, 176 sq), in illustration of this sense. The Christian fathers however frequently give it a directly moral bearing, explaining ὀρθῶς μὴ

πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ  
 10 διέλης, ἡμαρτες; ἰσχύασον· πρὸς σε ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν Κάϊν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελ-  
 φὸν αὐτοῦ· διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ  
 εἶναι αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνέστη Κάϊν ἐπὶ Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελ-  
 φὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. Ὁράτε, ἀδελφοί, ζήλος  
 15 καὶ φθόνος ἀδελφοκτονίαν κατειργάσατο. διὰ ζήλος  
 ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαῦ

order as A, but this would be most natural in the Syriac.

12 διέλωμεν]

AC; add. *igitur* (= δὲ) S. This addition is found in some MSS of the LXX.

πεδίον] παιδιον A.

13 πεδίῳ] παιδιῳ A.

14 ἀδελφοί] AC;

ἀγαπητοί S; see above, § 1.

15 κατειργάσατο] AS; κατειργάσαντο C. ζήλος]

A; ζήλον C.

διέλης to refer either to the obliquity of Cain's moral sense or to his unfairness in his relations with his brother, e.g. Iren. iii. 23. 4 'Quod non recte divisisset eam quae erga fratrem erat communionem,' iv. 18. 3 'Quoniam cum zelo et malitia quae erat adversus fratrem divisionem habebat in corde, etc.', Origen *Sel. in Gen.* (II. p. 30) οὐ διείλεν ὀρθῶς· τῆς θείας νομοθεσίας κατεφρόνησεν κ.τ.λ.

10. ἡσύχασον] The word corresponds to the Hebrew יָבַשׁ 'lying,' which the LXX have treated as an imperative 'lie still'; comp. Job xi. 19. Much stress is laid on ἡσύχασον by Philo *de Sobr.* 10 (I. p. 400), and by early Christian expositors, e.g. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 25, Iren. II. cc.

12. διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον] This clause is wanting in the Hebrew and Targum of Onkelos, but found in the LXX, the Samaritan and Peshito versions, and the later Targums. Origen's comment is interesting; *Sel. in Genes.* (II. p. 39) ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάϊν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβελ οὐ γέγραπται καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀκύλαν ἔδειξαν ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ φασὶν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι κεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκδοχὴν. These or similar

words are plainly wanted for the sense, and can only have been omitted accidentally. The Masoretes reckon this one of the twenty-eight passages where there is a lacuna in the text: see Fabric. *Cod. Apocr.* V. T. I. p. 104 sq. Philo enlarges on the allegorical meaning of τὸ πεδίον.

15. διὰ (ζήλος] On the two declensions of ζήλος see Winer § ix. p. 78, A. Buttmann p. 20. Clement (or his transcriber) uses the masculine and the neuter forms indifferently.

16. ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν] So § 31 ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, § 60 καθὼς ἔδωκας τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, § 62 οἱ προδεηλωμένοι πατέρες ἡμῶν (where see the note). From these passages it has been inferred that the writer was a Jewish Christian. The inference however is not valid; since Clement, like S. Paul (Gal. iii. 7, 9, 29, Rom. iv. 11, 18, ix. 6—8) or Justin (*Dial.* 134), might refer to spiritual rather than actual parentage; comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6 Σάρρα... ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα. So too Theophilus of Antioch (quoted by Jacobson), though himself a Gentile, speaks of Abraham (*ad Autol.* iii. 28, comp. iii. 24) and David (iii. 25) as 'our forefather.' To these references add *ib.*



τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. ζῆλος ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν. ζῆλος φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν Μωϋσῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοφύλου  
 Τίς σε κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνε- 5  
 λείν με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;  
 διὰ ζῆλος Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μαριάμ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς  
 ἠυλίσθησαν. ζῆλος Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρὼν ζῶντας κατή-  
 γαγεν εἰς ἄδου, διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν

2 εἰσελθεῖν] A; ἐλθεῖν C, and so probably S. 5 κριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν] A;  
 ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν CS, with the LXX. See the lower note. 6 ἐχθρὸς] A;  
 χθρὸς C. 7 διὰ] CS; om. A. ζῆλος] A; ζῆλον C. 8 ἠυλίσθησαν]  
 ἠυλίσθησαν A. ζῆλος] S; διαζήλος A; διὰ ζῆλον C. 10 διὰ ζῆλος] A;  
 διὰ ζῆλον C. Δαυεῖδ] δαδ AC. I have followed the best MSS of the N.T. for

iii. 20 οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, οἱ καὶ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἔχομεν κ.τ.λ.

5. τίς σε κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Exod. ii. 14, which follows the Hebrew closely, inserting however *χθρὸς* (or *ἐχθρὸς*). Clement has *κριτὴν ἢ* for *ἄρχοντα καί*, perhaps from confusion with Luke xii. 14 *κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν* (the best reading, though A and some others have *δικαστὴν ἢ μεριστὴν*). The LXX is quoted more exactly in Acts vii. 27 and in *Apost. Const.* vi. 2. The life of Moses supplies Clement with a twofold illustration of his point; for he incurred the envy not only of the king (ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραώ), but also of his fellow-countrymen (ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.), as in the parallel case of David below.

7. Ἀαρὼν κ.τ.λ.] The Mosaic record mentions only the exclusion of Miriam from the camp, Num. xii. 14, 15. In this instance and in the next (Dathan and Abiram) the jealous persons are themselves the sufferers.

9. τὸν θεράποντα κ.τ.λ.] The expression is used of Moses several

times, e.g. Exod. iv. 10, xiv. 31, Num. xii. 7, 8, Josh. viii. 31, 33: comp. below §§ 43, 51, 53, Barnab. § 14, Just. Mart. *Dial.* 56 (p. 274 D), Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 9, 18, etc. Ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ was a recognised title of Moses, as ὁ φίλος τοῦ Θεοῦ was of Abraham.

10. Δαυεῖδ] Or perhaps Δαυίδ. There is, so far as I know, no authority for Δαβίδ, except in comparatively recent MSS. Yet Hilgenfeld reads Δαβίδ. Funk says 'C Δαβίδ ubique,' and a similar statement is made by Gebhardt, being misled by Bryennios. The word is contracted in C in all its three occurrences in Clement; §§ 18, 52, as well as here.

11. ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων] The Philistines, 1 Sam. xxi. 11, xxix. 4 sq.

12. ὑπὸ Σαουλ] 1 Sam. xviii. 9 'And Saul eyed (ὑποβλεπόμενος LXX, A) David from that day and forward.'

V. 'Again, take examples from our own generation. Look at the lives of the chief Apostles. See how Peter and Paul suffered from jealousy; how through many wanderings, through diverse and incessant



10 **θεράποντα τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. διὰ ζήλος Δανεῖδ φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Καοῦλ [βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ] ἐδιώχθη.**

V. Ἄλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων πανσώμεθα, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς.  
15 **λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. Διὰ ζήλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους.**

the orthography of the word.

11 ὑπὸ] A; ἀπὸ C.

12 ὑπὸ Σαοῦλ]

A; ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαοῦλ C.

βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ] AS; om. C.

13 ὑποδειγμά-

των] υποδειγμάτων A.

15 γενναῖα] γενναε A.

16 μέγιστοι] CS;

...στοι A. The word μέγιστοι was rejected by Tischendorf and several editors (myself included) as insufficient for the space, and some other word substituted to fill the lacuna of A, but the text of the other authorities removes all doubt.

persecutions, they bore testimony to Christ; how at last they sealed their testimony with their blood, and departed to their rest and to their glory.'

14. **ἐγγιστα]** 'very near,' as compared with the examples already quoted. The expression must be qualified and explained by the mention of ἡ γενεὰ ἡμῶν just below. It has been shown that the close of Domitian's reign is pointed out both by tradition and by internal evidence as the date of this epistle (I. p. 346 sq.). The language here coincides with this result. It could hardly be used to describe events which had happened within the last year or two, as must have been the case if the letter were written at the end of Nero's reign. And on the other hand ἡ γενεὰ ἡμῶν would be wholly out of place, if it dated from the time of Hadrian, some 50 years or more after the death of the two Apostles.

**ἀθλητάς]** See the note on Ign. *Polyc.* I.

17. **στύλοι]** See the note on *Galatians* ii. 9, where it is used of S. Peter and other Apostles. The accentuation **στύλοι** is there discussed, and it has the support of C here.

18. **ἀγαθούς]** So too *Clem. Hom.* i. 16 ὁ δ' ἀγαθὸς Πέτρος προσπηδήσας κ.τ.λ., quoted by Harnack. Editors and critics have indulged in much licence of conjecture, suggesting **ἀγίους, πρώτους, θείους**, etc., in place of **ἀγαθούς**. This has led to the statement made in Volkmar's edition of Credner's *Gesch. des N. T. Kanon* p. 51, that A reads **ἀ οὐς** (a supposed contraction for **πρώτους**). Nothing can be farther from the truth. The word **ἀγαθούς** is distinctly legible in full in A, and it is confirmed by the other authorities. Such an epithet may be most naturally explained on the supposition that Clement is speaking in affectionate remembrance of those whom he had known personally. Otherwise the epithet seems to be somewhat out of place.

Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἓνα οὐδὲ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπο-

1 Πέτρον, δς] C; ...ος A; *Petrus* S. Before the discovery of C, the lacuna of A was filled up [ὁ Πέτρ]ος or [Πέτρ]ος. The true reading could not have been foreseen.

2 ὑπήνεγκεν] ὑπήνεγκε C; and so doubtless S, which has <sup>ל</sup>טלית, *portavit* (see § 14). As regards A, Young read *ὑπέμεινεν*; but Mill and others

1. Πέτρον κ.τ.λ.] A passage in Peter of Alexandria (*de Poenit.* 9, see I. p. 164), where the two Apostles are mentioned in conjunction, was probably founded on Clement's account here, for it closely resembles his language. The same is also the case with a passage of Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* iv. 14, quoted in the note on *ὑπέδειξεν* below. This juxtaposition of S. Peter and S. Paul, where the Roman Church is concerned, occurs not unfrequently. The language of Ignatius, *Rom.* 4, seems to imply that they had both preached in Rome; and half a century later Dionysius of Corinth (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25) states explicitly that they went to Italy and suffered martyrdom there *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*. This is affirmed also a generation later by Tertullian, who mentions the different manners of their deaths (*Scorp.* 15, *de Praescr.* 36); and soon after Gaius, himself a Roman Christian, describes the sites of their graves in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25); see also Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* 2, Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3, p. 116. The existing *Acta Petri et Pauli* (*Act. Apost. Apocr.* p. 1, ed. Tischendorf) are occupied with the preaching and death of the two Apostles at Rome; and this appears to have been the subject also of a very early work bearing the same name, on which see Hilgenfeld *Nov. Test. extr. Can. Rec.* iv. p. 68. This subject is further discussed in the excursus *S. Peter in Rome* appended to the first volume.

But not only was this juxtaposition of the two Apostles appropriate as coming from the Roman Church; it would also appeal powerfully to the Corinthians. The latter community, no less than the former, traced its spiritual pedigree to the combined teaching of both Apostles; and accordingly Dionysius (l. c.), writing from Corinth to the Romans, dwells with emphasis on this bond of union between the two churches: comp. 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22.

2. μαρτυρήσας] 'having borne his testimony.' The word *μάρτυς* was very early applied especially, though not solely, to one who sealed his testimony with his blood. It is so applied in the Acts (xxii. 20) to S. Stephen, and in the Revelation (ii. 13) to Antipas. Our Lord Himself is styled the faithful and true *μάρτυς* (Rev. i. 5, iii. 14), and His *μαρτυρία* before Pontius Pilate is especially emphasized (1 Tim. vi. 13). Doubtless the Neronian persecution had done much to promote this sense, aided perhaps by its frequent occurrence in the Revelation. After the middle of the second century at all events *μάρτυς*, *μαρτυρεῖν*, were used absolutely to signify martyrdom; *Martyr. Polyc.* 19 sq, Melito in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26, Dionys. Corinth. *ib.* ii. 25, Hegesippus *ib.* ii. 23, iv. 22, Epist. Gall. *ib.* v. 1, 2, Anon. adv. Cataphr. *ib.* v. 16, Iren. *Haer.* i. 28. 1, iii. 3, 4, iii. 12. 10, iii. 18. 5, etc. Still even at this late date they continued to be used simultaneously of other testimony borne to the Gospel,



ρεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. διὰ ζῆλον

professed to see the  $\eta$ , and Wotton accordingly says 'proculdubio legendum est ὑπῆρκεν'. According to Jacobson 'hodie nihil nisi  $\gamma\pi$  restat'. On the other hand Tischendorf sees part of an  $\eta$ . I could discern traces of a letter, but these might belong equally well to an  $\epsilon$  or an  $\eta$ .

short of death: e.g. by Hegesippus, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 20, 32, by Apollonius *ib.* v. 18 (several times), and in a document quoted by Serapion *ib.* v. 19. A passage in the Epistle of the Churches of Gaul (A.D. 177) illustrates the usage, as yet not definitely fixed but tending to fixity, at this epoch: οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ θηρίων αὐθις ἀναληφθέντες...οὗτ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρας ἐάντους ἀνεκέρηττον οὔτε μὴν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεπον τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' εἰποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησσαν πικρῶς· ἡδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι...καὶ ἐπεμνήσκοντο τῶν ἐξεληλυθόντων ἡδὴ μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον· ἐκεῖνοι ἡδὴ μάρτυρες οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστοῦς ἡξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμόλογοι μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοί (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 2). The distinction between *μάρτυς* and *ὁμολογητής* (more rarely *ὁμόλογος*), which the humility of these sufferers suggested, became afterwards the settled usage of the Church; but that it was not so at the close of the second century appears from the Alexandrian Clement's comments on Heracleon's account of *ὁμολογία* in *Strom.* iv. 9, p. 596; comp. also Tertull. *Prax.* i 'de jactatione martyrii inflatus ob solum et simplex et breve carceris tedium.' Even half a century later the two titles are not kept apart in Cyprian's language. The Decian persecution however would seem to have been instrumental in fixing

this distinction; see Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 11 πρὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου διὰ κατηγμένων ὑπομονῆς τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας διαθήσας ἀγῶνα.

Thus the mere use of *μαρτυρεῖν* in this early age does not in itself necessarily imply the martyrdoms of the two Apostles; but on the other hand we need not hesitate (with Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans* vi. p. 282, note 2) to accept the passage of Clement as testimony to this fact. For (1) Clement evidently selects extreme cases of men who *ἔως θανάτου ἠθλησαν*; (2) The emphatic position of *μαρτυρήσας* points to the more definite meaning; (3) The expression is the same as that in which Hegesippus describes the final testimony, the *martyrdom*, of James (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23 καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν) and of Symeon (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32 καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ); (4) Dionysius of Corinth couples the two Apostles together, as they are coupled here, saying *ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν* (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25), where martyrdom is plainly meant and where probably he was writing with Clement's language in his mind. The early patristic allusions to the martyrdoms of the two Apostles have been already quoted in the last note. It should be added that S. Peter's martyrdom is clearly implied in John xxi. 18, and that S. Paul's is the almost inevitable consequence of his position as described by himself in 2 Tim. iv. 6 sq.

3. τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον] The expression is copied by Polycarp (*Phil.* 9), where speaking of S. Paul and the other Apostles he says, *εἰς τὸν*



καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέδειξεν, ἐπτάκις

1 καὶ ἔριν] CS; def. A. Here again the calculation of the space has proved fallacious. Editors, before the discovery of CS, filled in the lacuna of A with καὶ ὁ or καὶ simply. βραβεῖον] βραβιον A. ὑπέδειξεν] ἔδειξεν C; *tulit* (*portavit*) כִּי־סִי S. As regards the reading of A, there is some doubt. Young printed ἀπέσχευ, but Mill formerly and Jacobson recently read the MS γ...εν. Accordingly Wotton and most later editors have written ὑπέσχευ. With respect to the γ my own observation entirely agrees with Tischendorf's, who says 'post βραβιον membrana abscissa est neque litterae quae sequebatur vestigium superest'. Indeed (if I am right) there can hardly have been any such trace since the MS was bound,

ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ. So Acts i. 25 τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον (comp. Ign. *Magn.* 5), Barnab. 19 τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, and below § 44 τοῦ ἰδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. An elder in Irenæus (probably Papias) discourses at length on the *different* abodes prepared for the faithful according to their deserving, *Haer.* v. 36. 1 sq.

1. βραβεῖον] S. Paul's own word, 1 Cor. ix. 24, Phil. iii. 14. See also *Mart. Polyc.* 17 βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, Tatian *ad Graec.* 33 ἀκραςίας βραβεῖον ἀπηνέγκατο: and comp. *Orac. Sib.* ii. 45, 149. The word is adopted in a Latin dress, *bravium* or *brabium*, and occurs in Tertullian, in the translation of Irenæus, and in the Latin versions of the Scriptures.

ὑπέδειξεν] 'pointed out the way to, taught by his example'; comp. § 6 ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. The idea of ὑπέδειξεν is carried out by ὑπογραμμός below; for the two words occur naturally together, as in Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 9 ὑποδεικνύς τὰ Δημοσθένους ἴχνη... παραδείγματα παρατιθεῖς τῶν λόγων οὐ ῥάδια μιμῆσθαι... καὶ τὸν χρόνον πάμπολον ὑπογράφει τῆς ὁδοιπορίας: so ὑποδεικνύειν ἐλπίδας and ὑπογράφειν ἐλπίδας are convertible phrases, Polyb. ii. 70. 7, v. 36. 1.

This conjecture ὑπέδειξεν, which I offered in place of the ὑπέσχευ of previous editors, occurred independently to Laurent, who had not seen

my edition, and it was accepted by Gebhardt (ed. 1); though in his later edition Gebhardt has adopted the simple verb ἔδειξεν from C. If Mill and Jacobson are right, this cannot have been the reading of A, as the initial Υ was once visible. My reasons for doubting whether this was possible, at least in the later condition of the MS, are given in the upper note. On the other hand ὑπέδειξεν is supported by a passage in the recently discovered work of Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* iv. 14 (p. 181, Blondel), where speaking of S. Peter and S. Paul he says, ἔγνωσαν ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ποίοις ἀγῶσιν ὁ τῆς πίστεως συγκεκρικρότηται στέφανος. In the context, which describes the labours and martyrdoms of these same two Apostles, the language of Macarius appears to give many echoes of this passage in Clement: ὑπέμειναν εὐσεβῶς διδάσκοντες, τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑπέρμαχοι, πολλὰ... τῷ κόσμῳ μηνύσαντες, τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἀπήντησεν, μέχρι θανάτου... προκινδυνεύσῃ, τῆς εὐκλείας τὸν ἔπαινον, οἱ γεννάδα, ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, βραβεῖον... κτῶμενοι, τύποι ἀνδρείας... γενόμενοι, πολλὰ τῶν καλῶν αγωνισμάτων, τῆς διδαχῆς καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος, μαρτυρίῳ δόξαν, πικραῖς... βασάνοις, ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, γενναίως φέρειν. It seems highly probable therefore that the use of ὑποδεικνύειν in this somewhat strange connexion was derived by him from the same source. Comp. also *Ep. Gall.* § 23 in Euseb. *H. E.*

δεσµὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθείς, λιθασθείς, κῆρυξ γενό-

so that Jacobson was certainly mistaken and Mill perhaps so; but I have so far regarded this statement, as to offer a conjecture which respects the γ. On the other hand the ζ at the beginning of the next line is clearly legible even in the photograph, though it has not been discerned by previous editors. Tisch. says 'ζ quum paullo minus appareat, possit erasum credi'. The letter is certainly faint, but though I have inspected the MS more than once, I can see no traces of erasure. For other reasons which have led me to prefer ὑπέδειξεν to ἐδείξεν see the lower note.

v. I εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποτίπῳσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὅτι μηδὲν φοβερὸν ὅπου πατρός ἀγάπη, μηδὲ ἀλγεινὸν ὅπου Χριστοῦ δόξα. S. Paul himself says (Acts xx. 35) ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν ὅτι κ.τ.λ. C is found in other cases to substitute the simple verb, where A has the compound (see I. p. 127), and would naturally do so here, where the meaning of the compound was not obvious. The rendering of S, which also translates βραβεῖον by *certamen*, corresponds fairly with ὑπέσχεν suggested by some editors; but this was certainly not the reading of A.

ἐπτάκις] In 2 Cor. xi. 23 S. Paul speaks of himself as ἐν φυλακαῖς περικοστούμενος; but the imprisonment at Philippi is the only one recorded in the Acts before the date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Clement therefore must have derived his more precise information from some other source. Zeller (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1848, p. 530) suggests that the writer of this letter added the captivities at Cæsarea and at Rome to the five punishments which S. Paul mentions in 2 Cor. xi. 24. But the πεντάκις there has no reference to imprisonments, which are mentioned separately in the words already quoted. I should not have thought it necessary to call attention to this very obvious inadvertence, if the statement had not been copied with approval or without disapproval by several other writers.

2. φυγαδευθείς] We read of S. Paul's

flight from Damascus (Acts ix. 25, 2 Cor. xi. 33), from Jerusalem (Acts ix. 30), from Antioch of Pisidia (xiii. 50), from Iconium (xiv. 6), from Thessalonica (xvii. 10), from Beroëa (xvii. 14), and perhaps from Corinth (xx. 3). Some of these incidents would be described by φυγαδευθείς, but it is perhaps too strong a word to apply to all. On φυγαδεύειν, which though found even in Attic writers was regarded by purists as questionable, see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 385. The reading ῥαβδευθείς (comp. 2 Cor. xi. 25) which was proposed to fill the lacuna in A is objectionable, because the form ῥαβδίσειν alone is used in the LXX and O. T. (and perhaps elsewhere, in this sense).

λιθασθείς] At Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). An attempt was made also to stone him at Iconium, but he escaped in time (xiv. 5). Hence he says (2 Cor. xi. 25) ἀπαξ ἐλιθάσθην. See Paley *Hor. Paul.* iv. § 9.

κῆρυξ] S. Paul so styles himself 2 Tim. i. 11. Epictetus too calls his ideal philosopher κῆρυξ τῶν θεῶν, *Diss.* iii. 21. 13, iii. 22. 69. The Stoics, like the Christians, were essentially κήρυκες in their mode of action. The picture of Diogenes at Corinth, given in Dion Chrysost. *Orat.* viii. ix, might stand *mutatis mutandis* for S. Paul. The word is accentuated κῆρυξ (not κήρυξ) in C in accordance with the rule of the grammarians; see Chandler's *Greek Accentuation* p. 181, no. 669.



μενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών

1 τε] AC; om. S. 2 πίστεως] πισταίως A. δικαιοσύνην] A; δικαιοσύνης CS, connected by punctuation in both these authorities with ἔλαβε. Bryennios had overlooked the reading of C in his edition, but corrects the omission

1. τὸ γενναῖον κ.τ.λ.] 'the noble renown which he had won by his faith'; i.e. his faith in his divine mission to preach to the Gentiles: see Credner's *Gesch. des N. T. Kanon* (1860) p. 52.

3. ὅλον τὸν κόσμον κ.τ.λ.] In the spurious letter of Clement to James prefixed to the *Homilies* it is said of S. Peter ὁ τῆς δύσεως τὸ σκοτεινότερον τοῦ κόσμου μέρος ὡς πάντων ἱκανώτερος φωτίσαι κελευσθεὶς ... τὸν ἐσόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μηνύσας βασιλεία, μέχρις ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ῥώμης γενόμενος...αὐτὸς τοῦ νῦν βίου βιαίως τὸ ζῆν μετέλλαξεν (§ 1, p. 6 Lagarde). This passage is, I think, plainly founded on the true Clement's account of S. Paul here; and thus it accords with the whole plan of this Judaic writer in *transferring* the achievements of S. Paul to S. Peter whom he makes the Apostle of the Gentiles: see *Galatians* p. 315.

τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως] 'the extreme west.' In the Epistle to the Romans (xv. 24) S. Paul had stated his intention of visiting Spain. From the language of Clement here it appears that this intention was fulfilled. Two generations later (c. A.D. 180) an anonymous writer mentions his having gone thither; 'Sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis,' *Fragm. Murat.* (pp. 19, 40, ed. Tregelles, Oxon. 1867; or Westcott *Hist. of Canon* p. 517, ed. 4). For the expression τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως pointing to the western extremity of Spain, the pillars of Hercules, comp. Strab. ii. 1 (p. 67) *πέρατα*

δὲ αὐτῆς (τῆς οἰκουμένης) τίθησι πρὸς δύσει μὲν τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας, ii. 4 (p. 106) μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἅπερ δυσμικώτερα ἐστί, iii. 1 (p. 137) τοῦτό (τὸ ἱερὸν ἄκρωτήριον) ἐστί τὸ δυτικώτατον οὐ τῆς Εὐρώπης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης σημεῖον· περατοῦται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυεῖν ἡπείρων ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς δύσιν, τοῖς τε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκροις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Λιβύης, iii. 5 (p. 169) ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐγένοντο τὸν κατὰ τὴν Κάλπην, νομίσαντας τέρμονας εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης...τὰ ἄκρα, *ib.* (p. 170) ζητεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρίως λεγομένων στηλῶν τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄρους (these references are corrected from Credner's *Kanon* p. 53), and see Strabo's whole account of the western boundaries of the world and of this coast of Spain. Similarly Vell. Pat. i. 2 'In ultimo Hispaniae tractu, in extremo nostri orbis termino.' It is not improbable also that this western journey of S. Paul included a visit to Gaul (2 Tim. iv. 10; see *Galatians* p. 31). But for the patriotic belief of some English writers (see Ussher *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. 1, Stillingfleet *Orig. Brit.* c. 1), who have included Britain in the Apostle's travels, there is neither evidence nor probability; comp. Haddan and Stubbs *Counc. and Eccles. Doc.* i. p. 22 sq. This journey westward supposes that S. Paul was liberated after the Roman captivity related in the Acts, as indeed (independently of the phenomena in the Pastoral Epistles) his own expectations expressed elsewhere (Phil. ii. 24,



καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη  
5 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς  
γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

*Didache* p. ργ'.

3 ἐπὶ] The word is distinctly legible in AC, and therefore the conjecture ὑπὸ (see below) is inadmissible.

5 τοῦ κόσμου] AC; *ab hoc mundo* S (see the note on ii. § 19).

ἐπορεύθη] AC; *susceptus est* (ἐπήρθη?) S.

Philem. 22) would suggest. Those who maintain that this first Roman captivity ended in his martyrdom are obliged to explain τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως of Rome itself. But it is incredible that a writer living in the metropolis and centre of power and civilization could speak of it as 'the extreme west,' and this at a time when many eminent Latin authors and statesmen were or had been natives of Spain, and when the commercial and passenger traffic with Gades was intimate and constant. (For this last point see Friedländer *Sittengesch. Roms* II. p. 43, with his references.) On the other hand Philostratus says that, when Nero banished philosophers from Rome, Apollonius of Tyana *τρέπεται ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς γῆς* (iv. 47), and the region which he visited is described immediately afterwards (v. 4) *τὰ Γάδειρα κείται κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα* (quoted by Pearson *Minor Theol. Works* I. p. 362). This is the natural mode of speaking. It is instructive to note down various interpretations of ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως which have been proposed: (1) 'to his extreme limit towards the west' (Baur, Schenkel); (2) 'to the sunset of his labours' (Reuss); (3) 'to the boundary between the east and west' (Sohrader, Hilgenfeld); (4) 'to the goal or centre of the west' (Matthies); (5) 'before (ὑπὸ for ἐπὶ) the supreme power of the west' (Wieseler, Schaff). Such attempts are a strong testimony to the plain inference which follows from

the passage simply interpreted.

4 ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων] 'before rulers'; comp. § 37 τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν...τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, § 51 οἱ ἡγούμενοι Αἰγύπτου, § 55 πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγούμενοι, § 61 τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The names of Nero and Helius (Dion Cass. lxiii. 12), of Tigellinus and Sabinus (the prætorian prefects A.D. 67), etc., have been suggested. In the absence of information it is waste of time to speculate. Clement's language does not imply that the Apostle's μαρτυρία ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων took place in the extreme west (as Hilgenfeld argues), for there is nothing to show that ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα κ.τ.λ. and μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων are intended to be synchronous. Indeed the clause καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν seems to be explanatory of the preceding δικαιοσύνην διδάσας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, and the passage should be punctuated accordingly.

6. ὑπογραμμός] 'a copy, an example,' as for instance a pencil drawing to be traced over in ink or an outline to be filled in and coloured. The word occurs again §§ 16, 33; comp. 2 Macc. ii. 28, 29, 1 Pet. ii. 21, Polyc. *Phil.* 8, *Clem. Hom.* iv. 16. The classical word is ὑπογραφή. For an explanation of the metaphor see Aristot. *Gen. An.* ii. 6 (I. p. 743) καὶ γὰρ οἱ γραφεῖς ὑπογράφαντες ταῖς γραμμαῖς οὕτως ἐναλείφουσι τοῖς χρώμασι τὸ ζῶον. The sister art of sculpture supplies a similar metaphor in ὑποτύπωσις, the first rough model, 1 Tim. i. 16, 2 Tim. i. 13.

VI. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις  
συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς  
αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις, διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα

3 [ζῆλος] A; ζῆλον C, and so again in the next line. 4 διωχθεῖσαι] διω-  
χθισαι A. 5 Δαναῖδες καὶ Δίρκαι] A; δαναῖδες καὶ δῆρ καὶ C; *danaides et*  
*dircae* S. I am not prepared to say now that the word is written ΔΑΗΑΙΔΕC as I

VI. 'But besides these signal instances, many less distinguished saints have fallen victims to jealousy and set us a like example of forbearance. Even feeble women have borne extreme tortures without flinching. Jealousy has separated husbands and wives: it has overthrown cities, and uprooted nations.'

2. πολὺ πλῆθος] The reference must be chiefly, though not solely, to the sufferers in the Neronian persecution, since they are represented as contemporaries of the two Apostles. Thus ἐν ἡμῖν will mean 'among us Roman Christians,' and the αἰκίαι καὶ βάσανοι are the tortures described by Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 44. The Roman historian's expression 'multitudo ingens' is the exact counterpart to Clement's πολὺ πλῆθος.

πολλαῖς αἰκίαις κ.τ.λ.] 'by or amid many sufferings.' Previous editors have substituted the accusative, πολλὰς αἰκίας; but, as the dative is frequently used to denote the means, and even the accessories, the circumstances (see Madvig *Gr. Synt.* § 39 sq.), I have not felt justified in altering the reading. In this case διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες will be used absolutely, and πολλαῖς αἰκίαις κ.τ.λ. will explain ὑπόδειγμα ἐγένοντο.

5. Δαναῖδες καὶ Δίρκαι] This reading is supported by all our authorities, with minor corruptions, and I have therefore replaced it in the text, though not without misgiving. If it be not correct, the error must have existed in the archetypal MS from

which our three extant authorities were derived. But such testimony, though very strong, is not decisive, since we find this common ancestor at fault in other places; see above, I. p. 145. If correct, it must refer to those refinements of cruelty, patronized by Nero and Domitian but not confined to them, which combined theatrical representations with judicial punishments, so that the offender suffered in the character of some hero of ancient legend or history. For the insane passion of Nero, more especially, for these and similar scenic exhibitions, see Sueton. *Nero* 11, 12; and for illustrations comp. Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* II. p. 234 sq. Thus one offender would represent Hercules burnt in the flames on Ceta (Tertull. *Apol.* 15 'qui vivus ardebat Herculeum induerat'); another, Ixion tortured on the wheel (*de Pudic.* 22 'puta in axe jam incendio adstructo'). We read also of criminals who, having been exhibited in the character of Orpheus (Martial. *Spect.* 21) or of Dædalus (*ib.* 8) or of Atys (Tertull. *Apol.* 15), were finally torn to pieces by wild beasts. The story of Dirce, tied by the hair and dragged along by the bull, would be very appropriate for this treatment; but all attempts to make anything of the legend of the Danaids entirely fail. Arnold (*Neronische Christenverfolgung* p. 38, 1888) cuts the knot by suggesting that additions were made to the original legend of the Danaids for the purposes of the amphitheatre;



κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι  
5 γυναῖκες, †Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι†, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ

formerly read it (H and N being frequently indistinguishable where the MS is creased and blurred), and I was certainly in error as regards the division of the lines in my first edition.

just as in these scenic exhibitions Orpheus was torn to pieces by a bear (Martial *Spect.* 21). But after all the difficulty still remains, that the mode of expression in Clement is altogether awkward and unnatural on this hypothesis. Harnack, who however expresses himself doubtfully on the reading, quotes Heb. x. 32 πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπερμείνате παθημάτων, τοῦτο μὲν ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσιν θεατριζόμενοι, but here θεατριζόμενοι is best explained by 1 Cor. iv. 9 θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ κ.τ.λ., where no literal scenic representation is intended. Laurent explains the words by saying that the punishment of the Danaids and of Dirce 'in proverbium abiisse videtur.' But he can only quote for the former ἐς τὸν τῶν Δαναίδων πίθον ὑδροφορεῖν Lucian *Tim.* 18, which is hardly to the point, as it merely denotes labour spent in vain. Clement of Alexandria indeed (*Strom.* iv. 19, p. 618) mentions the daughters of Danaus with several other examples of womanly bravery among the heathens, and in the earlier part of the same chapter he has quoted the passage of his Roman namesake (§ 55) relating to Esther and Judith; but this does not meet the difficulty. It has been suggested again, that these may have been actual names of Christian women martyred at Rome: but the names are perhaps improbable in themselves, and the plurals cannot well be explained.

Having regard to the difficulties of this expression I am disposed still to favour the acute emendation of Wordsworth (on Theocritus xxvi.

1) which I placed in the text in my first edition, γυναῖκες, νεάνιδες, παιδίσκαι, as highly probable and giving an excellent sense; 'Women, tender maidens, even slave-girls': comp. August. *Serm.* cxliii (v. p. 692 sq) 'Non solum viri sed etiam mulieres et pueri et puellae martyres vicerunt,' Leo *Serm.* lxxiv (I. p. 294) 'Non solum viri sed etiam foeminae nec tantum impubes pueri sed etiam tenerae virgines usque ad effusionem sui sanguinis decertarunt'; quoted by Wordsworth (l.c.). To these illustrations add Minuc. Fel. 37 'viros cum Mucio vel cum Aquilio aut Regulo comparo? pueri et mulierculae nostrae cruces et tormenta, feras et omnes suppliciorum terriculas, inspirata patientia doloris inludunt.' For the meaning of παιδίσκη in Hellenistic Greek see the notes *Galatians* iv. 22.

Tischendorf calls it 'liberrima conjectura.' So it is, but there is a freedom which justifies itself; and the corruption is just such as might have occurred at an early date, when the epistle was written on papyrus. I have been informed by Mr Basil H. Cooper, through a common friend, that he proposed this very same emendation in the *Monthly Christian Spectator*, January, 1853, p. 16. He assured me that it had occurred to him independently; and that, till quite recently, he believed the credit which had been assigned to another to be due to himself, and wrote to this effect to the *Western Times* as lately as 1871, not knowing that Wordsworth's emendation was published



ἀνόσια παθοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι. ζῆλος ἀπηλλοτρίωσεν γαμετὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλλοίωσεν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀδάμ, Τοῦτο νῆν ὁστοῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁστέων μοῦ καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μοῦ. 5 ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις πόλεις μεγάλας κατέστρεψεν καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξερίζωσεν.

5 ὁστέων] οσταιων A; ὁστών C.  
κατέσκαψε C.

6 ἔρις] ερεισ A.  
7 ἐξερίζωσεν] A; ἐξερρίζωσε C.

κατέστρεψεν] AS;  
9 ὑπομνήσκοντες] A;

in 1844. The fact of its having occurred independently to two minds is a strong testimony in its favour. Bunsen (*Hippolytus* I. p. xviii, ed. 2, 1854) enthusiastically welcomes this emendation as relieving him 'from two monsters which disfigured a beautiful passage in the epistle of the Roman Clement.' Lipsius also in a review of my edition (*Academy*, July 9, 1870) speaks favourably of it; and Donaldson (*Apostolical Fathers* p. 122, ed. 2) calls it admirable, though elsewhere (*Theol. Rev.* January 1877, p. 45) he himself offers another conjecture, *γενναῖαί τε καὶ δοῦλαι*. Lagarde (*Armen. Stud.* p. 73) conjectures *ἀναλκίδες καὶ κορικαί*; Haupt (*Hermes* III. p. 146, 1869) suggests *ἀμνίδες δίκαιαι*, comparing Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 12 (p. 92) αἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ θυγατέρες, αἱ ἀμνάδες αἱ καλάι.

2. κατήντησαν κ.τ.λ.] The verb *καταντᾶν* signifies to arrive at a *destination*, and the corresponding substantive *κατάντημα* is 'a destination, a goal,' Ps. xix. 6: comp. Schol. on Arist. *Ran.* 1026 (993) *ἐλαῖαι στιχηδὸν ἵστανται, οὐσαι κατάντημα τοῦ δρόμου*. Thus *ὁ βέβαιος δρόμος* 'the sure course,' i.e. the point in the stadium where the victory is secured, is almost equivalent to 'the goal.' For *καταντᾶν ἐπὶ* comp. 2 Sam. iii. 29, Polyb. x. 37. 3, xiv. 1. 9.

4. τοῦτο νῦν κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Gen. ii. 23, which corresponds with the Hebrew.

6. ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις] The two words occur together, Rom. xiii. 13, 2 Cor. xii. 20, Gal. v. 20: see above, § 3.

πόλεις μεγάλας κ.τ.λ.] See Ecclus. xxviii. 14 *πόλεις ὀχυράς καθεῖλε καὶ οἰκίας μεγιστάνων κατέστρεψε*. Jacobson refers to Jortin, who supposes that Clement had in his mind Horace *Carm.* i. 16. 17 sq, 'Irae Thyesten exitio gravi stravere, et altis urbibus ultimae steterē causae cur perirent funditus.'

7. ἐξερίζωσεν] For the form see Tischendorf *Nov. Test.* i. p. lvi (ed. 7), A. Buttmann *Gramm.* p. 28 sq. Most editors needlessly alter the reading to *ἐξερρίζωσεν*. Compare *μεγαλορήμονα* § 15, *φυλλοροεῖ* § 23 and ii. § 31. For C see above, i. p. 127.

VII. 'While instructing you, we would remind ourselves also. We are all entered in the same lists; we must all run on the straight path; obeying the will of God and respecting the blood of Christ. Examples of penitence in all ages are before our eyes. Noah preached repentance to his generation: Jonah to the men of Nineveh. All whosoever listened to them were saved.'

9. ὑπομνήσκοντες] Comp. *Orph. Hymn.* lxxvii. 6 (p. 345, Herm.) *φιλά-*

VII. Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦν-  
 10 ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσκοντες†·  
 ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσμὲν σκάμματι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν  
 ἀγὼν ἐπικείται. Διὸ ἀπολείπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ μα-  
 ταίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν  
 τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα. καὶ ἴδωμεν τί καλὸν καὶ

ὑπομνήσκοντες C.

10 ἐν γὰρ] AS; καὶ γὰρ ἐν C.

ἡμῖν ἀγών] A; ἀγών

ἡμῖν C; dub. S.

11 ἀπολείπωμεν] A; ἀπολίπωμεν C.

12 εὐκλεῆ] ευκλαιη A.

γρηνος ὑπομνήσκουσά τε πάντα (a refer-  
 ence given by Hefele). So also μνή-  
 σκομαι in Anacr. ap. Athen. xi. p.  
 463 A μνίσκεται εὐφροσύνης (which  
 editors perhaps unnecessarily alter  
 into μῆσεται or μνήσεται). But as the  
 scribe of A blunders elsewhere in add-  
 ing and omitting letters under similar  
 circumstances (see above, I. p. 120),  
 we cannot feel sure about the read-  
 ing. The word occurs again § 62,  
 where C reads ὑπομνήσκοντες, as it  
 does here (see I. p. 126 sq). There is  
 the same divergence of form in the  
 MSS of the spurious Ignatius, *Tars.* 9.

10. σκάμματι] 'lists.' The σκάμμα  
 is the ground marked out by digging  
 a trench or (as Krause supposes) by  
 lowering the level for the arena of a  
 contest: see Boeckh *Corp. Inscr.* no  
 2758, with the references in Krause  
*Hellen.* I. p. 105 sq, and for its meta-  
 phorical use Polyb. xl. 5. 5 οὐδὲ ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ σκάμματος ὧν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,  
 Epict. *Diss.* iv. 8. 26 εἰς τοσοῦτο  
 σκάμμα προεκαλείτο πάντα ὄντιναοῦν.  
 A large number of examples of this  
 metaphor in Christian writers is given  
 by Suicer s.v. This word and many  
 others referring to the games, as  
 agonotheta, epistates, brabium, etc.,  
 are adopted by the Latins (see esp.  
 the long metaphor in Tertull. *ad*  
*Mart.* § 3), just as conversely military  
 terms are naturalised from Latin into  
 Greek; see Ign. *Polyc.* 6 with the

notes. In the phrase ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμ-  
 μένα πηδᾶν, ἄλλεσθαι (e.g. Plat. *Crat.*  
 p. 413 A, Lucian *Gall.* 6, Clem. Alex.  
*Strom.* v. 13, p. 696; see below on  
 κανών), 'to do more than is required  
 or expected,' τὰ ἐσκαμμένα is the trench  
 cut at the end of the leap beyond the  
 point which it is supposed the great-  
 est athlete will reach (Pind. *Nem.* v.  
 36 μακρὰ δὴ αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπ-  
 τοι τις' ἔχων γονάτων ἐλαφρόν ὄρμάν).  
 Krause indeed (*Hellen.* I. p. 393)  
 interprets τὰ ἐσκαμμένα of the line  
 marking the leap of the preceding  
 combatant, but this explanation does  
 not account for the metaphorical use.

ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγών] See Phil. i. 30  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες οἷον εἶδετε ἐν  
 ἐμοί.

11. ἐπικείται] 'awaits'; as Ign.  
*Rom.* 6 ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται: comp.  
 Heb. xii. 1 τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀ-  
 γῶνα, Clem. *Rom.* ii. § 7 ἐν χερσὶν ὁ  
 ἀγών.

κενὰς καὶ μάταιας] 'empty and fu-  
 tile,' the former epithet pointing to  
 the quality, the latter to the aim or ef-  
 fect of the action. The combination is  
 not uncommon; e.g. LXX Is. xxx. 7,  
 Hos. xii. 1, Job xx. 18; comp. The-  
 oph. *ad Aut.* iii. 3, Plut. *Vit. Artax.*  
 15, *Mor.* p. 1117 A.

13. τῆς παραδόσεως] The lacuna was  
 variously filled so long as A was our  
 only authority, the best suggestions  
 being τελειώσεως and ἀθλήσεως. The

τί τερπνὸν καὶ τί πρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γινώμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν

3 τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ] S; τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ C; τῷ θεῷ[καιπατρ]μαντου A, presumably. An upright stroke (probably ι) and a portion of a preceding letter (which might be ρ) are visible. See the lower note. δτι] S translates as

if δ τι *id quod*.

4 μετανοίας χάριν] AC; μετανοίαν S. Bensly points out that the omission in S may be easily explained by the homeöoteleuton in the Syriac, דתביתא, טביתא. 5 ὑπήνεγκεν] A; sustulit ס״ב S; ἐπήνεγκε C. διελ-

true reading could hardly have been anticipated; but it adds to the closeness of the parallel in Polycarp *Phil.* 7 διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, a passage already quoted by the editors. By τὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα Clement apparently means 'the rule (i.e. measure of the leap or race) which we have received by tradition', referring to the examples of former athletes quoted in the context; comp. § 19 ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπὸν (to which passage again Polycarp is indebted), § 51 τῆς παραδεδομένης ἡμῖν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὁμοφωνίας. Clement's phrase is borrowed by his younger namesake, *Strom.* i. 1 (p. 324) προβήσεται ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως κανόνα.

κανόνα] This is probably a continuation of the metaphor in σκάμμα: comp. Pollux iii. 151 τὸ δὲ μέτρον τοῦ πηδήματος κανὼν, ὃ δὲ ὅρος τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ὅρον ὑπερβάντων οἱ παροικιαζόμενοι λέγουσι πηδᾶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα. See § 41 (with the note). Thus κανὼν will be the measure of the leap or the race assigned to the athlete.

τί καλὸν κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxxxii. 1 ἰδοὺ δὴ τί καλὸν ἢ τί τερπνὸν κ.τ.λ.

1. πρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιον] So ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον, 1 Tim. ii. 3 τοῦτο καλὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, of which Clement's language here seems to be a reminiscence: comp. 1 Tim. v. 4, where καλὸν καὶ is interpolated in the common texts from the earlier passage. The simple πρόσδεκτος appears in the LXX, Prov. xi. 20, xvi. 15, Wisd. ix. 12 (comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 14), but the compound εὐπρόσδεκτος is commoner in the N. T., and occurs three times in Clement (§§ 35, 40 twice).

3. τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ] Compare 1 Pet. i. 19 τιμὴ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνού ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ.

πατρὶ] The lacuna after τῷ Θεῷ in A must, I think, be supplied by καὶ πατρὶ rather than πατρὶ alone for two reasons; (1) If πατρὶ were contracted πρι, as is most usual in the MS, the letters would not be sufficient to fill the space; (2) We find ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ frequently in the Apostolic writings followed by τοῦ Κυρίου, etc. (e.g. Rom. xv. 6, 2 Cor. i. 3, etc., 1 Pet. i. 3, Rev. i. 6), whereas ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ is never so found. In fact with any genitive following, the alternative seems to be ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ or Θεὸς πατήρ. On the other hand ὁ Θεὸς πατήρ occurs once only in the N. T. (Col. iii. 17, with a v.l.), and there it is used absolutely. On the whole



5 ὑπήνεγκεν. διέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς πάσας καὶ κατα-  
μάθωμεν ὅτι ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ μετανοίας τόπον ἔδωκεν  
ὁ δεσπότης τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν.  
Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθη-

θωμεν εἰς].....ωμενεις A ; διελθωμεν (om. εἰς) C ; transeamus super S (which probably represents διελθωμεν εἰς). In Rom. v. 12 εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διηλθεν both Pesh. and Harcl. have "ב עבר not לע עבר as S has here. In § 4 διελθεῖν εἰς is rendered by "ל עבר. The verb διελθεῖν is frequent in the LXX. καὶ] AC ; om. S. 7 ὁ δεσπότης] AC ; om. S.

however the correct reading is probably preserved in the Syriac, the different positions of τῷ Θεῷ in the two Greek MSS showing that it was a later addition.

5. ὑπήνεγκεν] 'offered.' So it is generally taken, but this sense is unsupported; for Xen. *Hell.* iv. 7. 2, Soph. *El.* 834, are not parallels. Perhaps 'won (rescued) for the whole world.'

διέλθωμεν κ.τ.λ.] This passage is copied in *Apost. Const.* ii. 55 ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς, Θεὸς ὢν ἐλέους, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκάστην γενεὰν ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν καλεῖ διὰ τῶν δικαίων...τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ κατακλύσμῳ διὰ τοῦ Νῶε, τοὺς ἐν Σοδόμοις διὰ τοῦ φιλοξένου Λώτ (see below § 11) κ.τ.λ.

6. γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ] 'each successive generation.' A Hebraism preserved in the LXX, *Esth.* ix. 27, *Ps.* xlviii. 11, *lxxxix.* 1, *xc.* 1, etc.: comp. Luke i. 50 γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς (vv. 11.).

τόπον] The same expression διδόναι τόπον μετανοίας occurs also in *Wisd.* xii. 10; comp. *Heb.* xii. 17 μετανοίας τόπον οὐχ εὔρεν, *Tatian. ad Graec.* 15 οὐκ ἔχει μετανοίας τόπον, *Apost. Const.* ii. 38 τόπον μετανοίας ᾤρισεν, v. 19 λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τόπον μετανοίας. The corresponding Latin 'poenitentiae locus' occurs in the celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan *Plin. et Traj. Epist.* 96. The emendation τύπον is not needed.

7. δεσπότης] Very rarely applied to the Father in the New Testament

(Luke ii. 29, Acts iv. 24, Rev. vi. 10, and one or two doubtful passages), but occurring in this one epistle some twenty times or more. The idea of *subjection* to God is thus very prominent in Clement, while the idea of *sonship*, on which the Apostolic writers dwell so emphatically, is kept in the background; see Lipsius p. 69. This fact is perhaps due in part to the subject of the epistle, which required Clement to emphasize the duty of *submission*; but it must be ascribed in some degree to the spirit of the writer himself.

8. Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν κ.τ.λ.] The Mosaic narrative says nothing about Noah as a preacher of repentance. The nearest approach to this conception in the Canonical Scriptures is 2 Pet. ii. 5, where he is called δικαιοσύνης κήρυξ. The preaching of Noah however is one of the more prominent ideas in the Sibylline Oracles; see especially i. 128 sq. Νῶε δέμας θάρσυνον ἐὼν λαοῖσί τε πᾶσι κήρυξον μετάνοιαν κ.τ.λ. This passage, though forming part of a comparatively late poem, was doubtless founded on the earliest (pre-Christian) Sibylline (iii. 97—828 of the existing collection) which is mutilated at the beginning and takes up the narrative of the world's history at a later point than the deluge. Indeed this earliest Sibyl (if the closing passage of the book

σαν. Ἰωνᾶς Νινευίταις καταστροφὴν ἐκήρυξεν, οἱ δὲ μετανοήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐξιλάσαντο τὸν Θεὸν ἰκετεύσαντες καὶ ἔλαβον σωτηρίαν, καίπερ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντες.

VIII. Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ 5 πνεύματος ἁγίου περὶ μετανοίας ἐλάλησαν, καὶ αὐτὸς

1 οἱ δὲ] C; οἶδε A; οἶδε S. 3 ἰκετεύσαντες] A; ἰκετεύοντες C, and so apparently S. 5 λειτουργοί] λειτουργοὶ A. 8 μετὰ ὅρκου] AC; Bryennios reads μεθ' ὅρκου

still belongs to the same poem) connects herself with the deluge by claiming to be a daughter-in-law of Noah (iii. 826). From these Oracles it seems not improbable that Clement, perhaps unconsciously, derived this conception of Noah. To this same source may probably be traced the curious identification in Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 19 Νῶε καταγγέλλων τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις μέλλειν κατακλυσμὸν ἔσσεσθαι προεφήτευσεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· Δεῦτε καλεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς μετάνοιαν· διὸ οἰκείως Δευκαλίων ἐκλήθη; for Theophilus has elsewhere preserved a long fragment from the lost opening of the earliest Sibylline (*ad Autol.* ii. 36), and this very passage incorporates several fragments of hexameters, e.g. Δεῦτε καλεῖ...Θεὸς εἰς μετάνοιαν. As Josephus also quotes the Sibyllines, he too in his account of Noah (*Anl.* i. 3. 1 ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον αὐτοὺς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρειν, quoted by Hilgenfeld here) may have been influenced by them. See on this subject I. p. 178 sq. For the Mohammedan legends of Noah, as a preacher of repentance, see Fabricius *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.* i. p. 262. To the passages there collected from apocryphal and other sources respecting Noah's preaching add this from the *Apocalypse of Paul* § 50 (quoted also by Hilgenfeld) ἐγὼ εἰμι Νῶε...καὶ οὐκ ἐπανασάμην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κηρύσσειν·

Μετανοεῖτε, ἰδοὺ γὰρ κατακλυσμὸς ἔρχεται (p. 68, ed. Tisch.). A passage cited by Georg. Syncell. (*Chron.* p. 47 ed. Dind.) from Enoch, but not found in the extant book, seems to have formed part of Noah's preaching of repentance; see Dillmann's *Henoch* pp. xxxviii, lxi. See also below § 9, with the note on παλιγγενεσία.

1. καταστροφὴν] 'overthrow, ruin'; comp. Jonah iii. 4 καὶ Νινευὴ καταστραφήσεται.

4. ἀλλότριοι κ.τ.λ.] 'aliens from God,' i.e. 'Gentiles': comp. Ephes. ii. 12 ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ...καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Both ἀλλότριοι and ἀλλόφυλοι are thus used, as opposed to the covenant-people.

VIII. 'God's ministers through the Spirit preached repentance. The Almighty Himself invites all men to repent. Again and again in the Scriptures He bids us wash away our sins and be clean; He proclaims repentance and promises forgiveness.'

5. Οἱ λειτουργοί] i.e. the prophets; though they are not so called in the LXX or New Testament.

8. Ζῶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Ezek. xxxiii. 11 ζῶ ἐγώ, τάδε λέγει Κύριος, οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ὡς ἀποστρέψαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν. ἀποστροφή ἀποστρέψατε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὑμῶν· καὶ ἵνα τί ἀποθνήσκετε, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ; κ.τ.λ.



δὲ ὁ δεσπότης τῶν πάντων περὶ μετανοίας ἐλάλησεν  
μετὰ ὄρκου· Ζῶ γὰρ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, οὐ βούλομαι τὸν  
θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ὥς τὴν μετάνοιαν· προστιθεὶς  
καὶ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν· Μετανοήσατε, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἀνομίας ὑμῶν· εἶπον τοῖς γίοις τοῦ λαοῦ μου· Ἐὰν ὧσιν

which has no manuscript authority.

γάρ] AS; om. C.

9 προστιθεὶς]

προσθηθεὶς A.

11 ὑμῶν] AS; τοῦ λαοῦ μου C.

εἶπον] AC; *dum dicis tu*

(εἰπὼν) S.

Ἐὰν] AC; καὶ [?] or καὶ ἐὰν S.

10. Μετανοήσατε κ.τ.λ.] It is usual to treat these words as a loose quotation from Ezek. xviii. 30 sq οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, λέγει Κύριος, ἐπιστρέφητε καὶ ἀποστρέψατε ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἀσεβειῶν ὑμῶν...καὶ ἵνα τί ἀποθνήσκετε, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ; διότι οὐ θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀποθνήσκοντος. If taken from the canonical Book of Ezekiel, the words are probably a confusion of this passage with the context of the other (Ezek. xxxiii. 11), as given in the preceding note. See however what follows.

11. Ἐὰν ὧσιν κ.τ.λ.] This passage is generally considered to be made up of Ps. ciii. 10, 11 οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν· ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκραταίωσε Κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὸν, and Jer. iii. 19, 22 καὶ εἶπα, Πατέρα καλέσετέ με καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἀποστραφήσεσθε...ἐπιστρέφητε υἱοὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ λάσομαι τὰ συντρίμματα ὑμῶν, together with Is. i. 18 καὶ ἐὰν ὧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι κ.τ.λ. Such fusions are not uncommon in early Christian writers and occur many times in Clement himself. But several objections lie against this solution here; (1) No satisfactory account is thus rendered of the words ἐὰν ὧσιν πυρρότεραι κόκκον καὶ μελανώτεραι σάκκον κ.τ.λ.: for the passage of Isaiah, from which they are supposed to be loosely quoted, is given as an *independent* quotation immediately

afterwards. (2) The expression προστιθεὶς καὶ γνώμην ἀγαθὴν seems to imply that, even if not a continuation of the same passage, they were at all events taken from the same prophet as the words quoted just before. (3) This inference is borne out by the language used just below in introducing the passage from Isaiah, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ, implying that the previous words might be regarded as a single quotation. (4) A great portion of the quotation is found in two different passages of Clement of Alexandria, and in one of these the words are attributed to Ezekiel: *Quis div. salu.* 39 (p. 957) οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· κὰν ὧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν ἔριον, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῶ, κὰν μελάντερον τοῦ σκότους, ὡς ἔριον λευκὸν ἐκνύψας ποιήσω, and *Paedag.* i. 10 (p. 151) φησὶ γὰρ διὰ Ἰεζεκιήλ· Ἐὰν ἐπιστραφῇτε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἴπητε, Πάτερ, ἀκούσομαι ὑμῶν ὡς λαοῦ ἁγίου. Thus it seems to follow either (1) That in the recension of the canonical Ezekiel used by the two Clements the passage xxxiii. 11 was followed by a long interpolation containing substantially the words here quoted by Clement of Rome; or (2) That he is here citing some apocryphal writing ascribed to Ezekiel, which was a patchwork of passages borrowed from the canonical prophets. The latter supposition is favoured by the language of Josephus



αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐν ὧσιν πηρρότεραι κόκκοι καὶ μελανώτεραι σάκκοι, καὶ ἐπιστραφῆτε πρὸς με ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἰπῆτε, Πάτερ, ἐπακούσονται ἡμῶν ὡς λαοῦ ἁγίου. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει οὕτως· Λούσασθε καὶ καθαροὶ γένησθε· ἀφέλεσθε τὰς 5 πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου· παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ἡμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῥύσασθε ἀδικοῦμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ δικαιοῦσατε χήρα, καὶ δεῖτε καὶ διελεγθῶμεν,

3 καρδίας] A; ψυχῆς CS. 4 λαοῦ ἁγίου] C Clem 152; λαοῦ A. 5 λέγει οὕτως] A; οὕτως λέγει CS. λούσασθε] λουσασθαι A. καὶ] A; om. CS. γένεσθε] γενεσθαι A. ἀφέλεσθε] ἀφελεσθαι A; ἀφέλετε C. 7 παύσασθε] πανσασθαι A. 8 ῥύσασθε] ρυσασθαι A. 9 καὶ δικαιοῦσατε] AC; δικαιοῦσατε (om. καὶ) S. χήρα] A; χήραν C; dub. S. καὶ διελεγθῶμεν] καὶ . . ελεχ-

(*Ant.* x. 5. 1), οὐ μόνον οὗτος (Ἱερεμίας) προεθέσπισε ταῦτα τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκιήλος πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βιβλία γράψας κατέλιπεν. This statement however may be explained by a bipartite division of the canonical Ezekiel, such as some modern critics have made; and as Josephus in his account of the Canon (*c. Apion.* i. 8) and elsewhere appears not to recognise this second Ezekiel, this solution is perhaps more probable. Or again his text may be corrupt, β' (= δύο) having been merely a repetition of the first letter of βιβλία. See also the remarks of Ewald *Gesch. des V. Isr.* iv. p. 19. Apocryphal writings of Ezekiel are mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (see Westcott *Canon* p. 504), and from the connexion (*Βαρούχ, Ἀββακούμ, Ἐζεκιήλ, καὶ Δανιήλ, ψευδ-ἐπιγραφα*) it may be conjectured that they were interpolations of or additions to the genuine Ezekiel, like the Greek portions of Daniel. This hypothesis will explain the form of the quotations here. At all events it appears that some apocryphal writings attributed to Ezekiel existed,

for Tertullian (*de Carn. Christ.* 23; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 16, p. 890) and others quote as from Ezekiel words not found in the Canonical book: see the passages collected in Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.* p. 1117. Hilgenfeld points out that one of these, 'In quacunq[ue] hora ingemuerit peccator salvus erit', is closely allied to Clement's quotation here. This apocryphal or interpolated Ezekiel must have been known to Justin Martyr also, for he quotes a sentence, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ (*Dial.* 47, p. 267), which we know from other sources to have belonged to this false Ezekiel (see Fabric. l.c. p. 1118); though Justin himself from lapse of memory ascribes it to our Lord, perhaps confusing it in his mind with Joh. v. 30. (On the other hand see Westcott *Introd. to Gosp.* p. 426.) So too apocryphal passages of other prophets, as Jeremiah (Justin. *Dial.* 72, p. 298) and Zephaniah (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11, p. 692), are quoted by the early fathers. The passage of Jeremiah quoted by Justin must have been an interpolation, such as I sup-

10 λέγει· καὶ ἐὰν ὧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς  
 χιόνα λεγκανῶ· ἐὰν δὲ ὧσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λεγ-  
 κανῶ. καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσχητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς  
 γῆς φάγεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μὴδὲ εἰσακούσχητέ μου,  
 μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδετα· τὸ γὰρ στόμα Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν  
 15 ταῦτα. πάντας οὖν τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος  
 μετανόιας μετασχεῖν, ἐστήριξεν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ  
 βουλήματι αὐτοῦ.

### IX. Διὸ ὑπακούσωμεν τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ

θωμεν A; καὶ διαλεχθῶμεν C; *loquamur cum alterutro* (om. καὶ with Pesh) S :  
 see above, I. p. 143. 10 λέγει] A; add. κύριος CS, with Hebrew and

LXX. 13 φάγεσθε] φαγεσθαι A. θέλητε] θεληται A. 14 γὰρ] AC;  
 om. S with the Pesh.

pose was the case with Clement's citation from Ezekiel; for he writes αὐτὴ ἡ περικοπὴ ἡ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Ἱερεμίου ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις τῶν ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων, πρὸ γὰρ ὀλίγου χρόνου ταῦτα ἐξέκοψαν κ.τ.λ. On the apocryphal quotations in Clement see below §§ 13, 17, 23, 29, 46 (notes).

2. μελανώτεροι] The comparative μελανώτερος occurs Strabo xvi. 4 § 12 (p. 772), but I cannot verify Jacobson's further statement 'hanc formam habes saepius in LXX.' It is derived from the late form μελανός = μέλας, on which see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 139. Another late form of the superlative is μελαινότατος.

σάκκου] Comp. Rev. vi. 12 καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος, Is. i. 3 ἐνδύσω τὸν οὐρανὸν σκότος καὶ ὡς σάκκον θήσω τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ. It was a black hair-cloth. Thus Hilgenfeld's emendation λάκκου is superfluous, besides being out of place, for the comparison is between garment and garment. The σκότους of the existing text of Clem. Alex. may at once be rejected.

4. ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ] Is. i. 16—20. The quotation is almost word for

word from the LXX. See Hatch *Essays in Biblical Greek* p. 177, for the various readings in the MSS of the LXX and in the quotation. It is twice quoted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 44 (p. 81), i. 61 (p. 94), and the first verse again in a third passage, *Dial.* 18 (p. 235); but his quotations do not agree *verbatim* one with another. Almost all the various readings of our authorities here, καθαροὶ (καὶ καθαροὶ), ἀφέλεσθε (ἀφέλετε), καὶ δικαιοῦσατε (δικαιώσατε), χήρα (χήραν), δεῦτε καὶ (δεῦτε), διελεγχθῶμεν (διαλεχθῶμεν, etc.) are found in the MSS of the LXX or in Justin or in both.

9. δικαιοῦσατε χήρα] 'give redress to the widow,' preserving the same construction as in κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ. The LXX however has the accusative χήραν in the second clause though with a various reading χήρα.

10. λέγει] sc. ὁ Κύριος, which words occur in the LXX of Isaiah in accordance with the Hebrew.

16. παντοκρατορικῷ] Apparently the earliest instance of this word; comp. § 60.

IX. 'Let us therefore obey His gracious summons. Let us contemplate the bright examples of obedi-

βουλήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰκέται γενόμενοι τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ προσπέσωμεν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιοπονίαν τὴν τε ἔριν καὶ τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἄγον ζῆλος. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τοὺς τελείως λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ 5 αὐτοῦ. λάβωμεν Ἐνώχ, ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὐρεθεῖς

1 γενόμενοι] AC; but S seems to read γινόμενοι. ἐλέους] ελαιουσ A.  
3 οἰκτιρμοὺς] οἰκτειρμους A. ἀπολιπόντες] AC; but S apparently ἀπολείποντες.  
5 τελείως] AC; τελείους S. λειτουργήσαντας] λειτουργήσαντας A. 7 θάνα-

ence in past ages: Enoch who was translated and saw not death; Noah through whom a remnant was saved in the ark.'

3. ματαιοπονίαν] The word occurs in Classical writers, e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 119 E, Lucian *Dial. Mort.* x. 8 (1. p. 369); comp. Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 7, 12, iii. 1. Polycarp, *Phil.* 2, apparently remembering this passage has ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην. But this does not justify a change of reading here; for ματαιοπονίαν, which is the reading of all the authorities here, is more appropriate, and a transcriber's error is more likely in the MSS of Polycarp (all derived from one very late source) than in all our copies of Clement: nor is it impossible that Polycarp's memory deceived him. Ματαιολογία occurs 1 Tim. i. 6.

4. ἀτενίσωμεν κ.τ.λ.] Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 610), after giving an earlier passage from this epistle (see § 1), adds εἰτ' ἐμφανέστερον Ἀτενίσωμεν κ.τ.λ. down to Ῥαῦβ ἡ πόρνη (§ 12), but contents himself with a brief abridgement, and does not quote in full, so that he gives but little aid in determining the text.

5. τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ] The same expression occurs in 2 Pet. i. 17. The word μεγαλοπρεπής is frequent in Clement, §§ 1, 19, 45, 58, 61, 64,

and just above (comp. μεγαλοπρέπεια § 60). It is only found this once in the N. T.

6. Ἐνώχ] Clement is here copying Heb. xi. 5 Ἐνώχ μετετέθη τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον καὶ οὐχ ἠύρίσκετο (comp. Gen. v. 24); though the words are displaced, as often happens when the memory is trusted. In the sequence of his first three instances also, Enoch, Noah, Abraham—he follows the writer of that epistle. See also the language in Ecclus. xlv. 16, 17, to which Clement's expressions bear some resemblance.

δίκαιος] The book of Enoch is quoted as Ἐνώχ ὁ δίκαιος in *Test. xii Patr.* Levi 10, Juda 18, Dan. 5, Benj. 9. Thus it seems to have been a recognised epithet of this patriarch, and perhaps formed part of the title of the apocryphal book bearing his name. It was probably the epithet applied to him also in the opening of the extant book, i. 2, in the original; see also xii. 4, xiv. 1, xv. 1, and elsewhere.

7. αὐτοῦ] i.e. Enoch himself. For this reflexive use of αὐτοῦ see A. Buttmann p. 98 sq. Comp. also §§ 12, 14, 30.

8. παλιγγενεσίαν] i.e. 'a second birth, a renewal,' of the world after the flood; as *Orac. Sib.* i. 195 (comp. vii. 11) καὶ δεύτερος ῥοσεται αἰὼν words put into the mouth of Noah



μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος. Νῶε πιστὸς εὐρεθεὶς διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυσεν, καὶ διέσωσεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ δεσπότης τὰ εἰσελη-  
 10 θόντα ἐν ὁμοιοῖα ζῶα εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν.

X. Ἀβραάμ, ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθεὶς, πιστὸς εὐ-

τος] A; ὁ θάνατος C. 8 διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας] AS (but λειτουργίας A); ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ C. 9 ὁ δεσπότης] S translates the word here and in other passages *dominus universi* (לַכָּל עוֹלָם). 11 πιστὸς] πιστός A.

himself. See Philo *Vit. Moys.* ii. 12 (ii. p. 144) παλιγγενεσίας ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες καὶ δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου, where also it is used of the world renovated after the flood. Somewhat similar is the use in Matt. xix. 28, where it describes the 'new heaven and new earth.' The Stoics also employed this term to designate the renewed universe after their great periodic conflagrations; see Philo *de Mund. incorr.* 14 (ii. p. 501) οἱ τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγόμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, *Marc. Anton.* xi. 1 τὴν περιοδικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῶν ὄλων (with Gataker's note). For Christian uses see Suicer s. v. Any direct reference to the baptismal water (λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, Tit. iii. 5), as typified by the flood (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 21), seems out of place here; but παλιγγενεσία appears to allude indirectly to the renewal of the Corinthian Church by repentance. See the next note.

10. ἐν ὁμοιοῖα] An indirect reference to the feuds at Corinth. Even the dumb animals set an example of concord; see below § 20 τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων τὰς συνελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιοῖα καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποιοῦνται. The word ὁμόνοια is of frequent occurrence in Clement.

X. 'Abraham by obedience left his home and kindred, that he might inherit the promises of God. Not once or twice only was a blessing

pronounced upon him for his faith. He was promised a race countless as the stars or the sand in multitude, and in his old age a son was granted to him.'

11. ὁ φίλος] From Is. xli. 8 'Abraham my friend' (LXX ὃν ἠγάπησα): comp. 2 Chron. xx. 7, and see the passages of the LXX quoted by Roensch *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* xvi. p. 583 (1873). See also James ii. 23 καὶ φίλος Θεοῦ ἐκλήθη, and below § 17 φίλος προσηγορεύθη τοῦ Θεοῦ. In the short paraphrase of the Alexandrian Clement this chapter relating to Abraham is abridged thus, Ἀβραάμ ὅς διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν φίλος Θεοῦ πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ προσηγορεύθη; and it has therefore been suggested to read θγ φιλος for ο φιλος. But no alteration is needed. Abraham is here called 'the friend' absolutely, as among the Arabs at the present day he is often styled 'El-Khalil' simply: see d'Herbelot s. v. *Abraham*, and Stanley's *Jewish Church* i. p. 13. So too *Clem. Hom.* xviii. 13 οὕτως δύναται...οὐδὲ Ἐνὼχ ὁ εὐαρεστήσας μὴ εἰδέναι οὔτε Νῶε ὁ δίκαιος μὴ ἐπίστασθαι οὔτε Ἀβραάμ ὁ φίλος μὴ συνέναι, which has other resemblances with this passage of the genuine Clement; *Clem. Recogn.* i. 32 'Abraham pro amicitiiis quibus erat ei familiaritas cum Deo.' It is an indication how familiar this title of Abraham had become in the Apo-

ρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὗτος δι' ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅπως γῆν ὀλίγην καὶ συγγένειαν ἀσθενῇ καὶ οἶκον μικρὸν καταλιπὼν κληρονομίῃ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ 5 Θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ αὐτῷ. Ἀπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω, καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογῆσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογημένος· καὶ εὐλογῆσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε καὶ καταράσονται 10 τοὺς καταρωμένους σε, καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ διαχωρισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Λὼτ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεός· Ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, ἴδε ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, οὗ νῦν εἶ, πρὸς Βορρᾶν καὶ λίβα καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ θάλασσαν· ὅτι πάσαν τὴν γῆν, ἣν εἶ ὄρας, 15

3 συγγενείας] συγγενειᾱς A.  
ράσσομαι] A; καταράσσομαι C.

19 Ἐξήγαγεν] A; ἐξήγαγε δὲ CS.

add. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ S.

24 γῆρα] γῆρει C; see the note on § 63.

Θεῷ] AS; om. C. For a similar omission see Ign. Rom. 4.

super S (with the Hebr. and Pesh. of Gen. xxii. 2, where the LXX has ἐφ' or ἐπὶ).

5 ἐπαγγελίας] επαγγελειᾱς A. 10 κατα-  
15 ἦν] AS; om. C. 16 αἰῶνος] A; τοῦ

21 τοὺς ἀστέρας] AC;

25 τῷ

πρὸς] A; εἰς C;

super S (with the Hebr. and Pesh. of Gen. xxii. 2, where the LXX has ἐφ' or ἐπὶ).

stolic age, that Philo once inadvertently quotes Gen. xviii. 17 Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου for τοῦ παιδὸς μου and argues from the expression, *de Sobr.* 11 (I. p. 401), though elsewhere he gives the same text correctly *de Leg. All.* iii. 8 (I. p. 93), *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 21 (p. 261 Aucher). At a much earlier date one Molon (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 14, 33) who wrote against the Jews and is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb. *Præf. Ev.* ix. 19, p. 420) interpreted the name Abraham as πατρὸς φίλον, apparently reading אַבְרָהָם as if it were אַבְרָהָם. And in the Book of Jubilees c. 19 (Dillmann in *Ewald's Jahrb.* III. p. 15) it is said of this patriarch that 'he was written down on the heavenly tablets as a friend

of the Lord.' Later Rabbinical illustrations of this title will be found in Wetstein on James ii. 23, and especially in Beer *Leben Abraham's*, notes 427, 431, 950. Comp. Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 2 'unde Abraham amicus Dei deputatus?'

6. Ἀπελθε κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Gen. xii. 1—3 with slight but unimportant variations. In omitting καὶ δεῦρο after τοῦ πατρὸς σου Clement agrees with A and the Hebrew against the common text which inserts the words. He also reads εὐλογηθήσονται with A against the common text ἐνευλογηθήσονται, but εὐλογημένος where A has εὐλογητός. See Hatch *Biblical Greek* p. 154 for the various readings in this passage in the MSS of the LXX, in Acts

κοὶ δώσω αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου ἕως αἰῶνος· καὶ ποιήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς· εἰ δύνатаί τις ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐξαριθμηθήσεται. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἐξήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν  
 20 Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνήσῃ ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτοὺς· οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου· ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐν γήρᾳ, καὶ δι' ὑπακοῆς  
 25 προσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν θυσίαν τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς ἐν τῶν ὁρέων ὧν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ.

XI. Διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λὼτ ἐσώθη ἐκ Κοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς καὶ θείου· πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλπίζον-  
 30 τας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, τοὺς δὲ ἑτεροκλινεῖς

ὁρέων] οραίων A.

28 κριθείσης] A, as I read it. Tischendorf, with whom Wright agrees, reads it κριθησῇ and appeals to the photograph. The photograph seems to me more like κριθεισῇ, and another inspection of the ms itself confirms me. I can see no traces of the left-hand stroke of an η.

29 θείου]

ποιήσας] AC; S translates as if ἐποίησεν.

30 ἐπ' αὐτὸν] A,

and so too apparently S; ἐς αὐτὸν C.

vii. 3, and in Philo *Migr. Abrah.* i (i. p. 436). Clement agrees with Philo in quoting ἀπελθε for ἔξελθε.

12. ἐν τῷ διαχωρισθῆναι] The expression is taken from Gen. xiii. 14 μετὰ τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι τὸν Λὼτ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

13. Ἀναβλέψας κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Gen. xiii. 14—16, almost word for word.

19. Ἐξήγαγεν] From LXX Gen. xv. 5, 6, with unimportant variations.

24. φιλοξενίαν] i.e. his entertaining the angels; comp. Heb. xiii. 2. Similarly of Lot just below, § 11, and of Rahab, § 12. The stress laid on this virtue seems to point to a failing in the Corinthian Church. See also the note on ἀφιλοξενίαν below, § 35.

25. πρὸς ἐν κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xxii. 2 ἐφ' ἐν τῶν ὁρέων ὧν ἂν σοι εἴπω.

XI. 'Lot's faith and good deeds saved him from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; while his own wife perished and remains a monument to all ages of the punishment with which God visits the disobedient and wavering.'

28. κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς] Comp. Is. lxvi. 16 ἐν τῷ πυρὶ Κυρίου κριθήσεται πάντα ἡ γῆ. The emendation καυθείσης for κριθείσης is unnecessary as well as weak.

29. ποιήσας] A nominative absolute; see Winer § xxviii. p. 194, A. Buttmann p. 251 sq.

30. ἑτεροκλινεῖς] 'swerving aside,' especially in a bad sense; Epictet.



ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ αἰκισμὸν τίθησιν· συνεξελθούσης γὰρ αὐτῇ τῆς γυναικός, ἑτερογνώμονος ὑπαρχούσης καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, εἰς τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐτέθη ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτὴν στήλην ἀλὸς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, εἰς τὸ γνωστὸν εἶναι πᾶσιν ὅτι οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ οἱ διστάζον-

1 κόλασιν] AC; but S translates as if κρίσω. 2 ἑτερογνώμονος] C; A is read *ετερογνωμοσ* by Tischendorf and Jacobson, *ετερογνωμον* by Vansittart. The last letter appears to me like c with possibly γ superposed. Wright is probably correct in his explanation that the γ is seen through from *εγρεθι* on the opposite side of the page. The reading therefore is *ετερογνωμοσ*. 3 τοῦτο] AS; om. C. 6 κρίμα] κρίμα C. σημεῖωσιν] σημειωσιν A. 8 φιλοξενίαν]

*Diss.* iii. 12. 7 *ετεροκλινῶς* ἔχω πρὸς ἡδομήν. See below, § 47 τοὺς *ετεροκλινεῖς* ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν. So *ετεροκλινία Clem. Hom. Ep. ad Jac.* 15, said of the ship of the Church heeling over, when not properly trimmed.

2. *ετερογνώμονος*] The word has two senses, either (1) 'dissentient, otherwise-minded,' Cyril. Alex. *in Es.* xlviii (II. p. 642), lii (II. p. 736) *ὁλοτρόπως ετερογνώμονας παρ' ἐκείνους*; or (2) 'wavering, double-minded', Cyril. Alex. *Cord. Cat. in Ps.* 1. p. 225 *διψύχου τε καὶ ετερογνώμονος*. As it seems to be defined here by *οὐκ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ*, the first meaning must be adopted; though Lot's wife was also *ετερογνώμων* in the other sense, and as such is classed among οἱ δίψυχοι καὶ διστάζοντες below. In *ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ* there is again an allusion to the feuds at Corinth; see above § 9.

3. *εἰς τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.*] Here ὥστε is dependent not on *εἰς τοῦτο*, but on *σημεῖον ἐτέθη*; and *εἰς τοῦτο* 'to this end' stands independently, being afterwards explained by *εἰς τὸ γνωστὸν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*

4. *ἕως τῆς ἡμ. ταύτης*] A pillar of salt identified with Lot's wife is mentioned as standing in Wisdom x. 7, ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς μνημεῖον ἐστηκυῖα στήλη ἀλός, and in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 11. 4 who says that he himself had seen it. So

too Irenæus (*Haer.* iv. 31. 3) speaks of it as 'statua salis semper manens,' which he makes a type of the Church. Cyril of Jerusalem also, *Catech.* xix. 8 (p. 309), describes Lot's wife as *ἐστηλιτευμένη δι' αἰῶνος*. The region abounds in such pillars of salt (see Robinson's *Biblical Researches, etc.* II. p. 108 sq.). Mediæval and even modern travellers have delighted to identify one or other of these with Lot's wife.

5. οἱ δίψυχοι] The word occurs only twice, James i. 8, iv. 8, in the New Testament. Both the word and the warning are very frequent in Clement's younger contemporary Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2, iii. 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, iv. 1, 2, *Sim.* viii. 7, etc., but especially *Mand.* ix, x. Comp. also *Didache* 4 οὐ δίψυχῆσεis πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ, with the corresponding passage in Barnab. 19. See below § 23 with the note (comp. *Clem. Rom.* ii. § 11).

XII. 'Rahab also was saved by her faith and her hospitality. She believed in the might of the Lord God, and she rescued the spies; therefore she and her family were spared. She was gifted too with a prophetic spirit, for the scarlet thread typified the saving power of Christ's blood.'

8. 'Ραᾶβ] This account is taken

τες περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς σημείωσιν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς γίνονται.

XII. Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη· ἐκπεμφθέντων γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ  
 10 κατασκόπων εἰς τὴν Ἱεριχώ, ἔγνω ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς γῆς  
 ὅτι ἤκασιν κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξέ-

A, but CS repeat the preposition, see διὰ φιλοξενίαν. For C see Bryennios *Didache* p. ργ'. ἡ πόρνη] A; ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη πόρνη CS; see the lower note. 9 ἐκ-

πεμφθέντων] εκπεφθεντων A.

τοῦ τοῦ] A; τοῦ (omitting the second τοῦ) C.

10 τὴν] A; om. C.

11 ἐξέπεμψεν] A; ἐπεμψεν C; dub. S. For C see

Bryennios *Didache* p. ργ'.

from the book of Joshua; but Clement gives it in his own words, even when recording the conversational parts. The instance of Rahab was doubtless suggested by Heb. xi. 31, James ii. 25; for both these epistles were known to S. Clement and are quoted elsewhere. His expression διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν connects the two aspects, to which the two Apostolic writers severally direct attention, the πίστις of the one, the ἔργα of the other; comp. §§ 31, 33, 34, 49 (notes). See also the note on the φιλοξενία of Abraham § 10.

ἡ πόρνη] For the insertion ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη see above, I. pp. 125, 139. The object of this interpolation is to suggest a figurative sense of the word; comp. Orig. in *Ies. Nave Hom.* iii. § 3 (II. p. 403) 'Raab interpretatur latitudo. Quae est ergo latitudo nisi ecclesia haec Christi, quae ex peccatoribus velut ex meretricatione collecta est?... talis ergo et haec meretrix esse dicitur, quae exploratores suscepit Iesu'; comp. *ib.* vi. § 3 (p. 411). From a like motive the Targum interprets the word in Josh. ii. 1 by פונדקיתא = πανδοκευτρία 'an innkeeper,' and so Joseph. *Ant.* V. 1. 2 ὑποχωροῦσιν εἰς τι καταγώγιον... ὄντες ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥαχάβης καταγώγιον, etc. This explanation has been ad-

opted by several Jewish and some Christian interpreters; see Gesenius *Thes.* s. v. פונדק, p. 422. Others again have interpreted the word as meaning 'Gentile'. The earliest Christian fathers took a truer view, when they regarded this incident as an anticipation of the announcement in Matt. xxi. 31; e.g. Justin *Dial.* 111, Iren. iv. 20. 12.

In Heb. xi. 31 also ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη πόρνη is read for ἡ πόρνη by R (first hand) and likewise by the Harclean Syriac, this part being preserved only in the Cambridge MS (see above, I. p. 130 sq). Bensly also calls my attention to a passage in Ephraem Syrus *Op. Graec.* I. p. 310 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ῥαὰβ ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη πόρνη διὰ τῆς φιλοξενίας οὐ συναπόλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Immediately before, this father has mentioned Abraham and Lot as examples of persons rewarded for their φιλοξενία, so that he seems to have had the passage of S. Clement in view.

9. τοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ] In the LXX Num. xxxii. 12, Deut. xxxii. 44, Josh. vi. 6, etc., he is called Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, and the same expression is adopted here, though in the genitive it sounds somewhat awkwardly.

11. αὐτῶν] Not αὐτῶν, as most edi-



πεμψεν ἄνδρας τοὺς συλλημφομένους αὐτούς, ὅπως συλλημφθέντες θανατωθῶσιν. ἡ οὖν φιλόξενος Ῥαὰβ εἰσδεξαμένη αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψεν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ὑπὸ τὴν λινοκαλάμην. ἐπισταθέντων δὲ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λεγόντων· Πρὸς σὲ εἰσῆλθον οἱ κατὰσκοποι τῆς 5 γῆς ἡμῶν· ἐξάγαγε αὐτοὺς, ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὕτως κελεύει· ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη· Εἰσῆλθον μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ζητεῖτε, πρὸς με, ἀλλὰ εὔθως ἀπῆλθον καὶ πορεύονται τῇ ὁδῷ· ὑποδεικνύουσα αὐτοῖς ἐναλλάξ. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς

1 συλλημφομένους] συλληψομενους A, though just below it has συλλημφθεντες. For the omission of μ compare εκπεφθεντων above. C has συλλημφομένους, συλλημφθέντες. For the orthography see § 1 ἀπροσωπολήμπτως. 5 λεγόντων] AC; add. illi S. 6 οὕτως] . . τως A; οὕτω C. 8 ἀπῆλθον] A; ἐξῆλθον C. 9 ἐναλλάξ] CS. For A, Tischendorf prints εκ... as though the 2nd letter were legible; but nothing more than ei can be discerned, and the ι might as well be the upright stroke of N as of K. 10 ἐγὼ] AS; om. C. 11 ὑμῶν] A;

tors print it; comp. § 9 and see the note on *Philippians* iii. 21.

1. τοὺς συλλημφομένους] i.e. οἱ συλλημψονται. For this construction see Winer § xviii. p. 121, and the notes *Galatians* i. 7.

4. λινοκαλάμην] 'flax-stalks' laid on the flat roof of the house to dry; see Josh. ii. 6. So Joseph. (*Ant.* v. 1. 2) explains it, λίνον γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους ἔψυχε. The word ὑπερῶον does not occur in the original narrative, which describes the men's lurking place as on the house-top (ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος). But Clement would not necessarily be familiar with Eastern customs and might easily substitute a wrong expression.

9. ὑποδεικνύουσα αὐτοῖς] Clement must have made a slip of memory, as he has done already in ὑπερῶον; for in the original narrative Rahab shows the opposite route not to the king's messengers but to the spies.

ἐναλλάξ] 'in the reverse' or 'opposite direction.' The word ἐναλλάξ has twomeanings; (1) 'alternately,' which

is its more frequent sense; (2) 'crosswise,' or 'inversely'; e.g. Aristot. *Anim. Hist.* iii. 4 (p. 515, Bekker) ἑτεραι (φλέβες)...φέρουσιν ἐναλλάξ, ἡ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν. So too the attitude of Jacob crossing his hands, when he blesses the sons of Joseph, is described in Barnab. 13 (professing to quote the words of Genesis) καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰακώβ ἐναλλάξ τὰς χεῖρας κ.τ.λ. Again in mathematical language speaking of proportion, ἐναλλάξ is *permutando*, i.e. the inversion of the antecedents and consequents, as defined by Euclid v. def. 13 ἐναλλάξ λόγος ἐστὶ λήψις τοῦ ἡγουμένου πρὸς τὸ ἡγούμενον καὶ τοῦ ἐπομένου πρὸς τὸ ἐπόμενον: comp. Aristot. *Anal. Post.* i. 5 (I. p. 74), ii. 17 (p. 99), *Eth. Nic.* v. 6 (p. 1131), who is rather fond of the word. The attempts to supply the lacuna in A were signal failures before the discovery of the second MS.

11. ὁ φόβος κ.τ.λ.] The expression does not occur in the LXX here, but



10 ἀνδρας· Γινώσκουσα γινώσκω ἐγὼ ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς  
 ἡμῶν παραδίδωσιν ἡμῖν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὃ γὰρ φόβος καὶ  
 ὃ τρόμος ἡμῶν ἐπέπεσεν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν. ὥς ἐάν  
 οὔν γένηται λαβεῖν αὐτήν ἡμᾶς, διασώσατέ με καὶ τὸν  
 οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῇ· Ἔσται οὕτως ὥς  
 15 ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν. ὥς ἐάν οὔν γνῶς παραγινομένουσ ἡμᾶς,  
 συνάξεις πάντας τοὺς σοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος σου, καὶ διασωθή-  
 σονται· ὅσοι γὰρ ἐάν εὔρεθῶσιν ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας, ἀπολοῦνται.  
 καὶ προσέθεντο αὐτῇ δοῦναι σημεῖον, ὅπως κρεμάσῃ ἐκ  
 τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς κόκκινον, πρόδηλον ποιοῦντες ὅτι διὰ

om. CS. φόβος, τρόμος] C; φοβος, ...μος A. The two words are trans-  
 posed in S. 12 αὐτήν] AC; τὴν γῆν S. ἐάν] A; ἂν C. 15 ἐλά-  
 λησας] A; λελάληκας C. ὥς] AC; not translated in S. ἐάν] A; ἂν C.  
 παραγινομένουσ] AS (by the pointing); παραγενομένουσ C. 16 τὸ τέγος σου]  
 τοτοεγοσσου A; τὸ στέγος (om. σου) C; tectum domus tuae S. See below. A  
 reads σου, not ου as sometimes stated. 17 ὅσοι γὰρ] AC; et omnes illi qui  
 (καὶ ὅσοι) S. ἐάν] A; ἂν C. 18 κρεμάσῃ] A; ἐκκρεμάσῃ CS.

is common elsewhere; e.g. Gen. ix. 2, Deut. ii. 25, xi. 25. These passages illustrate not only the combination of φόβος and τρόμος, but the repetition of the article before the latter. Cotelier observes that Clement seems to have had in his copy of the LXX (Josh. ii. 9) the words καὶ κατέπησσον πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἀφ' ἡμῶν, which are wanting in all the best MSS, though supplied in the Complutensian edition and represented in the original Hebrew. The existing text of the LXX has only ἐπιπέτωσεν γὰρ ὁ φόβος ἡμῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

16. τέγος] The text of our authorities makes it difficult to decide whether we should read στέγος or τέγος. The former occurs in the LXX only once, Epist. Jer. 8; the latter not at all in the LXX, but in Aquila Num. xxv. 8. In these passages they are used for 'lupanar'; and τέγος especially has frequently this bad sense elsewhere (e.g. Orac. Sibyll. iii. 186, v. 387). But the

word is perhaps not intended to bear the meaning here.

18. προσέθεντο κ.τ.λ.] 'they went on to give her a sign'. The word is used in imitation of the LXX diction, where it very frequently renders ἤρ' and thus reproduces the Hebraism 'to add to do,' as e.g. Luke xix. 11 προσθεῖσα εἶπεν, Acts xii. 3 προσθέτο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον, and so commonly in the LXX. In this sense both the active and middle are used. Harnack strongly objects to the translation 'praeterea ei signum dederunt' and renders 'praeterea mandaverunt ei ut signum daret,' apparently taking προστίθεσθαι 'to enjoin' or 'impose.' This seems an impossible rendering, and moreover in the narrative (Josh. ii. 19) the spies are represented as giving the sign of the scarlet thread to Rahab in the first instance.

19. πρόδηλον κ.τ.λ.] So Justin Dial. 111 (p. 338) τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ κοκκίνου σπαρτίου...τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδήλον, δι' οὗ οἱ πάλοι

τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου λύτρωσις ἔσται πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν. Ὅρατε, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον πίστις ἀλλὰ προφητεία ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ γέγονεν.

XIII. Ταπεινοφρονήσωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἀποθέμε- 5  
νοι πᾶσαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τύφος καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ

1 τοῦ Κυρίου] AC; τοῦ χριστοῦ S (see the passage of Justin in the lower note).

2 καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν] AC; om. S.

3 οὐ] A; ὅτι οὐ CS.

ἀλλὰ] A; add. καὶ

πόρνοι καὶ ἀδικοὶ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν σώζονται κ.τ.λ., perhaps getting the idea from this passage. Irenæus (iv. 20. 12) copies Justin, 'Raab fornicaria conservata est cum universa domo sua, fide signi coccini etc.' See also Origen *In Jes. Hom.* iii. § 5 (II. p. 405), vi § 4 (II. p. 411), *In Matth. Comm. Ser.* 125 (III. p. 919). From this time forward it becomes a common type with the fathers. Barnabas (§ 7) similarly explains the scarlet wool of the scapegoat (see the note there). Compare also Heb. ix. 19, which may have suggested this application to Clement.

The word πρόδηλος occurs twice besides in Clement § 11 πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι (the same construction which we have in Heb. xii. 14 πρόδηλον ὅτι ἐξ Ἰούδα κ.τ.λ.), § 40 προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων. It may be a question in many passages whether the preposition denotes *priority in time* or *distinctness*. In Demosth. *de Cor.* 293 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα...τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ προῆδεις κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 199 εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι καὶ προῆδεσαν ἅπαντες καὶ σὺ προύλεγες. On the other hand πρόδηλος frequently signifies 'plain,' 'manifest,' 'famous,' 'illustrious,' and it is explained by *προφανής* in the Greek lexicographers.

3. ἀλλὰ προφητεία] So Origen *in Jes. Hom.* iii. § 4 (II. p. 403) 'Sed et ista meretrix quae eos suscepit ex meretrice efficitur jam propheta etc.'

4. γέγονεν] The perfect tense γέγονεν, 'is found,' must unquestionably be the right reading here; comp. 1 Tim. ii. 14 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν, where, as here, the tense denotes the permanence of the record and the example. See also Gal. iii. 18 τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ Θεός, iv. 23 ὁ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, where the explanation of the perfect is the same. So too frequently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, e.g. vii. 6 δεδεκάτωκεν, xi. 28 πεποίηκεν.

XIII. 'Let us therefore be humble, and lay aside anger and pride. The Holy Spirit condemns all self-exaltation. Let us call to mind the words in which the Lord Jesus commends a gentle and forgiving spirit. The promise of grace is held out to patient forbearance.'

5. ἀποθέμενοι κ.τ.λ.] So § 57 μάθετε ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀποθέμενοι τὴν ἀλάζονα καὶ ὑπερήφανον τῆς γλώσσης ὑμῶν αὐθάδειαν. Comp. Heb. xii. 1 ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα, James i. 21, 1 Pet. ii. 1.

6. τύφος] A neuter form like ἔλεος, ζῆλος, πλούτος, etc., for which see Winer § ix. p. 78 and Jacobson's note on ζῆλος above § 4. For an ex-

ὀργάς, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον· λέγει γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρίᾳ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὁ πλοῦσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω, τοῦ ἐκζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην· **μάλιστα** μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν

CS. 4 γέγονεν] A; ἐγενήθη C; dub. S. See the lower note and comp. 1. p. 126. 6 ἀλαζονείαν] C; αλαζονίαν A. τύφος] A; τύφον C. 10 ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ] A; ἀλλ' ὁ C, and so perhaps S.

ample of *τύφος* Jacobson here quotes *Conc. Ephes.* Can. 8 (Routh *Script. Eccl. Opusc.* p. 395). As the *v* is long in the older writers but short in the more recent (e.g. Greg. Naz. II. pp. 490 v. 44, 880 v. 45, ed. Caillau), I have accentuated it according to this later usage; see L. Dindorf in *Steph. Thes.* s.v. and compare the analogy of *στῦλος*, *Galatians* ii. 9.

8. Μὴ καυχάσθω κ.τ.λ.] This passage is taken from 1 Sam. ii. 10, or from Jer. ix. 23, 24, or from both combined. The editors have overlooked the first of these passages, quoting only the second, though in several points Clement's language more closely resembles the first. The latter part in 1 Sam. ii. 10 runs ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τοῦτ' καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος συνεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν Κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς; while the corresponding passage in Jeremiah diverges still more from Clement's quotation. On the other hand S. Paul quotes twice (1 Cor. i. 31 καθὼς γέγραπται, 2 Cor. x. 17) ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. The resemblance of Clement's language to S. Paul may be explained in two ways; either (1) S. Paul does not quote literally but gives the sense of one or other passage (1 Sam. ii. 10 or Jer. ix. 23 sq); and Clement, writing afterwards, unconsciously combines and confuses S. Paul's quotation with the

original text; or (2) A recension of the text of Jeremiah (or Samuel) was in circulation in the first century which contained the exact words ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. The former is the more probable hypothesis. Iren. iv. 17. 3 quotes Jer. ix. 24 as it stands in our texts. In neither passage does the Hebrew aid in solving the difficulty. In 1 Sam. ii. 10 it is much shorter than and quite different from the LXX. Lucifer *pro Athan.* ii. 2 (Hartel, p. 148) quotes it 'non gloriatur sapiens in sua sapientia nec gloriatur dives in divitiis suis, sed in hoc gloriatur qui gloriatur, inquirere me et scire in Dominum gloriari, quia ego sum Dominus qui facio misericordiam et judicium et justitiam super terram.' As Cotelier remarks, he seems to have read ἐκζητεῖν with Clement, for he has 'inquirere' three times in this context, but the coincidence may be accidental. On the other hand Antioch. Palæst. *Hom.* xliii (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* p. 1097, Paris 1624) quotes directly from 1 Sam. ii. 10, and betrays no connexion with Clement's language.

12. μεμνημένοι κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Acts xx. 35 μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. See above § 2 ἡδὼν λαμβάνοντες κ.τ.λ. (with the note), where Clement's language reflects the context of this quotation.



διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν· οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν·  
 Ἐλεάτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε, ἀφίετε ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε,  
 οὔτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὔτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·  
 ὡς κρίνετε, οὔτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὔτως χρη-  
 στευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὃ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσε- 5  
 ται ὑμῖν. Ταύτῃ τῇ ἐντολῇ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν  
 τούτοις στηρίζωμεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πορεύεσθαι ὑπηκόους  
 ὄντας τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσι λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ταπεινοφρο-

1 ἐπιείκειαν] επιεικίαν A. οὕτως] C; . . τωσ A. 2 Ἐλεάτε] A;  
 ἐλεεῖτε C. ἀφίετε] A; ἀφετε C. 3 οὕτως] C, and in all the other  
 places in this sentence where it occurs; so too A, except in the first, where it has  
 οὐτω. 4 κρίνετε] κρινεται A. χρηστεύεσθε] χρηστευσθαι A. 5 ὃ  
 μέτρῳ...μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν] here, AS Clem; before ὡς κρίνετε κ.τ.λ., C. ἐν  
 αὐτῷ] S; ἐναυτῇ A; οὕτως C; om. Clem. 7 στηρίζωμεν] A; στηρίζωμεν C.  
 πορεύεσθαι] πορεύεσθε C. 10 πρᾶν] A; πρᾶον C. τὰ λόγια] A

2. Ἐλεάτε κ.τ.λ.] The same saying which is recorded in Matt. vii. 1, 2, Luke vi. 36—38, to which should be added Matt. v. 7 μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται, vi. 14 ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῇτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κ.τ.λ., Luke vi. 31 καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν κ.τ.λ. (comp. Mark xi. 25). As Clement's quotations are often very loose, we need not go beyond the Canonical Gospels for the source of this passage. The resemblance to the original is much closer here, than it is for instance in his account of Rahab above, § 12. The hypothesis therefore, that Clement derived the saying from oral tradition or from some lost Gospel, is not needed. Polycarp indeed (*Phil.* 2) in much the same words quotes our Lord as saying ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐλεεῖτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε, but it can hardly be doubted from his manner of introducing the quotation (μνημονεύοντες ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων), that he had this passage of Clement in his mind and does not quote independently. See also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18 (p. 476) ἐλεάτε, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.,

where it is quoted almost exactly as here, except that ἐν αὐτῷ is omitted. He betrays no misgiving that he is not quoting directly from the Gospel, when evidently he has taken the words from his namesake the Roman Clement. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 21, Ps-Ign. *Trall.* 8.

On the form ἐλεᾶν (for ἐλεεῖν) see Winer § xv p. 97 sq, A. Buttmann p. 50; comp. *Clem. Hom.* xviii. 6. Previous editors needlessly read ἐλεεῖτε here.

4. ὡς χρηστεύεσθε] The corresponding words in S. Luke (vi. 36) are γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες. In Justin *Dial.* 96 and *Apol.* i. 15 they are quoted γίνεσθε δὲ χρῆστοι καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, and in *Clem. Hom.* iii. 57 γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες. The verb χρηστεύεσθαι occurs 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

5. ὃ μέτρῳ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted also indirectly *Clem. Hom.* xviii. 16 ὃ μέτρῳ ἐμέτρησαν, μετρηθῇ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἴσῳ. See Mark iv. 24, besides the passages already quoted from the other Evangelists.

8. ἀγιοπρεπέσι] Compare Polyc. *Phil.* i. This is apparently the earli-

νοῦντες. φησὶν γὰρ ὁ ἅγιος λόγος· Ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω,  
 10 ἢ ἄλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πραῆν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τὰ λόγια;

XIV. Δίκαιον οὖν καὶ ὅσιον, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὑπη-  
 κόους ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον γενέσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ  
 καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ μυσεροῦ ζήλους ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολου-  
 θεῖν. βλάβην γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κίν-  
 15 δυνον ὑποίσομεν μέγαν, ἐὰν ριψοκινδύνως ἐπιδῶμεν ἐαν-  
 τοὺς τοῖς θελήμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵτινες ἐξακοντί-  
 ζουσιν εἰς ἔριν καὶ στάσεις εἰς τὸ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι ἡμᾶς

τοὺς λόγους C (with LXX); dub. S.

21. 12 ἡμᾶς] AS; ὑμᾶς C.

CS. ἀλαζονείᾳ] ἀλαζονία A.

A; ἔρεις S (where the plural depends merely on *ῥιψι*, and would be suggested by the plural of the following word); ἀρέσεις C Nikon. See above, I. p. 125. στά-

σεις] στασις A. εἰς τὸ] AC; τοῦ Nikon.

11 ὅσιον] AC; θεῖον S. See also §§ 2, γενέσθαι τῷ Θεῷ] A; τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι

13 ζήλους] A; ζήλου C. 17 ἔριν]

est passage in which the word occurs. Suicer gives it a place 'quia a lexicographis ommissa,' but does not quote either of these passages in the Apostolic fathers.

9. Ἐπὶ τίνα κ.τ.λ.] A quotation from the LXX of Is. lxvi. 2 with slight and unimportant variations. For a distinction between *πραῆς* and *ἡσύχιος* see Bengel on 1 Pet. iii. 4 (where both words occur). Comp. also Hatch *Biblical Greek* p. 73 sq.

XIV. 'We ought to obey God rather than man. If we follow men, we shall plunge ourselves into strife and peril; if we follow God, we shall be gentle and loving. The Scriptures teach us, that the guileless and meek shall inherit the earth; but that the proud and insolent shall be blotted out.'

11. Δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.] This passage as far as *καλῶς ἔχοντος* is quoted in Nikon the Monk, in an extract given by Cotelier from the Paris MSS *Reg.* 2418, 2423, 2424. He strings together with this passage quotations from §§ 15, 46, of this epistle, and § 3 of the

Second. See the several references.

ὑπηκόους κ.τ.λ.] For the stress laid by Clement on the duty of *ὑπακοή*, see §§ 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 58, 60, 63.

13. μυσεροῦ] The form *μυσερός* occurs again below § 30; and in both places the editors have altered it to *μυσαρός*. This is not necessary: see Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 276. In Lev. xviii. 23 it is so written in A; and similarly in Mark i. 42 *ἐκαθερίσθη* is read in the best MSS: see Tischendorf on Acts x. 15 and proleg. p. 1 (ed. 7), Winer § v. p. 56. See also the form *μιεράν* (for *μιαράν*) in Boeckh *C. I. G.* no. 3588. So likewise the play on *ιερεύς*, *μιερεύς*, in *Apost. Const.* ii. 28. (C writes *μυσαράν* for *μυσεράν* in § 30, but not so here).

ἀρχηγοῖς] Comp. § 51 *ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς στάσεως*.

15. ριψοκινδύνως] 'in a foolhardy spirit'; Appian *Civ.* i. 103. It does not occur in the LXX or New Testament.

16. ἐξακοντίζουσιν] The word here appears to mean, 'launch out.' Generally, when it occurs metaphorically,

τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. χρηστευσώμεθα αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν  
 εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς.  
 γέγραπται γάρ· Χρηστοὶ ἔσονται οἰκήτορες γῆς, ἄκακοι  
 δὲ ὑπολειφθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῆς· οἱ δὲ παρανομοῦντες ἐξο-  
 λεθρευθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Εἶδον ἄσεβῆ 5  
 ὑπεργυφόμενον καὶ ἐπαίρομενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου,  
 καὶ παρήλθον καὶ ἰδοῦ οἷον ἦν, καὶ ἐξεζήτησα τὸν τόπον

1 αὐτοῖς] A; ἐαυτοῖς CS. 2 γλυκύτητα] γλυκῆτητα C. 4 οἱ δὲ...  
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς] AC; om. S (by homoeoteleuton). ἐξολεθρευθήσονται] A; ἐξολο-  
 θρευθήσονται C. See the lower note. 5 Εἶδον] ἰδον A. ἄσεβῆ]  
 ἀσεβην A; τὸν ἀσεβῆ C; there is the same v.l. in the LXX. 6 ἐπαίρομενον]  
 αἰπερομενον A. 7 τὸν τόπον...εὖρον] AC; αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη ὁ τόπος  
 αὐτοῦ (with the LXX) S. 9 ἐνκατάλειμμα] ἐνκαταλιμμα A; ἐγκατάλλειμμα  
 C. 10 κολληθῶμεν] AC; ἀκολουθήσωμεν Nicon. 12 Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς]

λόγους or γλώσσας would be under-  
 stood, if not expressed.

1. αὐτοῖς] 'towards them,' the  
 leaders of the schism; comp. 2 Thess.  
 iii. 15 μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἠγείσθε κ.τ.λ. This  
 must be done 'in imitation of the com-  
 passion of the Creator Himself' (κατὰ  
 τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν κ.τ.λ.); comp. Matt.  
 v. 44. Others substitute αὐτοῖς=ἀλλή-  
 λους, but this is not so good. More-  
 over, as the contracted form αὐτοῦ  
 etc., for ἐαυτοῦ etc., seems never to  
 occur in the New Testament, it is a  
 question whether Clement would have  
 used it: see the note on αὐτῶν § 12.

2. εὐσπλαγχνίαν κ.τ.λ.] The same  
 combination occurs in Theoph. *ad*  
*Autol.* ii. 14 τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ εὐ-  
 σπλαγχνίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην κ.τ.λ. quoted  
 by Harnack.

3. χρηστοὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. ii.  
 21, 22. The first part of the quota-  
 tion χρηστοὶ...ἐπ' αὐτῆς is found in A  
 with a very slight variation (and parti-  
 ally in S), but B omits the words; the  
 second runs in all the best MSS of the  
 LXX, ὁδοὶ [δὲ] ἀσεβῶν ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται, οἱ  
 δὲ παράνομοι ἐξωσθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς. In  
 quoting the latter part Clement seems  
 to be confusing it with Ps. xxxvii. 39  
 οἱ δὲ παράνομοι ἐξολεθρευθήσονται ἐπὶ

το αὐτο, which occurs in the context  
 of his next quotation.

4. ἐξολεθρευθήσονται] On the vary-  
 ing forms ὀλεθρεύειν and ὀλοθρεύειν  
 see Tischendorf *Nov. Test.* p. xlix.  
 Our chief MS for the most part writes  
 the word with an ε.

5. Εἶδον ἀσεβῆ κ.τ.λ.] From the  
 LXX of Ps. xxxvii. 36—38 with unim-  
 portant variations. The LXX has καὶ  
 ἐζήτησα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη ὁ τόπος  
 αὐτοῦ. In the Hebrew there is  
 nothing corresponding to ὁ τόπος  
 αὐτοῦ. Without hinting that he is  
 quoting from a previous writer, Cle-  
 ment of Alexandria, *Strom.* iv. 6 (p.  
 577), strings together these same six  
 quotations, beginning with Ps. xxxvii.  
 36 sq and ending with Ps. xii. 4 sq  
 (παρησιάζομαι ἐν αὐτῷ). In compar-  
 ing the two, we observe of the Alex-  
 andrian Clement, that (1) In his first  
 passage he restores the text of the  
 LXX, and quotes καὶ ἐζήτησα αὐτὸν  
 κ.τ.λ.; (2) For the most part he follows  
 Clement of Rome, e.g. in the remark-  
 able omission noted below (on ἀλαλα  
 γενηθῆτω κ.τ.λ.); (3) He inserts be-  
 tween the quotations an explanatory  
 word or sentence of his own; (4) He  
 ends this string of quotations with the



αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ εἶπον. φύλασσε δ' αὖ κακίαν καὶ ἴδε εὐθύτητα, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐνκατάλειμμα ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρηνικῷ.

10 XV. Τοῖνυν κολληθῶμεν τοῖς μετ' εὐσεβείας εἰρηνεύουσιν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως βουλομένοις εἰρήνην. λέγει γάρ πού· Οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρῳ ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ πάλιν· Τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν εὐλογοῦσαν, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν κατη-  
15 ρῶντο. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἐγράψαν αὐτὸν τῷ στόματι

A and apparently S; ὁ λαὸς οὗτος C.

13 ἄπεστιν] A Clem; ἀπέχει C Nicon; dub. S.

γουν C; εὐλογοῦσι Clem. See 1. p. 127.

the LXX.

κατηρῶντο] C (with LXX); καταρῶνται Clem; Tischendorf says of the reading of A 'κατηρῶντο certum est,' but Wright reads it κατηρῶντο. I looked several times and could not feel certain. On such forms as κατηρῶντο see Tischendorf *Nov. Test.* prol. p. lvii (ed. 7).

τοῖς χεῖλεσιν] AS; τῷ στόματι C.

14 εὐλογοῦσαν] A; εὐλό-

τῇ δὲ] AC Clem; καὶ τῇ S, with

very words of the Roman Clement, ταπεινοφρονούντων γὰρ ... τὸ ποιμνιον αὐτοῦ, without any indication that he is citing from another.

9. ἐνκατάλειμμα] 'a remnant,' i.e. a family or a memorial of some kind, as in ver. 39 τὰ ἐγκαταλείμματα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξολοθρεύσεται; comp. Ps. xxxiv. 16 τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν, quoted by Clement below, § 22.

XV. 'Let us then attach ourselves to the guileless and peaceful; but avoid hypocrites who make a show of peace. Against such the denunciations of Scripture are frequent and severe; against the idle profession of God's service—against the deceitful and proud lips.'

12. Οὗτος ὁ λαός] From Is. xxix. 13, which is quoted also Matt. xv. 8, Mark vii. 6. Clement follows the Evangelists rather than the original text. For the opening words of the original, ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν με, they give the sentence in a compressed form οὗτος ὁ λαὸς (ὁ λαὸς οὗτος Matt.) τοῖς χεῖλεσιν

με τιμᾷ as here. Both Evangelists have ἀπέχει with the LXX, where Clement has ἄπεστιν. Clem. Alex. follows our Clement, modifying the form however to suit his context. In *Clem. Rom.* ii. § 3 it is quoted exactly as here, except that ὁ λαὸς οὗτος stands for οὗτος ὁ λαός. Justin quotes the LXX, *Dial.* 78 (p. 305). For various readings in the MSS of the LXX and quotations from it see Hatch *Biblical Greek* p. 177 sq.

14. Τῷ στόματι κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Ps. lxii. 4, with unimportant variations.

εὐλογοῦσαν] for εὐλόγουν. See Sturz *Dial. Mac.* p. 58, and the references in Winer § xiii. p. 89. In the LXX here SB have εὐλογοῦσαν. Clem. Alex. (edd.) quotes εὐλογοῦσι.

15. Ἐγράψαν κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37 almost word for word. Ἐπιστάθησαν is here a translation of וַיִּשְׁתָּבֵּט, 'were stedfast.' Though ἡγάπησαν is read by the principal MSS (SB) of the LXX, the original reading was probably ἠπάτησαν, as this corresponds with the Hebrew. See also Hatch *Biblical Greek* p. 204 sq.

αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῶν ἐψεύσαντο αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθεῖα μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπιστάθηνσαν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ. **διὰ τοῦτο** Ἄλλα γεννηθῆτω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια τὰ λαλοῦντα κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνομίαν· καὶ πάλιν Ἐξολεθρεύσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια, γλώσσαν 5 μεγαλορήμονα, τοὺς εἰπόντας, τὴν γλώσσαν ἡμῶν μεγαλύνωμεν, τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν· τίς ἡμῶν κύριός ἐστιν; ἀπὸ τῆς τालαιπωρίας τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 ἐψεύσαντο] AS Clem; ἔψεξαν C. γενηθήτω] A Clem; γενηθείη C.

Clem by homeoteleuton.

3 διὰ τοῦτο] CS Clem; om. A. 4 τὰ λαλοῦντα...τὰ δόλια] S; om. AC Clem by homeoteleuton. 5 γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα τοὺς εἰπόντας] AS; καὶ γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα τοὺς εἰπόντας Clem; γλώσσα μεγαλορήμων· καὶ πάλιν· Τοὺς εἰπόντας C. The scribe thus patches up by insertion and alteration the text which the previous omission had dislocated, so that it may run grammatically and make sense; see I. p. 143.

6 μεγαλύνωμεν] A; μεγαλυνούμεν C Clem; dub. S.

3. διὰ τοῦτο] This should not be treated as part of the quotation, since it is not found in any of the passages of the Psalms which are here strung together. The Alexandrian Clement however (p. 578), quoting from his Roman namesake, may perhaps have regarded it as such.

Ἄλλα κ.τ.λ.] I venture to transcribe (within brackets) the note in my first edition; from which it will be seen how far I had divined the reading of the text, as since confirmed by the Syriac version.

[The words ἄλλα γεννηθῆτω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια are taken from the LXX, Ps. xxxi. 19. Those which follow are from the LXX Ps. xii. 3—6 ἐξολεθρεύσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια [καὶ] γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα τοὺς εἰπόντας κ.τ.λ. Since in the quotation of Clement, as it stands in the MS, γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα has no government, it seems clear that the transcriber's eye has passed from one τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια to the other and omitted the introductory words of the second quotation. I have therefore inserted the words ἐξολεθρεύσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ

χεῖλη τὰ δόλια. Wotton and others detected the omission but made the insertion in the form καὶ ἔξ. K. π. τ. χ. τὰ δόλια καὶ. This does not explain the scribe's error. The καὶ before γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα, though found in AB, is marked as to be erased in S and is omitted in many MSS in Holmes and Parsons; and in our Clement's text of the LXX it must have been wanting. The Hebrew omits the conjunction in the corresponding place. The existing omission in the text of the Roman Clement seems to be as old as the end of the second century, for his Alexandrian namesake (see the note on εἶδον ἀσεβῆ κ.τ.λ. above) gives the passage, ἄλλα γεννηθῆτω πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια καὶ γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα κ.τ.λ., inserting καὶ before γλώσσαν, though quoting it in the main as it is quoted here. Or we have the alternative of supposing that a transcriber of the Alexandrian Clement has independently made a similar omission to the transcriber of the Roman. For the form μεγαλορήμονα see the note on ἐξερίζωσεν § 6.]

7. παρ' ἡμῖν] 'in our power, our

στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων ἡμῶν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει Κύριος.  
10 ὁθήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ, παρρησιάζομαι ἐν ἀγῶνι.

XVI. Ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. τὸ σκῆπτρον [τῆς μεγαλωσύνης] τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Κύριος [ἡμῶν] Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφάνιας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, καθὼς τὸ

7 παρ' ἡμῶν] A Clem; παρ' ἡμῶν CS.

8 ἀπὸ] A; om. CS Clem.

9 ἀνα-

στήσομαι] ἀναστήσομεν A.

10 ἐν σωτηρίῳ] Clem; ἐν σωτηρία A; אנהרררר (ἐν

σωτηρίᾳ or ἐν σωτηρίῳ) S; om. C. The MSS of the LXX vary.

13 τῆς μεγα-

λωσύνης] AC; om. S Hieron.

ἡμῶν] A; om. C Hieron; dub. S, for אלה is

used equally for ὁ κύριος and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς] A; ἰησοῦς

χριστὸς CS Hieron.

14 ἀλαζονείας] ἀλαζονισ A.

15 ταπεινοφρονῶν]

AC [Hieron]; add. ἦλθεν S.

ωνη.' It represents the Hebrew אנהררר. The dative is correctly read also by Clem. Alex. and some MSS of the LXX; but SAB have παρ' ἡμῶν.

9. ἀναστήσομαι] The reading of A ἀναστήσομεν has arisen from ἀναστήσομε, whence ἀναστήσομῃ: comp. αἰχμαλωσίᾳ (αἰχμαλωσίαν) for αἰχμαλωσία (αἰχμαλωσίᾳ) in ii. § 6. So too § 41 συνειδήσιν (συνειδήσι) for συνειδήσι=συνειδήσει.

10. θήσομαι κ.τ.λ.] 'I will place him in safety, I will deal boldly by him.' The Hebrew of the last clause is wholly different from the LXX.

XVI. 'Christ is the friend of the lowly; He Himself is our great pattern of humility. This is the leading feature in the portrait which the evangelic prophet has drawn of the lamb led to the slaughter. This too is declared by the lips of the Psalmist. If then He our Lord was so lowly, what ought we His servants to be?'

12. οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Pet. v. 3, Acts xx. 29. The word ποίμνιον occurs again §§ 44, 54, 57.

τὸ σκῆπτρον κ.τ.λ.] The expression is apparently suggested by Heb. i. 8, where Ps. xlv. 6 ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου is applied to

our Lord. Fell refers to the application of the same text made by Justin *Dial.* 63 (pp. 286 sq) to show ὅτι καὶ προσκυνητός ἐστι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Χριστός. Jerome in *Isai.* lii. 13 (iv. p. 612) quotes this passage of Clement, 'Spectrum Dei, Dominus Jesus Christus, non venit in jactantia superbiae, quum possit omnia, sed in humilitate.' This application of our Lord's example bears a resemblance to Phil. ii. 5 sq and may be an echo of it.

13. μεγαλωσύνης] The word is doubtful here, but occurs several times in Clement elsewhere, §§ 20, 27, 36, 58, 61, 64, 65; and this fact is in its favour.

14. ἐν κόμπῳ κ.τ.λ.] Macar. Magn. *Apoc.* iv. 2 (p. 159) πολλὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῆς ἀλαζονείας ὁ κόμπος.

ἀλαζονείας κ.τ.λ.] The adjectives ἀλαζὼν and ὑπερήφανος occur together, Rom. i. 30, 2 Tim. iii. 2. The one refers to the expression, the other to the thought; see the distinction in Trench *N. T. Syn.* § xxix. 1st ser.

15. καίπερ δυνάμενος] This passage implies the pre-existence of Christ; comp. Phil. ii. 6 sq ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων κ.τ.λ.; see the introduction i. p. 398 sq.



πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν· φησὶν γάρ·  
 Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων Κυρίου  
 τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὡς παιδίον,  
 ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ· οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ δόξα·  
 καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ 5  
 τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, ἐκλείπον παρὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων· ἀνθρώπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ πόνῳ καὶ εἰδῶς φέρειν  
 μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἡτιμάσθη  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη. οὔτος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ  
 ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾷται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτόν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ 10

3 ἀνηγγείλαμεν] ἀνηγγίλαμεν A.

παιδίον] AS; πεδίον C.

4 εἶδος

αὐτῷ] A (with LXX); αὐτῷ εἶδος C; and so S, but the order cannot be pressed in this case.

5 κάλλος] AC; δόξαν S, but **נחבש** is probably a copyist's error for **נרפוש**, the former word having occurred in the previous sentence.

6 ἐκλείπον] ἐκλιπον A.

τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἀνθρώπων] AC; πάντας ἀνθρώπους S.

2. Κύριε κ.τ.λ.] A Messianic application is made of this 53rd chapter of Isaiah by S. Matthew viii. 17 (ver. 4), by S. Mark xv. 28 (ver. 12), by S. Luke xxii. 37 (ver. 12), by S. John i. 29 (ver. 4, 7), xii. 38 (ver. 1), by Philip Acts viii. 32 sq (ver. 7, 8), by S. Paul Rom. x. 16 (ver. 1), and by S. Peter 1 Pet. ii. 23 sq (ver. 5, 9). Barnabas also (§ 5) applies ver. 5, 7, to our Lord; and Justin both in the *Apology* and in the *Dialogue* interprets this chapter so frequently: see esp. *Apol.* i. 50, 51 (p. 85 sq), *Dial.* 13 (p. 230 sq), in both which passages it is quoted in full. For Jewish Messianic interpretations of this chapter see Hengstenberg *Christol.* II. p. 310 sq (Eng. trans.), Schöttgen *Hor. Hebr.* II. p. 138 sq, and especially Driver and Neubauer *The fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, Oxf. and Lond. 1877, with Pusey's preface.

Clement's quotation for the most part follows the LXX tolerably closely. The more important divergences from the LXX are noticed below.

The LXX itself differs considerably from the Hebrew in many points. See also Hatch *Biblical Greek* p. 178 sq, p. 201 sq, on the form of the early quotations from this passage of the LXX.

3. ἀνηγγείλαμεν κ.τ.λ.] The LXX reading here is devoid of sense and must be corrupt, though the MSS and early quotations all present ἀνηγγείλαμεν. As this word corresponds to the Hebrew **נשי** (Aq. Theod. ἀναβήσεται, Symm. ἀνέβη), Is. Voss proposed ἀνετείλαμεν (see Grabe *Diss. de Variis Vitiis LXX* p. 38); but even this alteration is not enough, and we should require ἀνέτειλεν. The following meaning however seems generally to have been attached to the words; 'We—the preachers—announced Him before the Lord; as a child is He, as a root etc.' (see Eusebius and Jerome on the passage); but Justin *Dial.* 42 (p. 261) strangely explains ὡς παιδίον of the child-like submission of the Church to Christ. The interpretation of Origen *ad Rom.* viii. § 6 (IV. p. 627)

καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν, ἄνθρωπος τῇ  
 15 ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτόν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη·

See the lower note for the LXX reading.

in CS. See the lower note.

12 ἁμαρτίας, ἀνομίας] A; transposed  
 13 παιδεία] παιδία A. 15 ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἁμαρτιῶν] AC; ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις S with the LXX. See the lower note. 19 ἐν  
 τῇ ταπεινώσει] AC; add. ejus S, where the punctuation attaches it to the previous  
 sentence. κρίσις] κρίσεις A.

is not quite clear. The fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries generally interpret ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ as referring to the miraculous conception. In the order ἐν. αὐτ. ὡς παιδ. Clement agrees with SA Justin p. 230 (p. 85, 260 sq. ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ); and so the old Latin, e.g. Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. 17 (and elsewhere) 'annuntiavimus coram ipso velut puerulus etc.': but B has ὡς παιδ. ἐν. αὐτ., the order of the Hebrew.

6. παρὰ τὸ εἶδ. τ. ἀνθρ.] The LXX S, Clem. Alex. p. 440, παρὰ πάντας (S corr. from παν) τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων; B, Justin p. 230, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. 7, *adv. Jud.* 14, παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων; A, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. 17, παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους; Justin p. 85, Clem. Alex. p. 252, παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

7. καὶ πόνῳ] Wanting in the LXX. The words must have crept in from below, ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ, either by a lapse of memory on Clement's part or by an error in his copy of the LXX or in the transcription of Clement's own text.

8. ἀπέστραπτai] The original is

כַּמְסַתֵּר פָּנָיו מִמֶּנּוּ, 'as hiding the face from him' or 'from us.' The LXX seem to have adopted the latter sense, though they have omitted מִמֶּנּוּ; 'His face is turned away,' i.e. as one ashamed or loathed; comp. Lev. xiii. 45.

12. ἁμαρτίας, ἀνομίας] So B, Justin p. 230; but SA, Barnab. § 5, Justin p. 85, transpose the words, reading ἀνομίας in the first clause and ἁμαρτίας in the second.

14. ἄνθρωπος] 'each man,' distributive; a Hebraism not uncommon in the LXX; and the use is somewhat similar in John ii. 25, 1 Cor. xi. 28.

15. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν] The LXX has ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, and so Justin pp. 86, 230, Clem. Alex. p. 138; but Tertull. *adv. Prax.* 30 'pro delictis nostris.'

19. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει κ.τ.λ.] This passage is also quoted from the LXX in Acts viii. 33 ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει [αὐτοῦ] ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη, where the first αὐτοῦ should be omitted with the best MSS, so that S. Luke's quotation accords exactly with the LXX. For the probable meaning of the LXX here see the commentators on Acts l.c.;

τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἥκει εἰς θάνατον. καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πλοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐφρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ 5  
Κύριος βούλεται καθαρῖσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πληγῆς· ἐὰν δὴ ὥτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὀψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον. καὶ Κύριος βούλεται ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον ἐξ ἀλογούντων πολλοῖς· καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει. διὰ 10

1 τὴν γενεάν] AC; καὶ τὴν γενεάν S.  
lower note.

7 ὀψεται] εψεται A.

2 ἥκει] AC; ἥχθη S. See the  
8 τῆς ψυχῆς] AC; ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς S.

The 12 which represents ἀπὸ before τοῦ πόνου is pointed as if = μέν.

12 τοῖς]

and for patristic interpretations of *γενεά*, Suicer i. p. 744 s. v. The Hebrew is different.

2. ἥκει] ἥχθη LXX and Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 10; but ἥκει is read by Justin pp. 86, 230, though elsewhere he has ἥχθη p. 261 (MSS ἥχθη), comp. p. 317 ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀχθήσεται εἰς θάνατον. As ἥχθη may easily have been introduced from ver. 7, ἥκει was perhaps the original reading of the LXX; and so it stands in some MSS in Holmes and Parsons.

3. καὶ δώσω κ.τ.λ.] The LXX clearly means that the wicked and the wealthy should die in requital for His death; as Justin *Dial.* 32 (p. 249) ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλουσίους θανατωθήσεται. Thus the reference to the crucifixion of the thieves and the entombment in Joseph's grave, which the original has suggested to later Christian writers, is rendered impossible in the LXX. This application however is not made in the Gospels, where only ver. 12 ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη is quoted in this connexion, nor (I believe) in any father of the second century nor even

in Tertullian or Origen.

5. οὐδὲ ἐφρέθη δόλος] So A in the LXX, but SB (corrected however in S by later hands) have simply οὐδὲ δόλον, following the Hebrew more closely. In 1 Pet. ii. 22 are the words ὅς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ἐφρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, though this is not given as a direct quotation and may have been intended merely as a paraphrase, like much of the context. But it is quoted by Justin also καὶ οὐχ ἐφρέθη δόλος p. 230, and οὐδὲ ἐφρέθη δόλος p. 86, though in a third passage he has οὐδὲ δόλον p. 330. And so likewise Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 10 'nec dolus in ore ejus inventus est,' Origen i. p. 91 C, II. pp. 250 D, 287 C, and Hippol. in *Psalms*. 7 (p. 191 Lagarde). The passage of S. Peter might have influenced the form of quotation and even the reading of the MSS in some cases: but the passages where οὐδὲ ἐφρέθη δόλος appears are so numerous, that we must suppose it to have been so read in some copies of the LXX at least as early as the first century. This reading is found in several MSS in Holmes and Parsons.



τοῦτο αὐτός κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ  
 σκῆλα· ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη· καὶ αὐτός ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνῆνεγκεν καὶ  
 διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη. *Καὶ πάλιν αὐτός φησιν·*  
 15 Ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι σκώληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ὅνειδος ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ ἔξοχθένημα λαοῦ. πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἔξεμυκτήρι-  
 σαν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεῖλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν, ἠλπίσαν  
 ἐπὶ Κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν, σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.  
*Ὁρατε, ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομέ-*  
 20 *νος ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος οὕτως ἐταπεινοφρόνησεν, τί*

A; ἐν τοῖς C, and so probably S, which has  $\mathfrak{C}$  not  $\mathfrak{L}$ .

17 ἐκίνησαν] *εκενησαν* A.

18  $\delta\tau\iota$ ] AC; *ei* S.

15  $\delta\epsilon$ ] AS; om. C.

6. τῆς πληγῆς] So SB Justin pp. 86, 230; but A (LXX) has ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. For καθαρίζειν or καθαίρειν τινός comp. Herod. i. 44. So the intransitive verb καθαρεύειν (Plato *Epist.* viii. p. 356 E) and the adjective καθαρὸς (Herod. ii. 38) may take a genitive.

δῶτε] So also LXX (SAB) and Justin pp. 86, 230 (MSS, but many edd. δῶται). Eusebius comments on this as the LXX reading, and Jerome distinctly states it to be so. Accordingly it was interpreted, 'If ye make an offering' (or, translated into its Christian equivalent, 'If ye be truly contrite and pray for pardon'), With δοῦναι περὶ comp. Heb. v. 3 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ προσφέρειν περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν. The meaning of the original is doubtful, but δῶτε seems to be a rendering of  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{שׁת}}$  taken as a second person, 'thou shalt give.' The reading δῶται 'give himself,' which some editors here would adopt, is quite late and can hardly stand.

7. Κύριος βούλεται κ.τ.λ.] The LXX departs very widely from the Hebrew, but its meaning is fairly clear. For ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ, 'to diminish from,' comp. Rev. xxii. 19, Exod. v. 11, and so fre-

quently. Tertullian however reads τὴν ψυχὴν 'eximere a morte animam ejus,' *adv. Jud.* 10. Πάσαι (sc. αὐτόν) stands in the present text of the LXX (SAB), and in Justin pp. 86, 230, nor is there any indication of a different reading: but, as  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{שׁת}}$  stands in the corresponding place in the Hebrew, the original reading of the LXX was probably *πᾶσαι*, as Grabe suggested (*Diss. de Vit. Var. LXX*, p. 39). Compare the vv. ll. *ῥάσσει* and *ῥήσσει* in Mark ix. 18.

12. τοῖς ἀνόμοις] ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις LXX (SAB), Justin pp. 86, 231, (though in the immediate neighbourhood of the first passage he has μετὰ τῶν ἀνόμων, p. 85); μετὰ ἀνόμων, Luke xxii. 37, (+Mark xv. 28+).

14. αὐτός] Christ Himself, in whose person the Psalmist is speaking. Comp. § 22, where αὐτὸς προσκαλεῖται has a similar reference. The words are an exact quotation from the LXX Ps. xxii. 6—8. The application to our Lord is favoured by Matt. xxvii. 43.

19. ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς] See the note above on § 5.

ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες ;

XVII. Μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα κακέινων, οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· λέγομεν δὲ Ἡλίαν καὶ 5 Ἑλισαῖ ἐτι δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκὴλ, τοὺς προφῆτας· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοὺς μεμαρτυρημένους. ἐμαρτυρήθη μεγάλως

1 ποιήσωμεν] A; ποιήσομεν C; dub. S. 2 ἐλθόντες] S; ἐλθοντος A; ἀπελθόντες C. 6 Ἑλισαῖ] A; Ἑλισαῖ C. 7 ἐτι δὲ] AS; om. C. καὶ] AC; om. S. πρὸς τούτοις] AC; add. δὲ S. 7 ἐμαρτυρήθη] AS; add. δὲ C. 9 ἀπειλίστων] A; ἀπειλίστας C; ἀπειλίστω S, apparently, for it renders *et dicit cogitans humiliter, videbo gloriam Dei.* ταπεινοφρονῶν] C;

1. τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς χάριτος] A verbal paradox, explained by the 'easy yoke' of Matt. xi. 29, 30. The following δι' αὐτοῦ is 'through His humiliation and condescension.'

XVII. 'We should also copy the humility of the prophets who went about in sheepskins and goatskins; of Abraham the friend of God, who confessed that he was mere dust and ashes; of Job the blameless, who condemned himself and all men as impure in the sight of God; of Moses the trusty servant, who declared his nothingness before the Lord.'

The whole of this chapter and part of the next are quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 610) in continuation of § 9 sq (see the note there): but he cites so freely, abridging and enlarging at pleasure, and interspersing his own commentary (e.g. τὴν οὐχ ὑποπίπτουσαν νόμφ αἰνιττόμενος ἀμαρτίαν γνωστικῶς μετριοπαθῶν), that he cannot generally be taken as an authority on the text, and (except in special cases) I have not thought it worth while to record his variations.

3. ἐν δέρμασιν κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. xi. 37. For the prophets' dress comp. Zech. xiii. 4 'The prophets shall be ashamed...neither shall they wear a

garment of hair' (where the LXX omits the negative and destroys the sense, καὶ ἐνδύσονται δέρριν τριχίνην); see also Bleek *Hebr. l.c.*, Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* p. 305. The word μηλωτῇ is used in the LXX to translate מַלְאָכָה, *paludamentum*, 'a mantle'; e.g. of Elijah and Elisha, 1 Kings xix. 13, 19, 2 Kings ii. 8, 13, 14. Though not a strict equivalent, it was doubtless adopted as describing the recognised dress of the prophet. Ezekiel is fitly classed with the older prophets, as representing a stern and ascetic type. His dress is nowhere mentioned in the O. T., but might be taken for granted as the ordinary garb of his office. Clem. Alex. after μηλωταῖς adds καὶ τριχῶν καμηλείων πλέγμασιν, as after Ἰεζεκὴλ he adds καὶ Ἰωάννην, the former interpolation preparing the way for the latter.

6. Ἑλισαῖ] A frequent form in the best MSS of the LXX (with a single or a double σ), e.g. 2 Kings ii. 1 sq. The editors have quite needlessly changed it into Ἑλισσαῖον, which is the form in Clem. Alex.

τοὺς προφῆτας] Epiphanius has been thought to refer to this passage in *Haer.* xxx. 15, αὐτὸς (Κλήμης) ἐγκωμιάζει Ἡλίαν καὶ Δαβὶδ καὶ Σαμψὼν καὶ

Ἀβραὰμ καὶ φίλος προσηγορεύθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ λέγει ἀτενίζων εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ταπεινοφρονῶν. Ἐγὼ  
 10 ΔΕ Εἶμι γὰ καὶ σποδός. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωβ οὕτως γέ-  
 γραπται· Ἰωβ δὲ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος, ἀληθινός, θεο-  
 σεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάντος κακοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ  
 κατηγορεῖ λέγων, Οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδ' ἄν

ταπεινοφρονῶν A.

11 δὲ] CS Clem; om. A.

καὶ] AC [Clem]; om.

S with LXX.

ἀληθινός] αληθεινός A; ἀληθινός καὶ Clem 611.

12 κακοῦ]

AC Clem; πονηροῦ πράγματος (with LXX) S.

13 κατηγορεῖ λέγων] C;

κατηγ..... A; *contra seipsum dicens loquitur* (as if κατηγοῶν λέγει) S.

οὐδ'

ἀν] C; οὐδ' εἰ Clem; def. A. See the lower note.

πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας κ.τ.λ.; but the reference must be to the spurious *Epistles on Virginity*, where Samson, as well as the others, is mentioned by name (see above, I. p. 409).

7. τοὺς μεμαρτυρημένους] *'borne witness to, approved,'* whether by God or by men; see below, §§ 17, 18, 19, 38, 44, 47, Acts vi. 3, Heb. xi. 2, 4, 5, 39, 3 Joh. 12, etc. Here the testimony of God's voice in Scripture seems to be intended, as appears from the examples following.

8. φίλος προσηγορεύθη] Comp. James ii. 23, and see above, § 10 with the note.

9. τὴν δόξαν] i.e. the outward manifestation, the visible light and glory which betokened His presence; as e.g. Exod. xvi. 7, 10, xxiv. 16, 17, xxxiii. 19, 22, xl. 28, 29, Luke ii. 9, 1 Cor. xv. 40 sq, 2 Cor. iii. 7 sq, etc.

ταπεινοφρονῶν] A favourite word with Clement; see § 2, 13 (twice), 16 (three times), 19, 30, 38, 48. In like manner ταπεινοφροσύνη and ταπείνωσις occur several times. The scribe of A reads ταπεινοφρωνων here, as he reads ταπεινοφρονον § 19. In both cases his reading must be corrected. This verb occurs only once in the LXX (Ps. cxxxi. 2), and not once in the New Testament.

Ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted exactly from

the LXX Gen. xviii. 27.

11. Ἰωβ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Job i. 1, where SB have ἀληθινός ἄμεμπτος δίκαιος θεοσεβής, and A ἄμεμπτος δίκαιος ἀληθινός θεοσεβής.

13. κατηγορεῖ λέγων] I prefer this to κατηγοῶν λέγει or κατηγοῶν εἶπεν. Wotton is certainly wrong in saying that he could read εἶπεν in A. There is no trace of the word and cannot have been any. He must have made some confusion with the εἶπεν below, which is blurred.

Οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from the LXX Job xiv. 4, 5.

οὐδ' ἄν] All the best MSS of the LXX agree in reading εἰάν καὶ, which many editors have preferred here. On the other hand Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 611) has οὐδ' εἰ, and as in the rest of this quotation he follows his namesake pretty closely, where he departs from the LXX, he may have done so in this instance. Origen, who frequently quotes the text, generally has οὐδ' ἄν (e.g. II. p. 829) or οὐδ' εἰ (III. pp. 160, 685), but sometimes omits the negative. In *Apost. Const.* ii. 18 it is quoted as here. The passage is one of very few outside of the pentateuch quoted by Philo, *de Mut. Nom.* 6 (I. p. 585), who reads τίς γὰρ...καὶ ἄν...



μιὰς ἡμέρας ἢ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας αὐτοῦ ἔκρινεν ὁ Θεὸς Αἴγυπτον διὰ τῶν μαστίγων καὶ τῶν αἰκισμάτων αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνος δοξασθεὶς μέγας οὐκ ἐμεγαλορημόνησεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου χρημα-  
τισμοῦ αὐτῷ διδομένου, Τίς εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι με πέμπεις;

2 αὐτοῦ pri] AS (with Heb. iii. 2); om. C. ἔκρινεν] AC; κρίνει (apparently) S. 5 ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου] ε.....βατου A; ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς βάτου C; ἐπὶ τῆς (or τοῦ) βάτου S; ἐκ τῆς βάτου Clem. See the lower note. 9 ἀπωμεν]

1. πιστὸς κ.τ.λ.] He is so called Num. xii. 7; comp. Heb. iii. 2. The αὐτοῦ is τοῦ Θεοῦ, for the LXX has μου.

2. ὑπηρεσίας] Comp. Wisd. xiii. 11, xv. 7.

ἐκρινεν κ.τ.λ.] Compare § 11 κρί-  
σεως διὰ πυρός. Moses was the instrument in fulfilling the prophecy uttered before, Gen. xv. 14 (comp. Acts vii. 7) τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ εὖν δουλεύ-  
σωσι κρίνω ἐγώ.

5. ἐμεγαλορημόνησεν] See the note on ἐξερίζωσεν, § 6.

ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου] A cannot have so read the words as they stand in C, unless this line was very much longer than the preceding or following one. Moreover ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς βάτου χρηματισμοῦ αὐτῷ διδομένου is in itself a very awkward and unlikely expression. Probably A read ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου or ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου, this being a common mode of referring to the incident; Luke xx. 37 (comp. Mark xii. 26), Justin *Dial.* 128 (p. 357), *Clem. Hom.* xvi. 14, *Apost. Const.* v. 20. The reading of C must be attributed to the indecision of a scribe hesitating between the masculine and feminine genders; the word being sometimes masculine, ὁ βάτος (e.g. Exod. iii. 2, 3, 4, *Apost. Const.* vii. 33), sometimes feminine (Deut. xxxiii. 16, Acts vii. 35, Justin *Dial.* 127, 128, *Clem.*

*Hom.* xvi. 14, *Apost. Const.* v. 20). So we have ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου Mark xii. 26 (though with an ill-supported v.l.), but ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου Luke xx. 37. In Justin *Dial.* 60 (p. 283) we meet with ἀπὸ τῆς βάτου, ὁ βάτος, ὁ βάτος, ἐκ τῆς βάτου, in the same chapter. See on this double gender of the word Fritzsche on Mark l.c.

6. Τίς εἰμι ἐγώ] From Exod. iii. 11 τίς εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι πορεύσομαι κ.τ.λ.

7. ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From Exod. iv. 10 ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος ἐγώ εἰμι.

8. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἀτμὶς κ.τ.λ.] This quotation is not found in the Old Testament or in any apocryphal book extant whole or in part. The nearest parallel is James iv. 14, ποία γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν; ἀτμὶς [γὰρ] ἐστε ἡ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη κ.τ.λ. Compare also Hosea xiii. 3 'As smoke from the chimney' (or 'the window'), where the LXX seems to have translated originally ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων (see Simson's *Hosea* p. 44), corrupted into ἀπὸ δακρύων in B and corrected into ἐκ καπνοδόχης from Theodotus in A; and Ps. cxix. 83 'I am become like a bottle in the smoke,' where again the LXX mistranslates ὥσεὶ ἀσκός ἐν πάχνῃ. In none of these passages however are the words very close, nor are they spoken by Moses. Perhaps therefore this should be reckon-

ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἰσχνόφωρος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος. καὶ πάλιν λέγει, Ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ κύθρας.

XVIII. Τί δὲ εἵπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δαυεῖδ; πρὸς ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Εὔρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαγεῖδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἐν ἐλέει αἰωνίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν Ἑλέησόν

A; εἵπομεν C.

10, 11 Δαυεῖδ] δαδ AC. See above, § 4.

10 ὁ Θεός]

AS; om. C.

11 ἐλέει] C; ελαιει A; ελαίφ S Clem (edd.). See below.

ed among S. Clement's quotations from apocryphal books, on which Photius (*Bibl.* 126 ῥητά τινα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρεισάγει) remarks: see also §§ 8, 13, 23, 30, 46 (notes). Hilgenfeld supposes that the words were taken from the *Assumption of Moses*. This is not impossible; but the independent reason which he gives for the belief that Clement was acquainted with that apocryphal work is unsatisfactory; see the note on the phoenix below, § 25. I have pointed out elsewhere (§ 23) another apocryphal work, from which they might well have been taken. The metaphor is common with the Stoics: see Seneca *Troad.* 392 sq 'Ut calidus fumus ab ignibus Vanescit...Sic hic quo regimur spiritus effluit', M. Anton. x. 31 καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν, xii. 33 νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός; so also Empedocles (in Plut. *Op. Mor.* p. 360 C, quoted by Gataker on x. 31) had said, ὥκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν.

κύθρας] Another form of χύτρας, just as κισθὼν and χιτῶν are interchanged. The proper Ionic genitive would be κύθρης, which is used by Herodes in Stob. *Floril.* lxxviii. 6 (quoted in Hase and Dindorf's *Steph. Thes.*). Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 1 (p. 165) has κυθριδίου; and for instances of κυθρίνος (for χυτρίνος) see Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 209. In the text of Clem. Alex. here χύτρας is read.

XVIII. 'Again take David as an

example of humility. He is declared to be the man after God's own heart. Yet he speaks of himself as overwhelmed with sin, as steeped in impurity, and prays that he may be cleansed by God's Spirit'.

10. πρὸς ὃν] Comp. Rom. x. 21, Heb. i. 7, and see Winer § xlix. p. 424.

Εὔρον κ.τ.λ.] A combination of Ps. lxxxi. 21 εὔρον Δαυεῖδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ελαίφ ἀγίῳ μου ἔχρισα αὐτόν, with 1 Sam. xiii. 14 ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, or rather with Acts xiii. 22 εὔρον Δαυεῖδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου (itself a loose quotation from 1 Sam. xiii. 14). In the first passage ελαίφ the reading of SA is doubtless correct, the corresponding Hebrew being יִשֹּׁף; though ἐλέει is read by B. But Clement appears to have read ἐλέει as our Greek MSS testify. Similarly in § 56, when quoting Ps. cxli. 5, he reads ελαιος (i.e. ἔλεος) ἁμαρτωλῶν for ἔλαιον ἁμαρτωλῶν. On the interchange of δι and ε in this word see above, I. p. 121. On the other hand Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 17 (p. 611), quoting this passage of his namesake, restores the correct word ελαίφ (if his editors can be trusted), as he would do naturally, if accustomed to this reading in the Psalms.

12. Ἐλέησον κ.τ.λ.] The 51st Psalm quoted from the LXX almost word for word. The variations are very slight and unimportant.

με, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου. ἐπὶ πλεῖον πλῆνόν με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας μου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου καθάρισόν με· ὅτι τὴν ἀνομίαν μου ἐγὼ γινώσκω, καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία μου ἐνώπιόν μου ἐστὶν διὰ παντός. σοὶ μόνῳ ἡμαρτον, καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα· ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις συνέλημφθην, καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίςχησέν με ἡ μήτηρ μου. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀληθείαν ἠγάπησας· τὰ ἀδύνατα καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς σοφίας σου ἐδήλωσάς μοι. ῥαν- 10

1 ἔλεος] ελαιοσ Α. 2 οἰκτιρμῶν] οἰκτειρμῶν Α. ἐπὶ πλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] C omits the rest of the quotation from this point to ἐξουθενώσει (inclusive) at the end

2. ἐπὶ πλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'wash me again and again'. The Hebrew is 'multiply (and) wash me'.

6. ὅπως κ.τ.λ.] This verse is quoted also Rom. iii. 4. The middle κρίνεσθαι, 'to have a cause adjudged, to plead,' is said of one of the parties to a suit. The 'pleading' of God is a common image in the Old Testament; e.g. Is. i. 18, v. 3. In this passage however the natural rendering of the Hebrew would be κρίνειν, not κρίνεσθαι.

7. νικήσῃς] The future νικήσεις is improbable (see Winer § xli. p. 304), especially with a preceding δικαιωθῇς; and the MS A is of no authority where it is a question between η and ει. The LXX text (SB) has νικήσῃς.

8. ἐκίσσησεν] 'conceived', not found elsewhere in the LXX. The sense and construction which the word has here seem to be unique. Elsewhere it denotes the fastidious appetite of women at such a time and takes a genitive of the object desired; comp. Arist. Pax 497.

9. τὰ ἀδύνατα κ.τ.λ.] The LXX translators have missed the sense of the original here.

11. ὑσώπη] As one defiled by le-

prosy or some other taint was purged according to the law; see Lev. xiv. 4 sq, Num. xix. 6, 18, and Perowne *On the Psalms*, ad loc.

12. ἀκουτίεις] For the word ἀκουτί-ζειν see Sturz *de Dial. Mac.* p. 144. It was perhaps invented to translate the Hiphil of נִשְׁחַץ.

16. εὐθής] A common form of the neuter in the LXX, e.g. Judges xvii. 6, xxi. 25, 2 Sam. xix. 6, 18, etc. The masculine εὐθής also occurs, e.g. Ps. xcii. 14.

19. ἡγεμονικῶ] The word occurs frequently in the Greek philosophers. The Stoics more especially affected the term, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or ἡγεμονικόν without the article, using it to signify the principle of life, the centre of being, the seat of the personality, the element which determines the character, etc. (see Menage on Diog. Laert. vii. 86 § 159; Schweighäuser on Epictet. *Diss.* i. 20. 11 with the index; Mayor on Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 11 § 29). Considering the world to be an animated being, they discussed what and where was its ἡγεμονικόν. The Stoic definition of ἡγεμονικόν in the human being, as given by Chrysippus, appears in



τιεῖς με ὑσώπω, καὶ καθαρισθήσονται· πλυνεῖς με, καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 χιόνα λεγκανθήσονται· ἀκοῦτιεῖς με ἀγαλλιάσιν καὶ εὐφροσύ-  
 νην· ἀγαλλιάσονται ὅσα τέταπεινωμένα. ἀπόστρεψον τὸ  
 15 πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀνο-  
 μίας μου ἐξάλειψον. καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ  
 Θεός, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθές ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου.  
 μὴ ἀπορίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ  
 ἄγιόν σου μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ἀπόδος μοι τὴν ἀγαλ-  
 λιάσιν τοῦ σωτηρίου σου, καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ στή-

of the chapter; see I. p. 128.

πλεῖον] πλιον A.

7 νικήσῃς] νικησεις

A. 10 σου] A (with LXX); om. S (with Hebr.).

11 πλυνεῖς]

πλυνεις A.

16 ἐγκάτοις] ἐγκατοις A.

Diog. Laert. I. c. τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἐν ᾧ αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὀρμαὶ  
 γίνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται.  
 M. Antoninus divides the human  
 being (ii. 2) into three parts, *σάρκία*,  
*πνευμάτιον*, *ἡγεμονικόν*, which corre-  
 sponds to his triple division else-  
 where (iii. 16) *σῶμα*, *ψυχή*, *νοῦς*; comp.  
*ib.* v. 11. In Epictetus the use of the  
 word is very frequent. A full defini-  
 tion of it is given in Sext. Empir. ix.  
 § 102 (p. 414 Bekker) *πᾶσαι αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ*  
*μέρη τοῦ ὅλου ἐξαποστελλόμεναι δυνά-*  
*μεις ὡς ἀπὸ τινος πηγῆς τοῦ ἡγεμονι-*  
*κοῦ ἐξαποστελλονται*, with the context.  
 It is identified by various writers  
 with the *λόγος* or with the *νοῦς* or  
 with the *πνεῦμα* or with the *ψυχή*,  
 according to their various philoso-  
 phical systems. In Latin it becomes  
*principatus* in Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.*  
 I. c. 'principatum id dico quod Graeci  
*ἡγεμονικόν* vocant') and *principale* in  
 Seneca (*Ep.* 92 § 1, 113 § 23, and  
 elsewhere). So Tertullian *de Resurr.*  
*Carn.* 15 'principalitas sensuum quod  
*ἡγεμονικόν* appellatur,' *de Anim.* 15  
 'summus in anima gradus vitalis  
 quod *ἡγεμονικόν* appellant, id est  
 principale.'

The Hebrew word נָבִיג, here trans-  
 lated *ἡγεμονικόν*, signifies 'prompt',

'spontaneous', and so 'liberal in  
 giving'. Hence it gets a secondary  
 meaning 'a prince' or 'a noble',  
 'generosity' or 'liberality' being con-  
 nected with persons of this high rank.  
 In this meaning, which is extremely  
 common, the LXX translators seem  
 to have taken it here; and the ideas  
 which heathen philosophy associated  
 with the word *ἡγεμονικόν* suggested it  
 as an equivalent. Thus *πνεῦμα ἡγε-*  
*μονικόν* would mean 'a spirit which  
 is a principle or source of life.' The  
 Hebrew phrase itself however seems  
 to signify nothing more than 'an  
 open, hearty, free spirit.'

But, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit  
 is the fountain-head of all spiritual  
 life, the expressions *πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν*,  
 'spiritus principalis', came soon to  
 be used by Christian writers of the  
 Holy Spirit; and the passage in the  
 Psalms was so explained, as e.g. by  
 Origen *Comm. ad Rom.* I. vii. § 1 (*Op.*  
 IV. p. 593 De la Rue) 'principalem  
 spiritum propterea arbitror nomi-  
 natum, ut ostenderetur esse quidem  
 multos spiritus, sed in his principatum  
 et dominationem hunc Spiritum sanc-  
 tum, qui et principalis appellatur,  
 tenere'. This connexion indeed  
 might appear to them to be suggested

ρισόν με. διδάξω ἀνόμογς τὰς ὁδοὺς σοῦ, καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ σε. ῥῆσαί με ἐξ αἱμάτων, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός τῆς σωτηρίας μου. ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ γλῶσσά μου τὴν δικαιοσύνην σοῦ. Κύριε, τὸ στόμα μου ἀνοίξεις, καὶ τὰ χεῖλη μου ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν αἰνέσιν σοῦ· ὅτι εἰ ἠθέλησας θύσιάν, ἔδωκα ἄν· ὀλοκαυτώματα οὐκ ἐγδοκήσεις. θύσια τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον· καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην ὁ Θεός οὐκ ἐξογθενώσει.

XIX. *Τῶν τοσούτων οὖν καὶ τοιούτων οὕτως μαρτυρημένων τὸ ταπεινοφρονοῦν καὶ τὸ ὑποδεῆς διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς οὐ μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸ ἡμῶν*

4 sq τὸ στόμα...τὰ χεῖλη] A; the words are transposed in S with the LXX and Hebrew. 9 τοσούτων, τοιούτων] A; transposed in CS. οὕτως] A; om. C; καὶ οὕτως S. 10 ταπεινοφρονοῦν] ταπεινοφρονον A; ταπεινώφρον C. 11 ἀλλὰ] CS; ἀλλασ A. τὰς πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεὰς] AS; τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν (omitting γενεὰς) C. 12 τε] AC; om. S. 13 αὐτοῦ] AC; τοῦ θεοῦ S.

by the words of the Psalm itself, since τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου occurs in the preceding verse. So in the *Fragm. Murator.* p. 18 (Tregelles), where speaking of the four Gospels this very early writer says that they are in perfect accord with one another 'cum uno ac principali Spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia'; on which passage see Hesse *Das Muratorische Fragment* p. 109 sq. Thus πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν furnishes an additional instance of the alliance of the phraseology of Greek philosophy with scriptural ideas, which is a common phenomenon in early Christian literature.

στήρισον] So SB read in the LXX, but A and others στήριξον. On these double forms see Buttmann *Ausf. Gr. Spr.* § 92 (I. p. 372); and on the use of στήρισον, etc., in the New Testament, Winer § xv. p. 101. The scribe of A in Clement is inconsistent; for he has ἐστήριξεν § 8, στήρίζωμεν § 13, but ἐστήρισεν § 33,

and στήρισον here.

2. αἱμάτων] The plural denotes especially 'bloodshed', as in Plat. *Legg.* ix. p. 872 E, and the instances collected in Blomfield's Gloss. to *Æsch. Choeph.* 60: see also *Test. xii Patr.* Sym. 4 εἰς αἵματα παροξύνει, Anon. in Hippol. *Haer.* v. 16 αἵμασι χαίρει ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου δεσπότης, Tatian. *ad Graec.* 8. The same is the force also of the Hebrew plural דִּמְיָ, of which αἵματα here and elsewhere is a rendering: comp. Exod. xxii. 1, where, as here, 'bloodshed' is equivalent to 'blood-guiltiness'.

XIX. 'These bright examples of humility we have before our eyes. But let us look to the fountain-head of all truth; let us contemplate the mind of the universal Father and Creator, as manifested in His works, and see how patience and order and beneficence prevail throughout creation'.

9. Τῶν τοσούτων κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of Heb. xii. 1.

γενεὰς βελτίους ἐποίησεν, τοὺς τε καταδεξαμένους τὰ  
 λόγια αὐτοῦ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ  
 μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετεिल्φότες πράξεων, ἐπαναδρά-  
 15 μωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης  
 σκοπόν, καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτιστὴν τοῦ  
 σύμπαντος κόσμου, καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ ὑπερ-  
 βαλλούσαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς τῆς εἰρήνης εὐεργεσίαις τε  
 κολληθῶμεν· ἴδωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ ἐμβλέψω-  
 20 μεν τοῖς ὄμμασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς τὸ μακρόθυμον αὐτοῦ  
 βούλημα· νοήσωμεν πῶς ἀόργητος ὑπάρχει πρὸς πᾶσαν  
 τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ.

14. πράξεων] C; πραξίων A; add. τούτων, ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ S.

17. κόσμου]

AC; *huius mundi* S; see above, § 5, and below, ii. § 19.

19. κολλη-

θῶμεν] AC; *consideremus* (νοήσωμεν) *et adhaereamus* S, but this is probably one of the periphrases which abound in S (see i. p. 136).

10. ταπεινοφρονούν] See the note on ταπεινοφρονῶν above, § 17; and comp. § 38 below.

τὸ ὑποδεῖς] ‘*submissiveness*’, ‘*subordination*’. This seems to be the meaning of the word, which is very rare in the positive, though common in the comparative ὑποδέεστερος; see Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxxvii. 14 τὸ ὑποδεῖς καὶ ἡλαττωμένον, a passage pointed out to me by Bensly. Accordingly in the Syriac it is rendered *diminutio et demissio*. Laurent says ‘Colomesius male substantivo *subjectio* vertit; collaudatur enim h. l. voluntaria sanctorum hominum egestas’, comparing Luke x. 4, and Harnack accepts this rendering ‘egestas’. But this sense is not well suited to the context, besides being unsupported; nor indeed is it easy to see how ὑποδεῖς could have this meaning, which belongs rather to ἐνδεῖς. It might possibly mean ‘fearfulness’, a sense assigned to it by Photius, Suidas, and Hesychius, who explain it ὑπόφοβος. But usage suggests its

connexion with δέομαι *indigeo*, like ἀποδεῖς, ἐνδεῖς, καταδεῖς, rather than with δέος *timor*, like ἀδείς, περιδεῖς.

12. καταδεξαμένους] Davies proposes καταδεχομένους. The emendation would have been more probable if the preposition had been different, διαδεχομένους and not καταδεχομένους.

14. μετεिल्φότες] ‘*participated in*’, i.e. profited by as examples. The achievements of the saints of old are the heritage of the later Church.

15. εἰρήνης σκοπόν] ‘*the mark, the goal, of peace*’. God Himself is the great exemplar of peaceful working, and so the final goal of all imitation.

21. ἀόργητος] ‘*calm*’; Ign. *Philad.* i, Polyc. *Phil.* 12 (note). Aristotle attaches a bad sense to the word, as implying a want of sensibility, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 7. Others however distinguished ἀοργησία from ἀναισθησία (see Aul. Gell. i. 27); and with the Stoics it was naturally a favourite word, e.g. Epict. *Diss.* iii. 20. 9 τὸ ἀνεκτικόν, τὸ ἀόργητον, τὸ πρᾶον, iii. 18. 6 εὐσταθῶς, αἰδημόνως, ἀοργήτως, M. Anton. i. 1



XX. Οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑποτάσσονται αὐτῷ· ἡμέρα τε καὶ νύξ τὸν τεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμον διανύουσιν, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα. ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελίσσουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ὀρισμούς. γῆ κυφοροῦσα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ τοῖς

1 διοικήσει] AC; δικαίωσει S apparently. 4 τε καὶ] AS; καὶ (om. τε) C. ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ] AC; but S translates as if ἀστερές τε καὶ χόροι. 6 παρεκβάσεως] .αρεκβασεωσ A; παραβάσεως C. In S it is rendered *in omni egressu cursu*

τὸ καλῶθες καὶ ἀόργητον. The word does not occur in the LXX or New Testament.

XX. 'All creation moves on in peace and harmony. Night and day succeed each other. The heavenly bodies roll in their proper orbits. The earth brings forth in due season. The ocean keeps within its appointed bounds. The seasons, the winds, the fountains, accomplish their work peacefully and minister to our wants. Even the dumb animals observe the same law. Thus God has by this universal reign of order manifested His beneficence to all, but especially to us who have sought His mercy through Christ Jesus'.

1. σαλευόμενοι] If the reading be correct, this word must refer to the motion of the heavenly bodies, apparently uneven but yet recurrent and orderly; and this reference seems to be justified by ἐξελίσσουσιν below. Σαλεύεσθαι is indeed frequently used in the Old Testament to express terror and confusion, in speaking of the earth, the hills, etc.; but never of the heavens. So too in the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 675, 714, 751. On the other hand Young would read μὴ σαλευόμενοι; and Davies, improving upon this correction, suggests οὐ σαλευόμενοι, repeating the last letters

of αὐτοῦ. But such passages in the New Testament as Matt. xxiv. 29, Heb. xii. 26, 27, are not sufficient to justify the alteration; for some expression of *motion* is wanted. Not 'fixity, rest,' but 'regulated change' is the idea of this and the following sentences. For this reason I have retained σαλευόμενοι. In the passage of Chrysostom quoted by Young in defence of his reading, *in Psalm. cxlviii. § 2* (v. p. 491) οὐδὲν συνεχύθη τῶν ὄντων· οὐ θάλαττα τὴν γῆν ἐπέκλυσεν, οὐχ ἥλιος τότε τὸ ὀρώμενον κατέκαυσεν, οὐκ οὐρανὸς παρεσαλεύθη κ.τ.λ., this father would seem purposely to have chosen the compound παρασαλεύεσθαι to denote *disorderly* motion. The same idea as here is expressed in Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 6 ἀστρον χορείαν γινομένην ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἷς ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἴδια ὀνόματα κέκληκεν, comp. *ib.* ii. 15.

5. ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ] Naturally a frequent phrase in Clement; §§ 9, 11, 34, 49, 50, comp. §§ 21, 30, 60, 61, 63, where likewise the word ὁμόνοια occurs.

6. παρεκβάσεως] The other reading παραβάσεως destroys the sense. For the whole passage comp. *Apost. Const.* vii. 34 φωστήρες...ἀπαράβατον σώζοντες τὸν δολιχὸν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν παραλλάσσοντες τῆς σῆς προσταγῆς. In the immediate neighbourhood is the

ιδίοις καιροῖς τὴν πανπλήθη ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θηρσὶν καὶ  
 πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ζῶις ἀνατέλλει τροφήν, μὴ  
 10 διχοστατοῦσα μηδὲ ἀλλοιούσά τι τῶν δεδογματισμέ-  
 νων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ νερτέ-  
 ρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κρίματα τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνέχεται προσ-  
 τάγμασιν. τὸ κύτος τῆς ἀπείρου θαλάσσης κατὰ τὴν

*ipsorum*, which probably represents *παρεκβάσεις*, and where probably the reading was *διὰ* for *δίχα*.

8 πανπλήθη] A; παμπλήθη C.

9 ἐπ' αὐτὴν]

A; ἐπ' αὐτῆς C; *in illa* S.

same quotation from Job xxxviii. 11 as here in Clement.

ἐξελίσσουσιν] Comp. Plut. *Mor.* p. 368 A τοσαύταις ἡμέραις τὸν αὐτῆς κύκλον ἐξελίσσει (of the moon), Heliod. *Eth.* v. 14 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν νομέα κύκλους ἀγερώχους ἐξελίττοντες (both passages given in Hase and Dindorf's *Steph. Thes.*). Thus the word continues the metaphor of χοροί, describing the tangled mazes of the dance, as e.g. Eur. *Troad.* 3. The ὀρισμοὶ therefore are their defined orbits.

9. ἐπ' αὐτὴν] For the accusative so used see Winer § xlix. p. 426.

ἀνατέλλει] Here transitive, as e.g. Gen. iii. 18, Is. xlv. 8, Matt. v. 45; comp. Epiphanes in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 2, p. 512, ἡλῖος κοινὰς τροφὰς ζῶις ἅπασιν ἀνατέλλει (MSS ἀνατέλλειν), which closely resembles our Clement's language here.

10. τῶν δεδογματισμένων κ.τ.λ.] Comp. § 27 οὐδὲν μὴ παρέλθῃ τῶν δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

12. κρίματα] '*statutes, ordinances*,' i.e. the laws by which they are governed, as e.g. 2 Chron. xxx. 16 ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ κρίμα αὐτῶν ('as they were appointed'), 2 Chron. iv. 7 τὰς λυχνίας κατὰ τὸ κρίμα αὐτῶν (comp. ver. 20). But κρίματα is very awkward, and several emendations have been suggested, of which κλίματα is the best.

We may either adopt this, or (as I would suggest in preference) strike out the word altogether. In either case we may fall back upon the conjecture of Lipsius (p. 155, note) that κρίματα was written down by some thoughtless scribe from Rom. xi. 33 ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ (he gives the reference ix. 33, which is repeated by Jacobson, and still further corrupted ix. 23 by Hilgenfeld). Indeed the same word seems still to be running in the head of the scribe of A when below he writes *κρυματα* for *κυματα*. The *νέγρετα* are the 'subterranean regions' regarded physically. Yet κρίματα is the reading of all our authorities. It must have been read moreover by the writer of the later books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. 35 ἀνεξιχνίαστος κρίμασιν. My attention has been called also to the connexion of words in Ps. xxxvi (xxxv). 5 τὰ κρίματά σου [ὥσει] ἄβυσσος πολλή.

13. τὸ κύτος] '*the hollow, the basin*,' as Ps. lxiv. 7 ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης. In Dan. iv. 8 τὸ κύτος is opposed to τὸ ὕψος. Comp. also Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 7 ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης, and *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 ὁ συστήσάμενος ἄβυσσον καὶ μέγα κύτος αὐτῇ περιθείς...πηγαῖς ἀενάοις μεθύσας...ἐν αὐτῶν κύκλοις...νεφῶν ὁμβροτόκων

δημιουργίαν αὐτοῦ συσταθὲν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς οὐ παρ-  
εκβαίνει τὰ περιτεθειμένα αὐτῇ κλείθρα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς  
διέταξεν αὐτῇ, οὕτως ποιεῖ. εἶπεν γάρ· Ἐως ὧδε

1 δημιουργίαν] δημιουργεῖαν A.  
κρυμματα A. συντριβήσεται] A; συντριβήσονται C.

3 οὕτως] A; οὕτω C.

4 κύματα]

5 ἀνθρ. ἀπέρ.] A; ἀπέρ.

διαδρομαῖς εἰς καρπῶν γονὰς καὶ  
ζῳῶν σύστασιν, στάθμον ἀνέμων  
διαπιπνόντων κ.τ.λ., in which passage  
the resemblances cannot be acci-  
dental.

1. εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς] From LXX  
Gen. i. 9 καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπο-  
κάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς  
αὐτῶν, wanting in the Hebrew. It  
refers to the great bodies of water,  
the Mediterranean, the Caspian, the  
Red Sea, etc.

παρεκβαίνει κ.τ.λ.] From Job  
xxxviii. 10, 11 ἐθέμην δὲ αὐτῇ ὅρια  
περιθεῖς κλείθρα καὶ πύλας, εἶπα δὲ αὐτῇ  
Μέχρι τούτου ἐλεύσῃ καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσῃ,  
ἀλλ' ἐν σεαυτῇ συντριβήσεται σου τὰ  
κύματα: comp. also Ps. civ. 9, Jer. v. 22.

4. ὠκεανὸς κ.τ.λ.] This passage is  
directly quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.*  
v. 12 (p. 693), by Origen *de Princ.*  
ii. 6 (I. p. 82, 83), *Select. in Ezech.*  
viii. 3 (III. p. 422), by Jerome *ad*  
*Ephes.* ii. 2 (VII. p. 571). It must  
also have suggested the words of  
Irenæus *Haer.* ii. 28. 2 'Quid autem  
possumus exponere de oceani accessu  
et recessu, quum constet esse certam  
causam? quidve de his quae ultra  
eum sunt enuntiare, qualia sint?' On  
the other hand the expression ὁ πολὺς  
καὶ ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώποις ὠκεανὸς used  
by Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.*  
vii. 21 may be derived indirectly  
through Clement or Origen. On  
Photius see below, p. 86.

5. ἀπέρατος] 'impassable,' as the  
context shows, and as it is rendered  
in the translation of Origen *de Princ.*  
ii. 3 ('intransmeabilis'). The com-  
mon form in this sense is ἀπέρατος;

though ἀπέρατος is read here not only  
in our MSS, but by Clem. Alex. p. 693  
and Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* vii.  
21, or their transcribers, and may  
possibly be correct. Yet as I could  
not find any better instances of this  
use than Eur. *Med.* 212, *Æsch. Prom.*  
159 (where Blomf. suggests ἀπέρατος),  
and in both passages the meaning  
may be questioned, I have preferred  
reading ἀπέρατος as quoted by Origen  
*Select. in Ezech.* viii. 3.

The proper meaning of ἀπέρατος,  
'boundless,' appears from *Clem. Hom.*  
xvi. 17, xvii. 9, 10, where it is found in  
close alliance with ἀπειρος. See also  
Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* p. 1020. On the  
other hand for ἀπέρατος comp. e.g.  
Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iv. 13 (p. 179) ῥεῖ  
τῷ θέρει καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι πολὺς καὶ ἀπέρα-  
τος. The lines in A here are divided  
ἀπεραν|τος; and this division would  
assist the insertion of the η. An  
earlier scribe would write ἀπερᾶτος  
for ἀπεραν|τος. See Didymus *Expos.*  
*Psal.* 138 (p. 1596 ed. Migne) εἰ γὰρ  
καὶ ὠκεανὸς ἀπέρατος, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ οἱ  
μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς τοῦ δεσπότου  
διαταγαῖς διϋθύνονται· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πρὸς  
αὐτοῦ γεγενημένα ποιο[ῶ] ποτ' ἐστὶν  
ταγαῖς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ προνοίας διοικούμενα  
ἰθύνεται. This language may possibly  
have been derived from Origen, and  
not directly from Clement. Anyhow  
the recognition of both the various  
readings, ταγαῖς, διαταγαῖς, is worthy  
of notice.

οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι κ.τ.λ.] Clement  
may possibly be referring to some  
known but hardly accessible land,  
lying without the pillars of Hercules



ἤζεις, καὶ τὰ κῦματά σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβήσεται. ὠκεανὸς  
5 ἀνθρώποις ἀπέρατος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς αὐταῖς  
ταγαῖς τοῦ δεσπότης διευθύνονται. καιροὶ ἑαρινοὶ καὶ

ἀνθρ. C. ἀπέρατος] Orig; intransmeabilis S; ἀπέραντος AC Clem, Dionys,  
Didym. See the lower note. 6 ταγαῖς] AC; διαταγαῖς Origen. See below.

and in foreign seas: as Ceylon (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 22 'Taprobanen alterum orbem terrarum esse diu existimatum est, Antichthonum appellatione'), or Britain (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 16. 4 ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν ἑτέραν ἐζήτησαν οἰκουμένην καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀμιστορήτων πρότερον Βρεττανῶν διήνεγκαν τὰ ὄπλα). But more probably he contemplated some unknown land in the far west beyond the ocean, like the fabled Atlantis of Plato or the real America of modern discovery. From Aristotle onwards (*de Caelo* ii. 14, p. 298, *Meteor.* ii. 5, p. 362), and even earlier, theories had from time to time been broached, which contemplated the possibility of reaching the Indies by crossing the western ocean, or maintained the existence of islands or continents towards the setting sun. The Carthaginians had even brought back a report of such a desert island in the Atlantic, which they had visited, [Aristot.] *Mirab. Ausc.* § 84 p. 836, § 136 p. 844, Diod. v. 19, 20; see Humboldt *Exam. Crit.* I. p. 130. In the generations before and after the time of Clement such speculations were not uncommon. Of these the prophecy in Seneca's *Medea* ii. 375 'Venient annis saecula seris Quibus oceanus vincula rerum Laxet et ingens pateat tellus etc.,' is the most famous, because so much stress was laid on it by Columbus and his fellow discoverers: but the statements in Strabo i. 4 (p. 65), Plut. *Mor.* p. 941, are much more remarkable. The opinions of ancient writers on this subject are collected and ex-

amined in the 1st volume of A. von Humboldt's *Exam. Crit. de la Géogr. du Nouveau Continent*: see also other works mentioned in Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* II. p. 102. This interpretation is quite consistent with the fact that Clement below (§ 33) speaks of the ocean as τὸ περιέχον τὴν γῆν ὕδωρ.

At all events this passage was seemingly so taken by Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, and it is distinctly explained thus by Origen (*Sel. in Ezech.* viii. 3 sq, *de Princ.* ii. 6) who discusses it at great length. All these fathers acquiesce in the existence of these 'other worlds.' At a later date however this opinion came to be regarded with suspicion by Christian theologians. Tertullian, *de Pall.* 2, *Hermog.* 25, was the first to condemn it. The idea of the Antipodes is scouted by Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iii. 24, with other fathers of the fourth century and later (comp. August. *de Civ. Dei* xvi. 9); and in the reign of Justinian (c. A.D. 535) the speculations of Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Montfaucon Coll. Nov. Patr.* II. p. 113 sq), who describes the earth as a plain surface and a parallelogram in form (see Humboldt *l.c.* I. p. 41 sq), stereotyped for many centuries the belief of Christian writers on this subject. It was made a special charge against Virgilius, the Irish geome- trician, bishop of Salzburg († A.D. 784); see Stokes *Ireland and the Celtic Church* p. 224 sq.

6. ταγαῖς] 'directions,' as Hermes in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 52. 40 ἐποπτήρ τοῖνον

θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετα-  
 παραδιδόασιν ἀλλήλοις. ἀνέμων σταθμοὶ κατὰ τὸν  
 ἴδιον καιρὸν τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν ἀπροσκόπως ἐπιτε-  
 λούσιν· ἀέναοί τε πηγαὶ πρὸς ἀπόλυσιν καὶ ὑγίαν  
 δημιουργηθεῖσαι δίχα ἐλλείψεως παρέχονται τοὺς πρὸς 5  
 ζωῆς ἀνθρώποις μαζούς. τὰ τε ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων τὰς  
 συνελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποιοῦνται.  
 Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ μέγας δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν  
 ἀπάντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ προσέταξεν εἶναι, εὐεργε-

<sup>1</sup> μετοπωρινοὶ] μεθοπωρινοὶ A.  
 διδόασιν C.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέμων] A; add. τε CS. S translates *ventique locorum* as if  
 it had read ἄνεμοι τε σταθμῶν.

λειτουργίαν A.

<sup>4</sup> ἀέναοι] A; ἀένναοι C.

S. ὑγίαν] A; ὑγίειαν C.

μεταπαραδιδόασιν] A, and so app. S; μετα-

<sup>3</sup> τὴν] AS; καὶ τὴν C. λειτουργίαν]

ἀπόλυσιν] AC; add. τε

<sup>5</sup> πρὸς ζωῆς] A; πρὸς ζώων C. S translates

ταῆς ἔσται τῶν ὅλων ὀξυτερῆς θεὸς  
 Ἀδράστεια, with other passages quoted  
 by Hase in *Steph. Thes.* s. v. Origen  
*Sel. in Ezech.* l. c., and apparently  
 also *de Princ.* l. c. (for the Latin is *dis-*  
*positionibus*), has διαταγαῖς, which  
 some editors adopt; but he would  
 naturally substitute a common for  
 an unusual word, and his quotation  
 throughout is somewhat loose.

1. μεταπαραδιδόασιν] 'give way in  
 succession'; again a rare word, of  
 which a few instances are collected  
 in Hase and Dindorf's *Steph. Thes.*

2. ἀνέμων σταθμοὶ] From Job  
 xxviii. 25 ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀνέμων σταθμὸν  
 καὶ ὑδάτων μέτρα, where it means  
 'weight,' as the original shows.  
 Clement however may have mis-  
 understood the meaning; for he  
 seems to use the word in a different  
 sense, 'the fixed order' or 'the fixed  
 stations,' as the context requires.  
 The common Greek expression in  
 this sense is στάσεις, e.g. Polyb. i.  
 75. 8 κατὰ τινὰς ἀνέμων στάσεις, ix. 5.  
 23 ἐπὶ χώριοι τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων στάσεις  
 καλλίστα γινώσκουσι: see Schweig-  
 häuser on Polyb. i. 48. 2. A good

illustration of Clement's meaning is  
 the noble passage in Lucretius v.  
 737 sq.

3. ἀπροσκόπως] So again § 61  
 διέπειν τὴν ὑπὸ σου δεδομένην αὐτοῖς  
 ἡγεμονίαν ἀπροσκόπως. For the cor-  
 responding adjective ἀπρόσκοπος,  
 which seems to have been a spe-  
 cially Pauline word (Acts xxiv. 16,  
 as well as 1 Cor. x. 32, Phil. i. 10)  
 see *Philippians* l. c.

4. ὑγίαν] A common form in late  
 writers: see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 28  
 (with the references), *Phryn.* p. 493,  
*Pathol.* p. 234. It is so written in  
 several inscriptions, and so scanned  
 in *Orph. Hymn.* lxxxiv. 8 (p. 350,  
 Herm.) ὕλβον ἐπιπνεῖονσα καὶ ἡπιό-  
 χειρον ὑγίαν (unnecessarily altered  
 by Porson, *Eur. Orest.* 229, into ἡπιό-  
 χειρ' ὑγίαν), and elsewhere. Editors  
 therefore should not have substituted  
 ὑγίειαν. Compare ταμεῖα § 50.

5. τοὺς πρὸς ζωῆς μαζούς] The meta-  
 phor was perhaps suggested by Jer.  
 xviii. 14 (LXX) μὴ ἐκλείψουσιν ἀπὸ  
 πέτρας μαστοί, which however departs  
 from the existing reading of the He-  
 brew. For πρὸς ζωῆς, 'on the side of

10 τῶν τὰ πάντα, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς προσπε-  
 φευγότας τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς  
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XXI. Ὁράτε, ἀγαπητοί, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ  
 15 αἱ πολλαὶ γένωνται εἰς κρίμα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως  
 αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐ-  
 τοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. λέγει γάρ πον· Πνεῦμα

*ea quae ad vitam*, omitting μαζούς altogether. 7 συνελεύσεις] AC; *auxilia* (as  
 if συλλήψεις) S. 10 προσπεφευγῶτας] AS; προσφεύγοντας C. 11 οἰκτιρ-  
 μοῖς] οἰκτειρμοῖς A. 12 καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη] AC; om. S. 15 εἰς κρίμα  
 πᾶσιν ἡμῖν] A; εἰς κρίματα σὺν ἡμῖν C (εἰς κρίματα σὺν for εἰς κρίματα σὺν);  
*in iudicium nobis* S; see I. p. 143. 16 αὐτοῦ pri.] AC; om. S.

*life*, 'conducive to life,' comp. Acts  
 xxvii. 34 πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας,  
*Clem. Hom.* viii. 14 πρὸς κόσμον καὶ  
 τέρψεως, and see Winer § xlvii. p. 391.  
 This sense of πρὸς is more common  
 in classical Greek.

7. συνελεύσεις] Comp. Jer. viii. 7  
 'The stork in the heaven knoweth  
 his appointed times; and the turtle  
 and the crane and the swallow ob-  
 serve the time of their coming', etc.  
 Or it may refer to their pairing at  
 the proper season of the year. Comp.  
 Ptolem. *Geogr.* i. 9 (quoted in *Steph.*  
*Thes.*).

8. δημιουργός] Only once in the  
 New Testament, Heb. xi. 10: in the  
 LXX again only in 2 Macc. iv. 1 (and  
 there not of the Creator). On the  
 Christian use of this Platonic phrase  
 see Jahn's *Methodius* II. pp. 11, 39, 91.

10. προσφεύγειν] Altogether a late  
 and somewhat rare word: see 1 Sam.  
 xxix. 3 (Sym.). It does not occur in  
 the LXX or New Testament.

12. ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεν.] So again § 64.  
 In the doxology Jude 25 also the two  
 words occur together; comp. Ecclus.  
 xlv. 2.

XXI. 'His blessings will turn to

our curse unless we seek peace and  
 strive to please Him. He sees all  
 our most secret thoughts. Let us  
 therefore offend foolish and arrogant  
 men rather than God. Let us honour  
 Christ; let us respect our rulers, and  
 revere old age; let us instruct our  
 wives in purity and gentleness, and  
 our children in humility and the fear  
 of God. His breath is in us, and His  
 pleasure can withdraw it in a mo-  
 ment'.

15. ἀξίως πολιτευόμενοι] The ex-  
 pression occurs in Phil. i. 27. Cle-  
 ment's language here is echoed by  
 Polycarp *Phil.* 5.

16. εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον] Heb. xiii. 21;  
 comp. Ps. cxiv. 9.

17. λέγει γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Alex.  
*Strom.* iv. 17 (p. 611 sq) cites the re-  
 mainder of this section and the whole  
 of the next, continuously after §§ 17, 18  
 (see the note § 17). For the most part he  
 quotes in the same loose way, abridg-  
 ing and interpolating as before; but  
 here and there, as in the long passage  
 τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν... ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν, he  
 keeps fairly close to the words of his  
 original and may be used as an au-  
 thority for the readings.



Κυρίου λῡχνος ἐρεγνῶν τὰ ταμειῖα τῆς γαστρος. Ἰδῶμεν πῶς ἐγγύς ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν μὴ λιποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ· μάλλον ἀνθρώποις ἄφροσι καὶ ἀνοήτοις 5 καὶ ἐπαιρομένοις καὶ ἐγκαυχωμένοις ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν προσκόψωμεν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ. τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν [Χριστόν], οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντρα-

1 λῡχνος] C Clem 611; λυχνον A.	ταμειῖα] AC; ταμεία Clem.	2 ἐστιν]
AC; add. <i>nohis</i> S.	8τι] AC; om. (?) S.	4 λιποτακτεῖν] A; λειποτακ-
τεῖν C.	5 μάλλον] AC; add. δὲ S.	6 ἐγκαυχωμένοις] εγκαυχω-
μενοι A.	ἀλαζονείᾳ] αλαζονία A.	8 Χριστόν] A; om. CS.
A; om. CS.	νέους] ναιουσ A.	10 ἡμῶν]
	11 παιδείαν] παιδιαν A.	τοῦ φόβου]

Πνεῦμα Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xx. 27, which runs in the LXX φῶς Κυρίου πνοῇ ἀνθρώπων ὃς ἐρευνᾷ (ἐραυνᾷ) ταμειῖα (ταμειῖα) κοιλίας. A adds ἡ λῡχνος after ἀνθρώπων, but this must originally have been a gloss suggesting an alternative reading for φῶς, as λῡχνος is actually read by Aq. Sym. Theod.; see a similar instance of correction in this MS noted above on § 17. Comp. also Prov. vi. 23 λῡχνος ἐντολὴ νόμου καὶ φῶς, from which passage perhaps λῡχνος came to be interpolated here. Hilgenfeld prints λέγει γάρ που πνεῦμα Κυρίου λῡχνος ἐρευνῶν κ.τ.λ. and finds fault with Clem. Alex. for making the words πνεῦμα Κυρίου part of the quotation (λέγει γάρ που ἡ γραφὴ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.); but they seem to be wanted to complete the sentence. Our Clement in fact quotes loosely, transposing words so as to give a somewhat different sense. See below, Is. lx. 17 quoted in § 42. For the exact words λέγει γάρ που see §§ 15, 26, and for other instances of λέγει (or φησί) with no nominative expressed, §§ 8, 10, 16, 29, 30, 46. On the spelling of ταμειῖα (ταμεία) Clement (or his transcriber) is capricious: see § 50 (note).

2. ἐγγύς ἐστιν] As below § 27; comp. Ps. xxxiv. 18, cxix. 151, cxlv. 18, Ign. *Ephes.* 15 τὰ κρυπτά ἡμῶν ἐγγύς αὐτῷ ἐστιν (with the note), Herm. *Vis.* ii. 3. There is no allusion here to the nearness of the advent, as in Phil. iv. 5 (see the note there).

οὐδὲν λέληθεν κ.τ.λ.] This passage is copied by Polycarp *Phil.* 4 καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν. On διαλογισμοί, 'inward questionings,' see the note on Phil. ii. 14.

4. λιποτακτεῖν] So αὐτομολεῖν below, § 28. Ignatius has the same metaphor but uses the Latin word, *Polyc.* 6 μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὐρέθῃ: see the note there.

On the authority of our older MS I have preferred the form λιποτακτεῖν. There is poetical authority for the simple vowel in λιποτάξιον; see Meineke *Fragm. Com.* II. p. 1214, III. p. 71, with the notes. So too in analogous words, wherever they occur in verse, the form in ι is found: e.g. λιπανγῆς, λιπόναυς, λιποναύτης, λιπόπνοος, λιποσαρκῆς, λιποψυχεῖν. The grammarians differed on this point; see Chæroboscus in Cramer's *Anecd.*

πῶμεν· τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, τοὺς  
 10 πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν  
 τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθώμεθα· τὸ ἀξιαγάπητον τῆς  
 ἀγνείας ἡθος ἐνδειξάσθωσαν, τὸ ἀκέραιον τῆς πραΰτητος  
 αὐτῶν βούλημα ἀποδειξάτωσαν, τὸ ἐπεικὲς τῆς γλώσ-  
 15 σης αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς σιγῆς φανερόν ποιησάτωσαν· τὴν  
 ἀγάπην αὐτῶν, μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς

AC; om. S.

13 ἀγνείας] αγνισ A. Clem 612 has the order ἡθος τῆς

ἀγνείας. ἐνδειξάσθωσαν] AC Clem. Bryennios wrongly gives the reading of A  
 Clem as ἐνδειξάτωσαν (*ad loc.* and comp. p. ρκδ'). 14 βούλημα] AC; ⲁⲓⲃⲗⲓ

(καὶ βούλημα) S.

15 σιγῆς] CS Clem; φωνῃς A.

16 προσκλίσεις]

AS; προσκλήσεις C. This same itacism occurs several times in C, §§ 47, 50.

*Graec. Bibl. Oxon.* II. p. 239 λέγει  
 ὁ Ὁρος ὅτι πάντα παρὰ τὸ λείπω διὰ  
 τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, οἷον λειπό-  
 νεως, λειποταξία, λειποτάξιον, λειπο-  
 στρατείον· ὁ δὲ Ὁριγένης διὰ τοῦ εἰ λέγει  
 γράφεσθαι. There seems to be no  
 poetical and therefore indisputable  
 authority for the εἰ.

5. ἄφρ. καὶ ἀνοήτ.] LXX Jer. x. 8  
 ἄμα ἄφρονες καὶ ἀνόητοί εἰσι, found in  
 some copies, but not in the principal  
 MSS. The former word points to  
 defective reason, the latter to defect-  
 ive perception. Comp. § 39.

6. ἐγκauχωμένοις κ.τ.λ.] See James  
 iv. 16 καυχᾶσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις  
 ὑμῶν.

7. τὸν Κύριον κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Alex.  
 (p. 611 sq), as commonly punctuated,  
 quotes the passage τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν  
 λέγω...ὃ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἡγιασθῆ·  
 ἐντραπῶμεν οὖν τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡ-  
 μῶν, καὶ αἰδεσθῶμεν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους·  
 τιμήσωμεν τοὺς νέους, παιδεύσωμεν τὴν  
 παιδείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. A different punctua-  
 tion, καὶ αἰδεσθῶμεν· τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους  
 τιμήσωμεν· τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν κ.τ.λ.,  
 would bring the quotation somewhat  
 nearer to the original.

9. τοὺς προηγούμενους] i.e. the offi-

cers of the Church; see the note on  
 τοῖς ἡγουμένοις § 1. The following  
 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους must therefore refer  
 to age, not to office.

10. τοὺς νέους κ.τ.λ.] Copied by Pol-  
 ycarp *Phil.* 4 τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν  
 παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Comp.  
 Prov. xvi. 4 (xv. 33) φόβος Κυρίου  
 παιδεία, and Ecclus. i. 27 where the  
 same words are repeated.

15. σιγῆς] They must be eloquent  
 by their silence, for γυναῖξὶ κόσμον ἡ  
 σιγὴ φέρει. This meaning is so obvi-  
 ously required, that I had restored  
 σιγῆς in my first edition on the au-  
 thority of the Alexandrian Clement  
 alone in place of the senseless φωνῆς  
 of A. It is now confirmed by our  
 two new authorities. Hilgenfeld re-  
 fers to 1 Cor. xiv. 34 sq, 1 Tim. ii. 11.  
 τὴν ἀγάπην κ.τ.λ.] So too Polyc.  
*Phil.* 4 ἀγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ Ἰσου ἐν  
 πάσῃ ἐγκρατείᾳ. The numerous close  
 coincidences with this chapter in  
 Polycarp show plainly that he had  
 our epistle before him.

16. κατὰ προσκλίσεις] From 1 Tim.  
 v. 21 μηδὲν ποιῶν κατὰ πρόσκλισιν.  
 The word πρόσκλισις occurs again  
 §§ 47, 50.

φοβούμενοις τὸν Θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσῃν παρεχέτωσαν· τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβάνέτωσαν· μαθέτωσαν, τί ταπεινοφροσύνη παρὰ Θεῷ ἰσχύει, τί ἀγάπη ἀγνή παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ δύναται, πῶς ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ καλὸς καὶ μέγας καὶ σώζων πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ὁσίως 5 ἀναστρεφόμενους ἐν καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ· ἐρευνητὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων· οὗ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ ἀνελεῖ αὐτήν.

XXII. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βεβαιοῖ ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ πίσ-  
τις· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου οὕτως 10  
προσκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς· Δεῖτε τέκνα, ἀκούσατέ μου, φόβον  
Κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς. τίς ἐστίν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζῶην,  
ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς; παῖσον τὴν γλῶσσαν σου ἀπὸ  
κακοῦ, καὶ χεῖλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δύλον· ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ

2 ἡμῶν] S Clem; ὑμῶν AC. μεταλαμβάνέτωσαν] AC; μεταλαβέτωσαν  
Clem. 3 ἰσχύει] ἰσχυι A. 4 τῷ] A; om. C Clem. αὐτοῦ] ACS;  
τοῦ κυρίου Clem. 5 καὶ σώζων] AC; *et liberans et salvans* S; σώζων (om. καὶ)  
Clem. ὁσίως] AC; θείως S. See above, §§ 2, 14. 6 διανοίᾳ] AC;  
καρδία Clem. ἐστίν] AC; om. Clem. 7 ἐνθυμήσεων] C; ἐνθυμησιων  
A; ἐνθυμημάτων Clem. 8 ἀνελεῖ] A; ἀναίρει CS. 9 δὲ] AC; om. S.  
10 οὕτως] AC; but Bryennios reads οὕτω without indicating that he is departing  
from his ms. 12 τίς ἐστίν ἄνθρωπος] C omits from here to *ρύσεται αὐτὸν ὁ*  
Κύριος, and begins again *εἰτα πολλὰ αἱ μάστιγες τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ κ.τ.λ.* (l. 21).

1. ὁσίως] This word is best taken with *παρεχέτωσαν*, for it would be an unmeaning addition to τοῖς φοβούμενοις τὸν Θεόν.

6. ἐρευνητὴς κ.τ.λ.] As Heb. iv. 12 *κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας*.

7. οὗ...αὐτοῦ] A Hebraism, for which see Winer § xxii. p. 161.

8. ἀνελεῖ] On the rare future *ἐλεῶ* of *αἰρέω* see Winer § xv. p. 94 with his references: comp. Exod. xv. 9, 2 Thess. ii. 6.

XXII. 'All these things are assured by faith in Christ. He himself speaks to us by the lips of David, promising all blessings to the peace-

ful and God-loving, but threatening utter destruction to the sinful and disobedient'.

9. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Faith in Christ secures all these good results; for it is He Himself who thus appeals to us, not indeed in the flesh, but through the Spirit, where David says 'Come etc.' For αὐτὸς προσκαλεῖται see above, § 16 αὐτός φησιν, with the note.

11. Δεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Ps. xxxiv. 11 sq almost word for word. The differences are unimportant.

18. τὸ μνημόσυνον] See the note on ἐγκατάλειμμα above § 14.

ἐκέκραξεν] In the existing text of



15 κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν· ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον  
 αὐτήν. ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὧτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 δέησιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακὰ  
 τοῦ ἐξολεθερεῖσαι ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν. ἐκέκραζεν  
 ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἰσήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ πασῶν  
 20 τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ ἐρύσατο αὐτόν. πολλαὶ αἱ θλίψεις τοῦ  
 δικαίου καὶ ἐκ πασῶν ῥύσεται αὐτόν ὁ Κύριος· εἶτα·  
 Πολλαὶ αἱ μάστιγες τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίζοντας  
 ἐπὶ Κύριον ἔλεος κυκλώσει.

XXIII. Ὁ οἰκτίρμων κατὰ πάντα καὶ εὐεργετικὸς  
 25 πατὴρ ἔχει σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν,  
 ἡπίως τε καὶ προσηνῶς τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦ ἀποδιδοῖ τοῖς  
 προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἀπλῇ διανοίᾳ. διὸ μὴ διψυχῶ-  
 μεν, μηδὲ ἰνδαλλέσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλ-

14 καὶ] A Clem (with LXX); om. S.

χεῖλη] A; add. σου S Clem with the

LXX (v. 1).

16 ὀφθαλμοὶ] A Clem (with A of LXX and Hebr); ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ

S (with BS of LXX).

πρὸς] A; eis Clem with the LXX.

18 ἐκέκραξεν κ.τ.λ.]

See below.

20 θλίψεων] θλιψαίων A.

αὐτοῦ] om. Clem.

πολλαὶ αἱ

θλίψεις...ὁ Κύριος] S; om. A; def. C.

21 εἶτα] C; et iterum S, frequently a

translation of καὶ πάλιν, which possibly we should read here; but see below, § 23,

μετὰ ταῦτα.

22 αἱ] ACS; μὲν γὰρ Clem.

τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ] AC; τῶν

ἁμαρτωλῶν Clem LXX. τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίζοντας] A Clem; τὸν δὲ ἐλπίζοντα CS with the LXX

and Hebr.

23 ἔλεος] C Clem; εἰλαος A.

24 οἰκτίρμων] οικτειρμων A.

Clem. Alex. this is read ἐκέκραξεν δὲ ὁ  
 Κύριος καὶ εἰσήκουσε, obviously a cor-  
 ruption.

20. πολλὰ αἱ θλίψεις κ.τ.λ.] This is  
 from Ps. xxiv (xxxiii). 20, the verse  
 but one following the preceding quo-  
 tation. The LXX however has the  
 plural τῶν δικαίων, αὐτούς, and so it is  
 quoted in 4 Macc. xviii. 15. The  
 Hebrew has the singular, and so the  
 Peshito. The words have obviously  
 been omitted in A owing to the re-  
 currence of Πολλὰ αἱ, and should be  
 restored accordingly.

Πολλὰ αἱ μάστιγες κ.τ.λ.] An exact  
 quotation from Ps. xxxii. 10 (LXX),  
 except that τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας is sub-

stituted for τὸν ἐλπίζοντα.

XXIII. 'God is merciful to all  
 that fear Him. Let us not spurn  
 His gracious gifts. Far be from us  
 the threats which the Scriptures hurl  
 against the double-minded, the im-  
 patient, the sceptical. The Lord will  
 certainly come, and come quickly'.

28. ἰνδαλλέσθω] 'indulge in ca-  
 prices and humours'. The word is  
 generally passive, 'to be formed as  
 an image', 'to appear', and with a  
 dative 'to resemble'; see Ruhnken  
*Timaëus* s.v. Here however it is a  
 middle signifying 'to form images, to  
 conjure up spectres', and so 'to in-  
 dulge in idle fancies', like the later

λούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ. πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ λέγοντες, Ταῦτα ἡκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ γεγηράκαμεν

1 πόρρω γενέσθω] AS; πόρρω γε γενέσθω C. See below, § 33.  
AS; αὐτοῦ C.

2 αὕτη] 3 τὴν ψυχὴν] A; τῇ ψυχῇ C; dub. S. 5 συνβέβηκεν]

use of φαντάζεσθαι. The lexicons do not recognize this use, but see Dion Chrys. *Orat.* xii. 53 (p. 209 M) πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἅτε οὐδὲν σαφὲς εἰδότες ἄλλην ἄλλος ἀνεπλάττομεν ἰδεῖν, πᾶν τὸ θνητὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ φύσιν ἰνδαλλόμενοι καὶ ὀνειρώττοντες, Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* vii. 249 ἔνιαι (φαντασίαι) πάλιν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος μὲν εἰσιν, οὐκ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἰνδαλλονται κ.τ.λ., xi. 122 ὁ τὸν πλοῦτον μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἰνδαλλόμενος, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 10 (p. 81) χρυσὸν ἢ λίθον ἢ δένδρον ἢ πρᾶξιν ἢ πάθος ἢ νόσον ἢ φόβον ἰνδαλλεσθαι ὡς θεόν, Method. *Synt.* viii. 2 ἔτι ἐνδημοῦσαι τοῖς σώμασιν ἰνδαλλονται τὰ θεία. (The last two passages I owe to Jahn's *Method.* II. p. 51; the others I had collected before I saw his note.) So ἰνδαλμα most frequently suggests the idea of an unreal, spectral, appearance, as Wisd. xvii. 3 ἰνδαλμασιν ἐκταρασσόμενοι, Clem. *Hom.* iv. 4 φαντάσματά τε γὰρ καὶ ἰνδαλματα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ φαίνεσθαι ποιῶν δι' ἡμέρας πᾶσαν ἐκπλήττει τὴν πόλιν, Athenag. *Synchl.* 27 αἱ οὖν ἄλογοι αὐταὶ καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις εἰδωλομανεῖς ἀποτίκτουσι φαντασίας, where he is speaking of false objects of worship.

2. Ταλαίπωροι κ.τ.λ.] The same passage is quoted also in the 2nd Epistle ascribed to Clement (§ 11), being there introduced by the words λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. Though the quotation there is essentially the same, yet the variations which it presents show that it cannot have been de-

rived directly or solely from the First Epistle. Moreover it is there continued, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θλίψεις ἔσχευ, ἔπειτα ἀπολήψεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ. As this passage does not occur in the Old Testament, it must have been taken from some lost apocryphal writing. Some writers indeed have supposed that Clement here, as he certainly does elsewhere (e.g. §§ 18, 26, 29, 32, 35, 39, 46, 50, 52, 53, and just below ταχὺ ἤξει κ.τ.λ.), is fusing several passages of the Canonical Scriptures, such as James i. 8, 2 Pet. iii. 4, Mark iv. 26, Matt. xxiv. 32 sq (Mark xiii. 28 sq, Luke xxi. 29 sq); but the resemblances though striking are not sufficient, and this explanation does not account for the facts already mentioned. The description ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος and the form of the quotation ὁ λαὸς μου κ.τ.λ., as given in the 2nd Epistle, show that it must have been taken from some spurious prophetic book formed on the model of the Canonical prophecies. I would conjecture that it was *Eldad and Modad*, which was certainly known in the early Roman Church; see Herm. *Vis.* ii. 3 ἐγγὺς Κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφόμενοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδὰδ τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ, a passage alleged by Hermas for the same purpose as our quotation, to refute one who is sceptical about the approaching afflictions of the last times. On this apocryphal book see Fabricius *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* I. p. 801. It may have been forged by



5 καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συνβέβηκεν. ὧ ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοῦς ζῆλον· λάβετε ἄμπελον· πρῶτον μὲν φύλλοροεῖ, εἴτα βλαστὸς γίνεται, εἴτα φύλλον, εἴτα ἄνθος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἴτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκῆϊα. Ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι ἐν

A; συμβέβηκεν C.

6 πρῶτον μὲν φύλλοροεῖ] AS; om. C.

7 καὶ μετὰ

ταῦτα] translated in S as if εἴτα, the καὶ being omitted.

some Christian to sustain the courage of the brethren under persecution by the promise of the Lord's advent; and, if so, the resemblances to the New Testament writings in this quotation are explained. Hilgenfeld suggests the *Assumption of Moses* (see the notes § 17, 25) as the source of this quotation, but does not assign any reason for this view except his own theory that Clement was acquainted with that work.

οἱ δὲ ψυχοὶ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. James i. 8 ἀνὴρ δὲ ψυχὸς ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ. For the parallels in Hermas see the note on § 11. The conjecture in the last note is confirmed by the fact that Hermas gives repeated warnings against διψυχία and even speaks thereupon in the context of the passage referring to 'Eldad and Modad.' For close resemblances to this quotation see *Vis.* iii. 4 διὰ τοὺς διψύχους τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔσται ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔσται, *Mand.* ix. οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν Θεὸν οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ δὲ ψυχοὶ κ.τ.λ.

3. οἱ λέγοντες κ.τ.λ.] 2 Pet. iii. 4 καὶ λέγοντες Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως.

4. καὶ ἐπὶ 'also in the time of'. Either the speakers use the first person ἡκούσαμεν as identifying themselves with the Israelite people of past generations, or (as seems more probable) ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων must mean 'when our fathers were still alive', i.e. 'in our childhood and youth.' It

will be remembered that this apocryphal prophecy is supposed to be delivered to the Israelites in the wilderness. At all events we cannot arbitrarily change ἐπὶ into ἀπὸ with Young and most subsequent editors (Jacobson and Hilgenfeld are exceptions), for ἐπὶ is read in both our MSS, both here and in ii. § 11.

6. λάβετε ἄμπελον κ.τ.λ.] The words strongly resemble Mark iv. 26 sq (comp. Matt. xxiv. 32 sq, Mark xiii. 28 sq, Luke xxi. 29 sq). See also Epict. *Diss.* iii. 24. 86 ὡς σύκον, ὡς σταφυλὴ, τῇ τεταγμένῃ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους, iii. 24. 91 τὸ φύλλοροεῖν καὶ τὸ ἰσχάδα γίνεσθαι ἀντὶ σύκου καὶ ἀσταφίδας ἐκ τῆς σταφυλῆς κ.τ.λ., M. Anton. xi. 35 ὄμφαξ, σταφυλὴ, σταφίς, πάντα μεταβολαὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὂν.

φύλλοροεῖ] For the orthography see the note on ἐξερίζωσεν § 6.

8. παρεστηκῆϊα] 'ρίπε'; Exod. ix. 41 ἡ γὰρ κριθὴ παρεστηκῆϊα. So Theophrastus *Caus. Plant.* vi. 7. 5 παριστάμενος καὶ ἐξιστάμενος, of wine ripening and going off (see Schneider's note). Similarly παραγίνεσθαι is used, e.g. Herod. i. 193 παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος. The words ὄμφαξ, σταφυλὴ, σταφίς (ἀσταφίς), denote the sour, ripe, and dried grape respectively; see the passages in the previous note, and add *Anthol.* III. p. 3, IV. p. 131 (ed. Jacobs).

Ὁρᾶτε κ.τ.λ.] This sentence is generally treated by the editors as part of the quotation, but I think this wrong for two reasons; (1) In the 2nd Epistle, where also the passage is cited, after σταφυλὴ παρεστηκῆϊα fol-



καιρᾷ ὀλίγῳ εἰς πέπειρον καταντᾷ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου. ἀπ' ἀληθείας ταχὺ καὶ ἐξαίφνης τελειωθήσεται τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ, συνεπιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ὅτι ταχὺ ἤξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἤξει ὁ Κύριος εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἄγιος ὃν ὑμεῖς προσδοκάτε.

XXIV. Κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιδείκνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἥς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας. ἴδωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένην ἀνάστασιν. ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ

1 πέπειρον] πεπιρον A.

2 ἐξαίφνης] ἐξεφνης A.

4 ἐξαίφνης]

ἐξαίφνης A.

7 ἐπιδείκνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν] A (but ἐπιδείκνυται); διηνεκῶς

ἡμῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι C; *monstrat nobis perpetuo* S.

8 τὴν ἀπαρχὴν] AC; add.

ἡδὴ S.

9 Χριστὸν] AS; om. C.

10 κατὰ καιρὸν] C; κατακαι...

A; *in omni tempore* S.

γυνομένην] AC; add. ἡμῖν S.

11 κοιμᾶται...

ἡμέρα] AC; S renders as if it had read κοιμᾶται [τις] νυκτός, ἀνίσταται ἡμέρας.

lows immediately the sentence οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου κ.τ.λ.; the words ὁράτε κ.τ.λ. not only not being quoted but being hardly compatible with the form of the context as there given; (2) ὁράτε is an expression by which Clement himself elsewhere, after adducing a quotation or an example, enforces its lesson; as § 4, 12, 16, 41, 50.

1. εἰς πέπειρον] 'to maturity'. The construction καταντᾶν εἰς is common in the LXX and N.T.; see also above § 5.

4. ταχὺ ἤξει κ.τ.λ.] A combination of Is. xiii. 32 ταχὺ ἔρχεται καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ (comp. Hab. ii. 3, Heb. x. 37), and Mal. iii. 1 καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἤξει εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ Κύριος ὃν ὑμεῖς ζητεῖτε καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης ὃν ὑμεῖς θέλετε. The substitution of ὁ ἄγιος for ὁ ἄγγελος κ.τ.λ. may have been intentional, but is much more probably an inadvertence of Clement, who quotes from memory largely but loosely and is influenced by the interpretation which he has in view

(e.g. § 42 καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κ.τ.λ., where he cites Is. lx. 17). This portion of Malachi's prophecy is quoted much less frequently in early Christian writers than we should have expected. On the other hand the first part of the same verse ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου is quoted Matth. xi. 10, Mark i. 2, Luke vii. 27, and not seldom by the early fathers, by whom, following the evangelists, it is explained of John the Baptist.

XXIV. 'All the works of the Creator bear witness to the resurrection. The day arises from the grave of the night. The young and fruitful plant springs up from the decayed seed'.

The eloquent passage in Tertullian *de Resurr. Carn.* 12, 13, where the same analogies are adduced, is probably founded on this passage of Clement (see above, I. p. 160). Compare also Theoph. *ad Aut.* i. 13, Tertull. *Apol.* 34, Minuc. Fel. 48, especially the passage of Theophilus,

ἀνάστασιν ἡμῖν δηλοῦσιν· κοιμᾶται ἡ νύξ, ἀνίσταται ἡμέρα· ἡ ἡμέρα ἄπεισιν, νύξ ἐπέρχεται. λάβωμεν τοὺς καρπούς· ὁ σπόρος πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον γίνεται; ἐΞΑΛΘΕΝ ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἕκαστον τῶν  
 15 σπερμάτων, ἅτινα πεσόντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ διαλύεται. εἴτ' ἐκ τῆς διαλύσεως ἡ μεγαλειότης τῆς προνοίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἀνίστησιν αὐτά, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλείονα αὖξει καὶ ἐκφέρει καρπὸν.

XXV. Ἰδωμεν τὸ παράδοξον σημεῖον, τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς τόποις, τουτέστιν τοῖς περὶ

ἀνίσταται ἡμέρα] ἀνίσταται ἡ ἡμέρα C; ανισταται... A. After the H Tisch. thinks he sees part of a second H and would therefore read ἡ ἡμέρα. Having more than once inspected this MS, I could only discern a stroke which might as well belong to a M as to an H; and the parallelism of the clauses suggests the omission of the article.

15 ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ] AC; ξηρὰν S.

which has many points in common with Clement.

8. τὴν ἀπαρχὴν] 1 Cor. xv. 20 Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων; comp. ver. 23. It is evident from what follows that Clement has this 15th chapter in his mind.

10. κατὰ καιρὸν] 'at its proper season'. In my first edition I adopted the reading κατὰ καιροῦς, 'at each recurring season'; as in the parallel passage Theoph. ad Aut. i. 13 κατὰ καιροῦς προφέρουσιν τοὺς καρπούς, but in deference to the recently discovered authorities, I now adopt κατὰ καιρόν.

12. λάβωμεν] So again § 37 λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν.

14. ἐΞῆλθεν κ.τ.λ.] The expression is borrowed from the Gospel narrative; Matt. xiii. 3, Mark iv. 3, Luke xiii. 5.

15. γυμνὰ] See 1 Cor. xv. 36 sq., from which this epithet is derived. It denotes the absence of germination: see the rabbinical passages

quoted by Wetstein on 1 Cor. i. c., and Methodius in Epiphan. Haer. lxiv. 44 (p. 570) κατὰμαθε γὰρ τὰ σπέρματα πῶς γυμνὰ καὶ ἄσαρκα βάλλεται εἰς τὴν γῆν κ.τ.λ.

16. διαλύεται] 'rot'. Comp. Theoph. ad Aut. i. 13 πρῶτον ἀποθνήσκει καὶ λύεται. This analogy is derived from 1 Cor. xv. 36; comp. John xii. 24.

18. αὖξει] Intransitive, as in Ephes. ii. 21, Col. ii. 19. It is treated however as a transitive in the Syriac, where αὖξει and ἐκφέρει have the same subject as ἀνίστησιν.

XXV. 'The phoenix is a still more marvellous symbol of the resurrection. After living five hundred years he dies. From his corpse the young bird arises. When he is fledged and strong, he carries his father's bones and lays them on the altar of the sun at Heliopolis. This is done in broad daylight before the eyes of all: and the priests, keeping count of the time, find that just five hundred years have gone by'.

τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ὄρνεον γάρ ἐστιν ὃ προσονομάζεται

1 ὄρνεον] ὄρναιον A.

1. ὄρνεον κ.τ.λ.] The earliest mention of the phoenix is in Hesiod (*Fragm.* 50 ed. Gaisf.), who however speaks merely of its longevity. It is from Herodotus (ii. 73) that we first hear the marvellous story of the burial of the parent bird by the offspring, as it was told him by the Egyptian priests, but he adds cautiously ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. It is mentioned again by Antiphanes (Athen. xiv. p. 655 B) ἐν Ἑλίῳ μὲν φασι γίνεσθαι πόλει φοίνικας. From the Greeks the story passed to the Romans. In B.C. 97 a learned senator Manilius (Plin. *N. H.* x. 2) discoursed at length on the phoenix, stating that the year in which he wrote was the 215th since its last appearance. He was the first Roman who took up the subject. At the close of the reign of Tiberius—A.D. 36 according to Pliny (following Cornelius Valerianus) and Dion Cassius (lviii. 27), but A.D. 34 as Tacitus reports the date—the marvellous bird was said to have reappeared in Egypt. The truth of the statement however was questioned by some, as less than 250 years had elapsed since the reign of the third Ptolemy when it was seen last (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28). But the report called forth many learned disquisitions from savants in Egypt both native and Greek. A few years later (A.D. 47) the bird was actually exhibited in Rome ('in comitio propositus, quod actis testatum est,' are Pliny's words) and may have been seen by Clement, but no one doubted that this was an imposture. The story of the phoenix of course has a place in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (xv. 392 'Una est quae reparet seque ipsa reseminet ales' etc.), and allusions to it in Latin poets are naturally

not unfrequent. Claudian devotes a whole poem to it. Another ascribed to Lactantius (*Corp. Poet. Lat.* p. 1416 ed. Weber) also takes this same subject. The references to the phoenix in classical and other writers are collected by Henrichsen *de Phoenicis fabula* Havn. 1825.

The main features of the account seem to have been very generally believed by the Romans. Thus Mela (iii. 8), who seems to have flourished in the reign of Claudius, repeats the marvellous story without any expression of misgiving. Pliny indeed declines to pronounce whether it is true or not ('haud scio an fabulose'); but Tacitus says no doubt is entertained of the existence of such a bird, though the account is in some points uncertain or exaggerated. Again Ælian (*Hist. An.* vi. 58), who lived in Hadrian's reign, alleges the phoenix as an instance of the superiority of brute instinct over human reason, when a bird can thus reckon the time and discover the place without any guidance; and somewhere about the same time or later Celsus (Origen *c. Cels.* iv. 98, I. p. 576), arguing against the Christians, brings it forward to show the greater piety of the lower animals as compared with man. Still later Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* iii. 49) mentions the account without recording any protest. I do not lay any stress on such passing allusions as Seneca's (*Ep. Mor.* 42 'Ille alter fortasset tamquam phoenix semel anno quingentesimo nascitur'), or on descriptions in romance writers like Achilles Tatius (iii. 25), because no argument can be founded on them.

It thus appears that Clement is not more credulous than the most learned and intelligent heathen wri-



ters of the preceding and following generations. Indeed he may have thought that he had higher sanction than the testimony of profane authors. Tertullian (*de Resurr. Carn.* 10) took Ps. xcii. 12 *δικαίος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει* to refer to this prodigy of nature, and Clement may possibly have done the same. Even Job xxix. 18 is translated by several recent critics, 'With my nest shall I die and like the phoenix lengthen my days' (comp. Lucian *Hermot.* § 53 *ἢν μὴ φοῖνικος ἔτη βιώσῃ*), therein following some rabbinical authorities: but even if this be the correct rendering, the LXX version, through which alone it would be known to Clement, gives a different sense to the words, *ἡ ἡλικία μου γηράσει ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοῖνικος, πολὺν χρόνον βιώσω*. The passage of Job xxix. 18, in relation to the phoenix, is the subject of a paper by Merx in his *Archiv. f. Wiss. Forsch. d. Alt. Test.* II. p. 104 sq (1871).

At all events, even before the Christian era the story had been adopted by Jewish writers. In a poem on the Exodus written by one Ezekiel, probably an Alexandrian Jew in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. (see Ewald *Gesch.* IV. p. 297), the phoenix, the sacred bird of Egypt, is represented as appearing to the Israelite host (see the passage quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 29, p. 446). Though the name is not mentioned, there can be no doubt that the phoenix is intended; for the description accords with those of Herodotus, Manilius (in Pliny), and Mela, and was doubtless taken from some Egyptian painting such as Herodotus saw and such as may be seen on the monuments to the present day (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* 2nd ser. I. p. 304, Rawlinson's *Herod.* II. p. 122). In the *Assumption of Moses* too, if the reading be correct (see Hilgenfeld *Nov. Test. extra Can.*

*Rec.* I. p. 99), the 'profectio phoenicis' is mentioned in connexion with the exodus, and it seems probable that the writer borrowed the incident from Ezekiel's poem and used it in a similar way. The appearance of the phoenix would serve a double purpose; (1) It would mark the epoch; (2) It would betoken the homage paid by heathen religion to the true God and to the chosen people: for Alexandrian Jews sought to give expression to this last idea in diverse ways, through Sibylline oracles, Orphic poems, and the like; and the attendance of the sacred phoenix on the departing host would not be the least eloquent form of symbolizing this homage in the case of Egypt. But this Ezekiel, though he coloured the incident and applied it to his own purpose, appears not to have invented it. According to Egyptian chronology the departure of the Israelites was coincident or nearly coincident with an appearance of a phoenix (i. e. with the beginning of a phoenix-period). Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) says that a phoenix had appeared in the reign of *Amasis*. If this were the earlier *Amosis* of the 17th or 18th dynasty and not the later *Amosis* of the 26th dynasty (the *Amasis* of Herod. ii. 172), the time would coincide; for the Israelites were considered by some authorities (whether rightly or wrongly, it is unnecessary here to enquire) to have left Egypt in the reign of this sovereign; e.g. by Ptolemy the priest of Mendes (Apion in Tatian *ad Graec.* 38 and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 378) and by Julius Africanus (Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* II. p. 256). For rabbinical references to the phoenix, which seem to be numerous, see Buxtorf *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *חור*, Lewysohn *Zoologie des Talmuds* p. 352 sq; comp. Henrichsen l. c. II. p. 19. The reference in a later Sibylline too (*Orac. Sib.* viii. 139

ὅταν φοῖνικος ἐπέλθῃ πενταχρόνῳ) was probably derived from an earlier Jewish poem.

Thus the mere fact that the phoenix is mentioned in the *Assumption of Moses* affords no presumption (as Hilgenfeld supposes) that Clement was acquainted with that work; for the story was well known to Jewish writers. In the manner and purpose of its mention (as I interpret it) the *Assumption* presents no coincidence with Clement's Epistle. The passage in the *Assumption of Moses* is discussed by Rönsch in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* xvii. p. 553 sq. 1874. Rönsch takes the reading *profectio Phoenices*, and explains it of the 'migration from Phoenicia', i.e. Canaan, into Egypt under Jacob. And others also take *synicis* to mean Phoenicia, explaining it however in different ways. See Hilgenfeld's note to *Mos. Assumpt.* p. 130. In this way the phoenix entirely disappears from the passage.

Of subsequent Christian fathers, Tertullian, as we saw, accepted the story without misgiving. As Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Aut.* i. 13) follows Clement's analogies for the resurrection up to a certain point, but omits all mention of the phoenix, I infer that his knowledge of Egyptian antiquities (see ii. 6, iii. 20 sq) saved him from the error. For the same reason, as we may conjecture, Origen also considers the fact to be very questionable (*c. Cels.* iv. 98, i. p. 576). But for the most part it was believed by Christian writers. S. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* xviii. 8), S. Ambrose (see the quotations, i. 167, 172), Rufinus (*Symb. Apost.* ii. p. 73), and others, argue from the story of the phoenix without a shadow of misgiving. In *Apost. Const.* v. 7 it is urged against the heathen, as a fact which they themselves attest; and Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 84) says εἰς ἀκοήν

ἀφίκεται πολλῶν πιστῶν τε καὶ ἀπίστων. On the other hand Euseb. (*Vit. Const.* iv. 72) gives it merely as a report, Greg. Naz. (*Orat.* xxxi. § 10, i. p. 562 D) says cautiously εἰ τῷ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, and Augustine *de Anim.* iv. 33 (20) (x. p. 404) uses similar language, 'Si tamen ut creditur'; while Photius (*Bibl.* 126) places side by side the resurrection of the phoenix and the existence of lands beyond the Atlantic (§ 20) as statements in Clement to which exception may be taken. Other less important patristic references will be found in Suicer's *Thes.* s.v. φοῖνιξ.

It is now known that the story owes its origin to the symbolic and pictorial representations of astronomy. The appearance of the phoenix is the recurrence of some prominent astronomical phenomenon which marked the close of a period. Even Manilius (*Plin. N. H.* x. 2) had fallen seen the truth; for he stated 'cum hujus alitis vita magni conversionem anni fieri iterumque significationes tempestatum et siderum easdem reverti'. For the speculations of Egyptologists and others on the phoenix period see Larcher *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* etc. i. p. 166 sq (1815), Lepsius *Chronol. d. Aegypt.* p. 180 sq, Uhlemann *Handb. d. Aegypt. Alterthumsk.* III. p. 39 sq, 79 sq, iv. p. 226 sq, Poole *Horae Aegyptiacae* p. 39 sq, Ideler *Handb. der Chron.* i. p. 183 sq, Creuzer *Symb. u. Mythol.* II. p. 163 sq, Brugsch *Aegyptische Studien in Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* x. p. 250 sq (1856), *Geograph. Inschrift. der Altaegypt. Denkmäler* i. p. 258 (1857), Wiedemann *Die Phoenix-Sage in Zeitschr. f. Aegyptische Sprache* etc. xvi. p. 89 sq (1878), Lauth *Die Phoenix-Periode* 1880 (a separate issue of a paper in *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*). The actual bird, around which this mass of symbolism and of fiction has



φοῖνιξ· τοῦτο μονογενὲς ὑπάρχον ζῆ ἔτη πεντακόσια·

1 μονογενὲς] μονογενὴς Α.

gathered, bears the name *benmu* in the Egyptian language and appears to be the *ardea cinerea* (or *purpurea*), a bird of passage; see Wiedemann l.c. p. 104.

Thus the phoenix was a symbol from the very beginning. Horapollon says that in the hieroglyphics this bird represented a soul, or an inundation, or a stranger paying a visit after long absence, or a restoration after a long period (ἀποκατάστασις πολυχρόνιον), *Hierogl.* i. 34, 35; ii. 57. The way was thus prepared for the application of Clement. This Apostolic father however confines the symbolism to the resurrection of man. But later patristic writers diversified the application and took the phoenix also as a type of the Person of our Lord. The marvellous birth and the unique existence of this bird, as represented in the myth, were admirably adapted to such a symbolism; and accordingly it is so taken in Epiphanius (l.c.), Rufinus (l.c.), and others; see especially an unknown but apparently very ancient author in *Spicil. Solesm.* III. p. 345. Some of these writers press the parallel so far as to state that the phoenix arises after three days. The fact that a reputed appearance of the phoenix was nearly coincident with the year of the Passion and Resurrection (see above, p. 84) may have assisted this application. At a later date the Monophysites alleged the phoenix as an argument in favour of their peculiar doctrines (see Piper *Mythol. u. Symbol. der Christl. Kunst.* I. 1, p. 454).

For the representations of the phoenix in early Christian art see Piper l.c. p. 456 sq. Before it appears as a Christian symbol, it is

found on coins and medals of the Roman emperors (for instances see Piper p. 449) to denote immortality or renovation, with the legend SAEC. AVR., or AETERNITAS, or ΔΙΩΝ. It is significant that this use begins in the time of Hadrian, the great patron and imitator of Egyptian art.

1. μονογενὲς] 'alone of its kind, unique'. This epithet is applied to the phoenix also in Origen, Cyril, and *Apost. Const.* v. 7, and doubtless assisted the symbolism mentioned in the last note. The statement about the phoenix in *Apost. Const.* φασὶ γὰρ ὄρνέον τι μονογενὲς ὑπάρχειν κ.τ.λ. is evidently founded on this passage of Clement; comp. e.g. εἰ τοίνυν... δι' ἀλόγου ὄρνέου δέκνυνται ἡ ἀνάστασις κ.τ.λ. with Clement's language in § 26. So also in Latin it is 'unica', 'semper unica', Mela iii. 9, Ovid *Am.* ii. 6. 54, Lactant. *Phoen.* 31, Claudian *Laud. Stil.* ii. 417. Thus Milton *Samson Agonistes* 1699 speaks of 'that self-begotten bird... That no second knows nor third,' and again *Paradise Lost* v. 272 'A phoenix gaz'd by all, as that sole bird, When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's Bright temple to Ægyptian Thebes he flies'. Why does Milton despatch his bird to Thebes rather than Heliopolis?

ἔτη πεντακόσια] The longevity of the phoenix is differently stated. Hesiod gives it ( $9 \times 4 \times 3 \times 9 =$ ) 972 generations of men; Manilius (Plin. *N. H.* x. 2) 509 years; Solinus (*Polyh.* 36) 540 years; authorities mentioned in Tacitus 1461 years, which is the length of the Sothic period; Martial (v. 7), Claudian, Lactantius, and others, 1000 years; Chæremon (in Tzetzes *Chil.* v. 6. 395) 7006 years. But, says Tacitus, 'maxime vulgatum



γενόμενόν τε ἤδη πρὸς ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτό, σηκὸν ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖ ἐκ λιβάνου καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρωμάτων, εἰς ὃν πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου εἰσέρχεται καὶ τελευτᾷ. σηπομένης δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς σκώληξ τις γεννᾶται, ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἱκμάδος τοῦ τετε- 5 λευτηκότος ζῶου ἀνατρεφόμενος πτεροφυεῖ· εἴτα γενναῖος γενόμενος αἶρει τὸν σηκὸν ἐκείνῳ ὅπου τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ προγεγονότος ἐστίν, καὶ ταῦτα βαστάζων διανύει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβικῆς χώρας ἕως τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Ἡλιούπολιν· καὶ ἡμέρας, βλεπόν- 10 των πάντων, ἐπιπτὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου βωμὸν τίθησιν

1 τε] A; δὲ CS.

AC; add. *in illo* S.

3 τοῦ χρόνου] AC; add. *vitalis suae* S.

δὲ] AS; τε C.

4 τελευτᾷ]

the latter translating *nascitur in ea illic*.

5 γεννᾶται] A; ἐγγενᾶται CS,

δς] AC; ὅστις (apparently) S.

τετε- 6 λευτηκότος] τελευτηκότος A; τελευτήσαντος C; see I. p. 126.

7 σηκὸν

ἐκείνῳ] AC; S adds *ἡ'רררן כן* (=κυκλόθεν αὐτοῦ).

8 βαστάζων] βασταζον

quingentorum spatium'; and this is adopted by almost all the Christian fathers together with most heathen writers; of the latter see a list in Lepsius *Chron.* p. 180.

I. τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτό] 'so that it should die,' explaining the preceding *γενόμενον πρὸς ἀπόλυσιν* 'at the eve of its dissolution'; comp. § 46 *ἐρχόμεθα ὥστε ἐπιλαθῆσθαι ἡμᾶς*. This construction seems to me preferable to connecting αὐτὸ with what follows, as in the Syriac version; for in this case I should expect that αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ would stand in juxtaposition, as e.g. Rom. viii. 23, 2 Cor. i. 9.

5. σκώληξ τις γεννᾶται] This mode of reproduction is not mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 73); but it formed part of the story as related by Manilius to the Romans and is frequently mentioned by subsequent writers. To this account is sometimes added the incident that the parent bird lights its own pyre and that the worm is

found in the smouldering ashes; e.g. Artemid. *Oneirocr.* iv. 47 αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ποιησάμενος ἐκ κασίας τε καὶ σμύρνης πυρὰν ἀποθνήσκει· καυθείσης δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς μετὰ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς σποδοῦ σκώληκα γεννᾶσθαι λέγουσιν κ.τ.λ. (comp. Martial v. 7). It is interesting to observe the different stages in the growth of the story, as follows; (1) The longevity alone (Hesiod); (2) The entombment and burial of the parent by the offspring (Herodotus); (3) The miraculous birth of the offspring from the remains of the parent (Manilius); (4) The three days' interval between the death of the parent and resuscitation of the offspring (Epiphanius).

6. γενναῖος] 'strong, lusty,' as e.g. Dion Chrys. vii. p. 228 R *ἰσχυροὶ ἔτι νέοι καὶ γενναῖοι τὰ σώματα*. It corresponds to Ovid's 'Quum dedit huic aetas vires'.

9. διανύει] 'makes its way,' frequently used absolutely, e.g. Polyb.

αὐτά, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀφορμᾶ. οἱ οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐπισκέπτονται τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν χρόνων καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτὸν πεντακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους πεπληρωμένου ἔλη-  
 15 λυθέναι.

XXVI. Μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὖν νομίζομεν εἶναι, εἰ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάστασιν ποιήσεται τῶν ὁσίως αὐτῷ δουλευσάντων ἐν πεποιθήσει πίστεως ἀγαθῆς, ὅπου καὶ δι' ὀρνέου δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν τὸ μεγα-  
 20 λεῖον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ; λέγει γάρ που· Καὶ ἐΞΑΝΑΚΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ἘΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΣΟΙ· ΚΑΙ ἘΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΝ ΚΑΙ ὕπνωσα, ἐξηγέρθη, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. καὶ πάλιν

A. 9 διανύει] C; διανευει A; *migrat volans* S. 11 πάντων] A; ἀπάντων C. ἐπιπτάς] AS; om. C, doubtless owing to the following ἐπὶ. 12 ἱερεῖς] AC; add. οἱ τῆς Αἰγύπτου S. 14 πεπληρωμένου] AS; πληρουμένου C. 19 ὀρνέου δείκνυσιν] ὀρναιῶν δεικνυσιν A. μεγαλείον] μεγαλιον A. 20 ἐπαγγελίας] επαγγελειας A. 22 ἐξηγέρθη] A; καὶ ἐξηγέρθη CS.

iii. 56. 1 (ἀπό), iv. 70. 5 (ἐκ), ii. 54. 6 (πρός). The word occurs above, § 20. The reading of A, διανεύει, is out of place, for it could only mean 'turns aside', i.e. for the purpose of avoiding. Several instances of the confusion of διανύειν and διανεύειν by transcribers are given by Jahn *Methodius* II. p. 110.

13. τὰς ἀναγραφὰς] 'the public records'; comp. Tatian *ad Graec.* 38 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς χρόνων ἀναγραφαί. For the Egyptian ἀναγραφαί see also Diod. Sic. i. 44, 69, xvi. 51, Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 6 sq. The recently discovered register of the epiphanies of the bulls Apis is a parallel instance of such chronological records; see Bunsen's *Egypt* I. p. 62 (2nd ed.).

XXVI. 'Is it then strange that God should raise the faithful, when He has given this marvellous sign? To such a resurrection we have the testimony of the Scriptures'.

16. Μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν] For the

same combination of epithets see §§ 50, 53.

17. ὁ δημιουργὸς κ.τ.λ.] See above § 20. On this Platonic phrase compare Jahn *Methodius* II. pp. 39, 91.

18. ἐν πεποιθήσει κ.τ.λ.] 'in the confidence which comes of honest faith': comp. Ephes. iii. 12 ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ, and below § 35 πίστις ἐν πεποιθήσει. The phrase πίστις ἀγαθὴ occurs Tit. ii. 10, where however πίστις seems to mean 'fidelity.'

19. τὸ μεγαλεῖον] 'the greatness'; comp. §§ 32, 49. It occurs Acts ii. 11, Luke i. 49 (v.l.), and several times in the LXX.

20. λέγει γάρ που] Taken apparently from Ps. xxviii. 7 καὶ ἀνέθαλεν ἡ σὰρξ μου καὶ ἐκ θελήματός μου ἔξομολογήσομαι αὐτῷ (comp. Ps. lxxxvii. 11).

21. ἐκοιμήθην κ.τ.λ.] A confusion of Ps. iii. 5 ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα, ἐξηγέρθη ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήψεται μου, and Ps. xxiii. 4 οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ.

Ἰωβ λέγει· Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀναντλήσασαν ταῖτα πάντα.

XXVII. Ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ἐλπίδι προσδεδέσθωσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν τῷ πιστῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν. ὁ παραγγέλλας μὴ ψεύδεσθαι 5 πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς οὐ ψεύσεται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι. ἀναζωπυρησάτω οὖν ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ νοήσωμεν ὅτι πάντα ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν. ἐν λόγῳ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ συνεστήσατο τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δύναται 10 αὐτὰ καταστρέψαι. Τίς ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ· τί ἐποίησας; ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ; ὅτε θέλει καὶ

1 σάρκα] σαρκαν A.

2 ἀναντλήσασαν] A; ἀντλήσασαν C; *toleravit*

(ἀνατλήσασαν?) S.

3 προσδεδέσθωσαν] AS; προσδεχέσθωσαν C.

4 ἐν]

A; om. C; dub. S.

τῷ δικαίῳ] A; δικαίῳ (om. τῷ) C, and so apparently S.

7 τῷ] A; om. C; see above, § 21.

τὸ] A, and so apparently S; om. C.

10 τὰ πάντα] A, and so probably S; πάντα C.

13 ποιήσει] AS; ποιήσει C.

15 οἱ] A; om. C.

16 ποιήσιν] ποιήσιν A.

χειρῶν] ACS; Bryennios

accidentally omits *χειρῶν* in recording the reading of C (p. 51).

17 τὸ στε-

ρέωμα κ.τ.λ.] C runs τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ πάντων βλεπομένων καὶ ἀκουομένων· φοβηθῶμεν κ.τ.λ., omitting many words. The omissions here are not

1. Ἰωβ λέγει] From LXX Job xix. 26 ἀναστήσει δέ μου τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀναντλοῦν ταῦτα as read in A, but *KB* have ἀναστήσει τὸ δέρμα μου τὸ ἀναντλοῦν (or ἀντλοῦν) ταῦτα. The Hebrew original is different from either. For the confusion of ἀνατῆσαι and ἀναντῆσαι in this passage of Job and in Prov. ix. 12 see Schleusner *Lex. Vet. Test.* s.v. ἀναντῆω, Field *Orig. Hexapl.* II. p. 36. It may be a question what reading the Syriac translator had here, but the same word ܠܒܕ is used elsewhere (e.g. Eus. *H. E.* viii. 14) to render ἀνατλάντες; see Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* s. v.

Harnack refers to the discussion of this passage of Clement in Caspari *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Taufsymbols* III. p. 158.

XXVII. 'Let us therefore cling fast to God. He has promised, and He cannot lie. Whatsoever He wills, He is able to perform. To His power no bounds are set. To His eye and His mind all things are open. The heavens declare His glorious works'.

4. τῷ πιστῷ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Heb. x. 23 πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγελάμενος, and xi. 11.

6. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον κ.τ.λ.] Compare Heb. vi. 18 ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι [τὸν] Θεόν, with Matt. xix. 26 (Mark x. 27); see also Tit. i. 2.

7. ἀναζωπυρησάτω] Intransitive; see the note on Ign. *Ephes.* i. The context seems to suggest that ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ should be rendered 'His faithfulness', as in Rom. iii. 3; see *Galatians* p. 155.



ὡς θέλει ποιήσῃ πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ παρέλθῃ τῶν  
 δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πάντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ  
 15 εἰσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν λέληθεν τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ, εἰ οἱ οὐ-  
 ρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ, ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα· ἡ ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεγγεταί ῥῆμα,  
 καὶ νῦν νύκτι ἀναγγέλλει γνώσιν· καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν λόγοι οὐδέ  
 λαλιαί, ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.

20 XXVIII. Πάντων οὖν βλεπομένων καὶ ἀκουόμε-  
 νων, φοβηθῶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολείπωμεν φαύλων ἔργων  
 μιὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἵνα τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ σκεπασθῶμεν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν μελλόντων κριμάτων. ποῦ γὰρ τις ἡμῶν

altogether explained by the practice of abridging quotations (see I. p. 128).

18 ἀναγγέλλει] A; ἀναγγελεῖ S (with Hebr. and LXX A); def. C. In the previous line S has the present (ἀναγγέλλει).

18, 19 λόγοι, λαλιαί] S transposes these words, as in the LXX.

19 αἱ φωναί] The text of S is perhaps corrupt here.

As it stands, the translator would appear to have had ταῖς φωναῖς נָרַב, instead of נָרַב, unless it is a very loose paraphrase.

20 οὖν] A; τε (וְ) S; om. C

(see the note on τὸ στερέωμα κ.τ.λ.).

21 ἀπολείπωμεν] A; ἀπολιπόμεν C.

22 μιὰς] AS; βλαβερὰς C (see Bryennios *Did.* p. ργ').

23 τῶν μελλόν-

των κριμάτων] AC; τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίματος (וְתֵלַע נִנְיָ) S. The variation cannot be explained by *riḥi* here, and must have been deliberate; see also § 21.

9. ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ] So Ign. *Ephes.* 15 οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν, which is perhaps a reminiscence of this passage: compare § 21 above.

ἐν λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.] See Heb. i. 3 φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ: comp. Wisd. ix. 1. See the introduction, I. p. 398, on the relation of Clement to the Logos doctrine.

11. Τίς ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.] From Wisd. xii. 12 τίς γὰρ ἐρεῖ τί ἐποίησας ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρίματί σου; comp. Wisd. xi. 22 κράτει βραχιονός σου τίς ἀντιστήσεται; The expression τὸ κράτος τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ occurs in Ephes. i. 19, vi. 10. The κράτος is the ἰσχύς exerted on some object.

13. οὐδὲν μὴ παρέλθῃ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Matt. v. 18.

15. εἰ οἱ οὐρανοὶ κ.τ.λ.] 'seeing

that The heavens etc.' The εἰ is no part of the quotation. So treated the passage presents no difficulty; and the corrections proposed (e.g. the omission of εἰ, or the reading καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ) are unnecessary. Perhaps also the καὶ before οὐκ εἰσὶν should be excluded from the quotation in the same way. The quotation is then word for word (except the interchange of λόγοι and λαλιαί) from the LXX Ps. xix. 1—3.

19. ὧν...αὐτῶν] See above the note on § 20.

XXVIII. 'Therefore, since He sees and hears all things, let us forsake our vile deeds and take refuge in His mercy. We cannot escape His powerful arm; neither in the height of heaven nor in the abyss of ocean nor in the farthest parts of the earth'.

δύναται φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κραταιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ; ποῖος δὲ κόσμος δέξεται τινα τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; λέγει γάρ που τὸ γραφεῖον· Ποῦ ἀφῆζω καὶ ποῦ κρυβήσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ἔάν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖ· ἔάν ἀπέλθω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς, ἐκεῖ ἡ 5 δεξιὰ σου· ἔάν καταστρώσω εἰς τὰς ἀβύσσους, ἐκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά

5 εἶ ἐκεῖ] A (with LXX ABS); ἐκεῖ εἶ CS. ἐκεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου] AS; σὺ ἐκεῖ εἶ C.  
7 οὖν] AC; om. S. ἀποδράση] A; ἀποδράση (or ἀποδράσει) S; τις ἀποδρά-

2. αὐτομολούντων] See above, λιποτακτεῖν § 21, and the note on δεσέρτωρ Ign. Polyc. 6.

3. τὸ γραφεῖον] 'the writing.' S. Clement here seems to adopt the threefold division of the Old Testament books which appears in Ecclus. (prol.), in S. Luke (xxiv. 44), in Philo (*de Vit. cont.* 3, II. p. 475), in Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 8), and generally. The third division is called τὰ ἄλλα βιβλία and τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων in Ecclus., ψαλμοὶ in S. Luke, ὕμνοι in Philo and Josephus. Its more general name in Hebrew was כְּתוּבִים, 'the writings', translated sometimes by γραφεῖα, sometimes by ἀγιόγραφα: comp. Epiphanius. *Haer.* xxix. 7 (i. p. 122) οὐ γὰρ ἀπηγόρευται παρ' αὐτοῖς νομοθεσία καὶ προφῆται καὶ γραφεῖα τὰ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλούμενα, and again παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ πᾶς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ γραφεῖα λεγόμενα κ.τ.λ., *Mens. et Pond.* 4 (II. p. 162) τὰ καλούμενα γραφεῖα παρὰ τισι δὲ ἀγιόγραφα λεγόμενα. In the first of these passages however Epiphanius includes the historical books among the γραφεῖα, and in the second he confines the term to them, placing the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, etc., in a separate section which he calls οἱ στιχηρεῖς. This does not truly represent the Jewish tradition, in which 1, 2 Chronicles alone belonged to the כְּתוּבִים, while the historical books generally were ranged

with the Prophets; see Fürst *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments* p. 10 sq, p. 55 sq. Elsewhere he uses γραφεῖα more widely, *Haer.* xxvi. 12 (p. 94) ἄλλα μυρία παρ' αὐτοῖς πεπλασμένα γραφεῖα; comp. Deut. x. 4 (Aq.). John Damascene likewise (*de Fid. Orthod.* iv. 17, i. p. 284), following Epiphanius, describes the historical books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, as τὰ καλούμενα γραφεῖα παρὰ τισι δὲ ἀγιόγραφα. In the Classical language (as also LXX Job xix. 24, Hex. Jer. xvii. 1) γραφεῖον is not 'a writing' but 'a pen.'

Ποῦ ἀφῆζω] A very loose quotation from Ps. cxxxix. 7—10, where the slight variations of the principal MSS of the LXX do not affect the wide divergences in Clement's quotation. Compare also the parallel passage in Amos ix. 2, 3, to which Clement's quotation presents some faint resemblances. It is important to observe that in using καταστρώσω, 'make my couch,' Clement conforms to the original כְּשִׁיבָה, where the LXX has καταβῶ. This is the more remarkable, as he elsewhere shows no knowledge of the Hebrew, and in the Psalms generally quotes pretty accurately from the LXX. Whence then did he get this word? We may conjecture that he was acquainted with one of the versions afterwards included by Origen in his Hexapla. The 5th

COY. *πρὶ οὖν τις ἀπέλθῃ ἢ ποῦ ἀποδράσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐμπεριέχοντος;*

XXIX. Προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἀγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγαπῶντες τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ εὐσπλαγχνον πατέρα ἡμῶν ὃς ἐκλογῆς μέρος ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ. Οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· Ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὥς διέσπειρεν

σει C. τὰ] A; om. C, and so probably S.

11 ἐπιεικῇ] ἐπιεικην A.

12 μέρος] A; add. ἡμᾶς CS.

9 οὖν] AC; om. S.

οὕτω] οὕτως C.

version (ε in Origen) has *στρώσω* or *καταστρώσω* (see Field's *Hexapl.* ad loc.), and as this seems to have been the one found in an old cask either at Jericho or Nicopolis (Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 16, Epiphan. *Mens. et Pond.* 18, p. 174; see Hody *de Bibl. Text. Orig.* etc. p. 587 sq), it may very well have been an ancient Jewish tradition prior to the age of Clement. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 22 (p. 625) quotes the passage nearly in the form which it has here (though substituting the LXX *καταβά* for *καταστρώσω*), and doubtless derived it through the medium of the Roman Clement, so that he is not an independent authority.

ἀφήξω] The verb *ἀφήκειν* is not found in the LXX or N.T., and is altogether a rare word; comp. Plato *Resp.* vii. p. 530 E, Antiphon in Bekker *Anecd.* p. 470 s.v. *ἀφήκοντος*.

XXIX. 'Therefore let us approach Him in prayer with pure hearts and undefiled hands. We are God's special portion and inheritance, of which the Scriptures speak once and again'.

See on the liturgical character of this portion of Clement's Epistle which follows, the introduction, I. p. 386 sq.

10. ἀγνὰς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. ii. 8 *ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας*, Athenag. *Suppl.* 13 *ἐπαίρωμεν ὁσίους χεῖρας αὐτῷ*; see also Heliodorus the tragedian in Ga-

len. *de Antid.* ii. 7 (XIV. p. 145, ed. Kühn) ἀλλ' ὁσίας μὲν χεῖρας ἐς ἡέρα λαμπρὸν αἰέρας (quoted by Wetstein on 1 Tim. ii. 8). The expression describes the attitude of the ancients (as of Orientals at the present day) when engaged in prayer, with extended arms and uplifted palms.

12. ἐκλογῆς μέρος κ.τ.λ.] 'has made us His special portion,' or rather 'has set apart for Himself a special portion'. In either case the *ἐκλογῆς μέρος* is the Christian people, the spiritual Israel, who under the new covenant have taken the place of the chosen people under the old; as 1 Pet. ii. 9 *ὕμεις δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν κ.τ.λ.* See the notes on *παροικοῦσα* and *ἡγιασμένοι* (§ 1). Thus *μέρος ἐκλογῆς* here is coextensive with *οἱ ἐκλεγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* § 50 (comp. § 64). The words *μέρος ἐκλογῆς* are not to be translated 'a portion of his elect' but 'a portion set apart by election,' *ἐκλογῆς* being a genitive of the same kind as in Acts ix. 15 *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς*, *Iren.* i. 6. 4 *σπέρματα ἐκλογῆς*. The expression therefore has no bearing on the question whether Clement was a Jewish or Gentile Christian. See the note on *λαὸς* below.

13. Ὅτε διεμέριζεν κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, almost word for word.



γίοϋς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνων κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων  
θεοῦ. ἐγενήθη μερίς Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα  
κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει·  
Ἰδοὺ Κύριος λαμβάνει ἐαγτῷ ἔθνος ἐκ μέσοις ἔθνων, ὥσπερ

1 ἀριθμὸν] ἀριθμὸν A.

2 ἐγενήθη] AC; καὶ ἐγενήθη S with LXX.

1. κατὰ ἀριθμὸν κ.τ.λ.] The idea conveyed by the LXX which Clement quotes is that, while the Gentile nations were committed to His inferior ministers, God retained the people of Israel under His own special guardianship: comp. Dan. x. 13 sq. xii. 1, but esp. Ecclus. xvii. 17 ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον καὶ μερὶς Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν, and *Jubilees* § 15 (Ewald *Jahrb.* III. p. 10) 'Many are the nations and numerous the people, and all are His, and over all hath He set spirits as lords...but over Israel did He set no one to be Lord, neither angel nor spirit, but He alone is their ruler etc.', with the context. See also *Clem. Hom.* xviii. 4, *Clem. Recogn.* ii. 42 (references which I should have overlooked but for Hilgenfeld *Apost. Vät.* p. 65). *Clem. Alex. Strom.* vii. 2 (p. 832) uses the text to support his favourite idea that heathen philosophy is the handmaid of revelation; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδούς καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἀγγέλων· εἰσὶ γὰρ συνδιανεμημένοι προστάξει θείᾳ τε καὶ ἀρχαίᾳ ἄγγελοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἡ μερίς Κυρίου ἡ δόξα τῶν πιστεούντων. On the other hand the present text of the Hebrew runs 'He set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the sons of Israel (למספר בני ישראל); for (or 'while', כִּי) the portion of Jehovah is His people, Jacob is the rod of His inheritance'. So too the Peshito and Targum of Onkelos. But it is difficult to get any good sense out of this reading, and the parallelism of the verses is thus shattered. I can hardly doubt therefore that the LXX is right,

and the error can be easily explained. The ends of the lines have got out of gear; <sup>לְאֵלֹהִים</sup> <sup>לְאֵלֹהִים</sup>, which in the present text occupies the end of ver. 8, has been displaced from its proper position at the end of ver. 9, and thrust out the original word <sup>לְאֵלֹהִים</sup>, which has thus disappeared. The 'sons of God' are mentioned Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7, and in all places are translated (as it appears, correctly) by ἄγγελοι [τοῦ Θεοῦ] in the LXX; see Gesen. *Thez.* p. 215. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the Samar. Pent. reads 'Israel' at the end of both verses, thus presenting an intermediate reading between the LXX and the present Hebrew text. Justin Martyr *Dial.* § 131 (p. 360 B) refers to the difference between the Hebrew and LXX texts; see also Origen *In Num. Hom.* xxviii. § 4 (II. p. 385), *In Ezech. Hom.* xiii (III. p. 401). The reading of the Hebrew text is naturally adopted in *Clem. Hom.* xviii. 4, as it is by Justin's Jewish opponents. The writer lived late enough to have got it from one of the Judaizing versions. On the other hand the LXX is quoted by Philo *de Post. Ca.* 25 (I. p. 241), *de Plant.* 14 (I. p. 338).

2. λαὸς] We have here the common antithesis of λαὸς 'the chosen people', and ἔθνη 'the Gentiles'; as e.g. Luke ii. 32, Acts iv. 27, xxvi. 17, 23, Rom. xv. 10, 11, etc. By becoming the λαὸς however the Israelites do not cease to be called an ἔθνος (see esp. Joh. xi. 50), but are rather ἔθνος ἅγιον (as Exod. xix. 6, 1 Pet. ii. 9) or ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἔθνων (as below): so Justin *Dial.* 24 (p. 242)

5 ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΤΗΝ ἈΡΧΗΝ Αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁλῶ, καὶ ἐξε-  
λεῖσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκείνου ἅγια ἁγίων.

### XXX. 'Αγίου οὖν μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες ποιήσωμεν τὰ

ΟΥ

7 'Αγίου οὖν] ἈΓΙΟΥΝ (the ΟΥ above the line being written *prima manu*) A;  
ἁγία οὖν μερὶς S; ἅγια οὖν μέρη C. See I. p. 143.

ἵνα γένηται ἔθνος δίκαιον, λαὸς φυλάσ-  
σων πίστιν (from Is. xxvi. 2). All such  
titles, referring primarily to the Israel  
after the flesh, are transferred by  
Clement, following the Apostolic writ-  
ters, to the Israel after the spirit; see  
above the notes on § 1, and comp. below  
§ 64 εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, and especially  
Justin *Dial.* 119 (p. 347). I call at-  
tention to this, because Hilgenfeld  
(*Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* 1858,  
p. 585, and here) distinguishes the  
λαὸς of the first passage and the ἔθνος  
of the second, as though they referred  
to the Jewish and Gentile Christians  
respectively. Of such a distinction  
the context gives no indication; and  
the interpretation moreover supposes  
that Clement departs from the ob-  
vious meaning of the passages in-  
corporated in the second quotation,  
where the original reference of ἔθνος  
is plainly to the Israelites. See the  
note on ἐκλογῆς μέρος above.

σχοίνισμα] 'a portion measured out  
by a line' (see the note on κανών,  
§ 7), a common word in the LXX  
exactly representing the Hebrew לֶבֶן.

4. Ἰδοὺ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] A combina-  
tion of several passages; Deut. iv. 34  
εἰ ἐπείρασεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰσελθὼν λαβεῖν  
ἐαυτῷ ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἔθνους ἐν πειρασ-  
μῷ κ.τ.λ., Deut. xiv. 2 καὶ σὲ ἐξελέξατο  
Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου γενέσθαι σε λαὸν  
αὐτῷ περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν  
κ.τ.λ. (comp. vii. 6).

ὥσπερ λαμβάνει κ.τ.λ.] The pas-  
sages most nearly resembling this  
are, Num. xviii. 27 λογισθήσεται ὑμῖν  
τὰ ἀφαιρέματα ὑμῶν ὡς σίτος ἀπὸ ἁλῶ  
καὶ ἀφαιρέμα ἀπὸ ληνοῦ, 2 Chron. xxxi.

14 δοῦναι τὰς ἀπαρχὰς Κυρίου καὶ τὰ  
ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, Ezek. xlviii. 12 ἔσται  
αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀπαρχὴ δεδομένη ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρ-  
χῶν τῆς γῆς, ἅγιον ἁγίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων  
κ.τ.λ. with the context; but in all these  
passages the reference of the 'first-  
fruits' is different. As Clement's quo-  
tations elsewhere are so free (e.g. §§  
18, 26, 32, 35, 39, etc.), he may only  
have combined these passages and  
applied them from memory; but  
the alternative remains that he is  
quoting from some apocryphal writ-  
ting, such as the spurious or interpo-  
lated Ezekiel quoted above (see the  
notes §§ 8, 13, 17, 23, 46). The ἅγια  
ἁγίων are the specially consecrated  
things, the offerings or first-fruits, as  
in the passages just quoted; see also  
Lev. xxi. 22, Ezek. xlii. 13. The ex-  
pression is applied here either to the  
people of God themselves, or to their  
spiritual oblations (see below, §§ 40,  
44).

XXX. 'Therefore, as the portion of  
the Holy One, let us be holy our-  
selves; let us lay aside all sins which  
defile; let us shun pride and ensue  
peace; let us be on our guard against  
slander and backbiting; let us seek  
not our own praise, but the praise of  
God. Self-will is accursed in His  
sight; but His blessing rests on the  
gentle and lowly-minded'.

7. 'Αγίου οὖν μερὶς] i.e. 'As the  
special portion of a Holy God':  
comp. 1 Pet. i. 15 sq κατὰ τὸν καλέ-  
σαντα ὑμᾶς ἁγίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἐν  
πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε, διότι γέ-  
γραπται (Lev. xi. 44) "Ἄγιοι ἔσσεσθε ὅτι  
ἐγὼ ἅγιος. On the liturgical charac-

τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα, φεύγοντες καταλαλιάς, μιარάς τε καὶ ἀνάγνους συμπλοκάς, μέθας τε καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ βδελυκτὰς ἐπιθυμίας, μυσερὰν μοιχείαν, βδελυκτὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν. Κολληθῶμεν οὖν ἐκεί- 5 νοις οἷς ἡ χάρις ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δέδοται. ἐνδυσάμεθα τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, ταπεινοφρονοῦντες, ἐγκρατεούμενοι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ψιθυρισμοῦ καὶ καταλαλιάς πόρρω ἑαυτοὺς ποιοῦντες, ἔργοις δικαιούμενοι καὶ μὴ λόγοις. λέγει γάρ· Ὁ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων καὶ ἀντακούσεται· ἢ ὁ εἴλαλος 10 οἶεται εἶναι δίκαιος; εὐλογημένος γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος· μὴ πολὺς ἐν ῥήμασιν γίνοῦ. Ὁ ἔπαινος ἡμῶν

2 ἀνάγνους] C; αγνους A. συμπλοκάς] AC; καὶ συμπλοκάς S, rendering the word however by *contentiones* (*jurgia*), and connecting μιάρας τε καὶ ἀνάγνους with καταλαλιάς. τε] AS; om. C. 3 μυσερὰν] A; μυσεράν (*μυσαράν* C) τε CS. μοιχείαν] μοιχίαν A. βδελυκτὴν] A; καὶ βδελυκτὴν CS. 4 Θεὸς] AC. Bryennios reads ὁ Θεὸς, as if it had some manuscript authority. 6 ἀπὸ] AS; om. C. 8 καταλαλιάς...ἑαυτοῦς] AC; S translates as if καταλαλιάς...ἑαυτῶν, connecting ἀπὸ παντὸς ψιθυρισμοῦ with ἐγκρατεούμενοι. 9 καὶ] AS; om. C. 10 ἡ] η A; εἰ C; ἦ (apparently) S, for it translates *ille qui*

ter of the language here used, see above, I. p. 387.

1. φεύγ. καταλ.] I Pet. ii. 1 ἀποθέμενοι...πάσας καταλαλιάς.

2. ἀνάγνους] Something may still be said for λάγνους which I read in my first edition after Colomiés; comp. Athenag. *Suppl.* 19 τοῖς ἀκολάστοις καὶ λάγνοις, 21 λαγνείας ἢ βίας ἢ πλεονεξίας, *Clem. Recogn.* ix. 17 (the Greek is preserved in Cæsarius) μεθύουσας, λάγνους, δαιμονῶντας, *Acta Petri* in Isid. Pelus. *Ep.* ii. 99 (see Hilgenfeld's *Nov. Test. extr. Can. Rec.* IV. p. 70) ὁ γὰρ φιλοχρήματος οὐκ ἐχώρησε τὸν τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης λόγον οὐδὲ ὁ λάγνος τὸν περὶ σωφροσύνης κ.τ.λ., *Clem. Alex. Paed.* ii. 10 (p. 222—225). The common form was λάγνος, the Attic λάγνης; see Lobeck *Phryg.* p. 184. Neither word (*ἀναγνος* or *λάγνος*) oc-

curs in the LXX or New Testament.

3. μυσεράν] For this form see the note on § 14.

4. Θεὸς γάρ κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. iii. 34 Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ. In I Pet. v. 5, James iv. 6, it is quoted ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ. The Hebrew has simply נִיחַ 'he'.

8. ψιθ. καὶ καταλ.] See below, § 35. The words occur together also 2 Cor. xii. 20; comp. Rom. i. 30 ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους.

9. ἔργοις δικαιούμενοι] See the note at the beginning of § 33, and the introduction, I. pp. 96, 397.

10. Ὁ τὰ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Job xi. 2, 3, almost word for word. It diverges widely from the Hebrew, and the sentiment εὐλογημένος κ.τ.λ. has no connexion with the context. It may be conjectured that the words



ἔστω ἐν Θεῷ καὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν, αὐτεπαινετοὺς γὰρ  
μισεῖ ὁ Θεός. ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς ἀγαθῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν  
15 διδόσθω ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθὼς ἐδόθη τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν  
τοῖς δικαίοις. θράσος καὶ αὐθάδεια καὶ τόλμα τοῖς  
κατηραμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινο-  
φροσύνη καὶ πραΰτης παρὰ τοῖς ὑψολογημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ.

20 XXXI. Κολληθῶμεν οὖν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
ἴδωμεν τίνες αἱ ὁδοὶ τῆς εὐλογίας. ἀνατυλίξωμεν τὰ  
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενόμενα. τίνος χάριν ὑψολογήθη ὁ πατὴρ  
ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ; οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίσ-  
τεως ποιήσας; Ἰσαὰκ μετὰ πεποιθήσεως γινώσκων τὸ

*multum dicit et audit in hac (hoc) quod qui bene loquitur, etc.*

nos] A; om. C; S substitutes γεννητός, thus repeating the same word, יִלְדֵי אֲבִרְלִי.

12 ἡμῶν] AS; ὑμῶν C.

13 Θεῷ] A; τῷ θεῷ C.

γὰρ] AC; om. S.

14 ἀγαθῆς] AS; om. C.

ἡμῶν] A; ὑμῶν CS.

15 ἐδόθη] ἐδεσθη A.

17 ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ] AS; om. C. See I. p. 125.

ἐπιείκεια] ἐπεικία A.

18 πραΰτης] A; πραότης C. S transposes ταπεινοφροσύνη and πραΰτης, probably for convenience of translation; see I. p. 137.

23 διὰ πίστεως] AS; om. C.

γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος crept in from xiv. I βροτὸς γὰρ γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος, which may have stood next to this passage in a parallel column, and the εὐλογημένος will have come from the first word of the next verse, גִּבּוֹר misread גִּבּוֹר.

11. γεννητὸς] See the note on Ign. Ephes. 7.

12. 'Ο ἔπαινος κ.τ.λ.] See Rom. ii. 29 οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 2 Cor. x. 18 οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστάνων κ.τ.λ.; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 5.

13. αὐτῶν] So read for αὐτῶν. On the forms αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, etc., as inadmissible here, see §§ 9, 12, 14, 32 (notes).

αὐτεπαινετοῦς] No other instance of the word is given in the lexicons.

15. ὑπ' ἄλλων] See Prov. xxvii. 2.

18. πραΰτης] This word is distinguished from ταπεινοφροσύνη, Trench N. T. Syn. 1st ser. § xlv, and from ἐπιείκεια ib. § xliii.

XXXI. 'Let us therefore cling to His blessing: let us study the records of the past, and see how it was won by our fathers, by Abraham and Isaac and Jacob'.

21. ἀνατυλίξωμεν] 'unroll', and so 'fore open'; comp. Lucian Nigr. 7 τοὺς λόγους οὓς τότε ἤκουσα συναγείρων καὶ ἀνατυλίττων.

22. ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν] See the note on § 4.

23. οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην κ.τ.λ.] Combining the statement of S. Paul (Rom. iv. 1 sq, Gal. iii. 6 sq) with that of S. James (ii. 21 sq). See the note at the beginning of § 33, and the introduction, I. p. 96.

μέλλον ἡδέως προσήγετο θυσία. Ἰακώβ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἐξεχώρησεν τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ δι' ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Λαβὰν καὶ ἐδούλευσεν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

XXXII. Ἐάν τις καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον εἰλικρινῶς κατα-  
νόησῃ, ἐπιγνώσεται μεγαλεία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένων  
δωρεῶν. ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευῖται πάντες οἱ  
λειτουργοῦντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ

1 ἡδέως] AC; καὶ ἡδέως S.

5 Ἐάν] conj.; def. A; δ ἂν C; *quia si* (as if

δ ἂν) S, which is perhaps correct. See the lower note.

εἰλικρινῶς] *εἰλικρινῶς* S; *εἰλικρινῶς*...

A. 7 δωρεῶν] *δωραιων* A.

αὐτοῦ] S; αὐτῶν AC.

ἱερεῖς] A; οἱ

ἱερεῖς C.

οἱ] AC; om. (apparently) S.

8 λειτουργοῦντες] *λειτουργ...*

I. ἡδέως κ.τ.λ.] There is nothing in the original narrative which suggests that Isaac was a willing sacrifice; Gen. xxii. 7, 8. According to Josephus however, *Ant.* i. 14. 4, on hearing his father's purpose he *δέχεται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοὺς λόγους* and *ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν*. See also Beer's *Leben Abraham's* p. 65 sq with the notes p. 709 sq, where ample rabbinical authorities are collected for this addition to the narrative. The idea is brought out strongly by Melito (Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 123) ὁ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ σιγῇ πεπεδημένος ὡς κριός, οὐκ ἀνοίγων τὸ στόμα οὐδὲ φθεγγόμενος φωνῇ τὸ γὰρ ξίφος οὐ φοβηθεὶς οὐδὲ τὸ πῦρ πτοηθεὶς οὐδὲ τὸ παθεῖν λυπηθεὶς ἐβάστασεν τὸν τύπον τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., where there is an obvious reference to Is. liii. 7 in οὐδὲ φθεγγόμενος φωνῇ. Philo *de Abr.* 32 (II. p. 26) is seemingly ignorant of this turn given to the incident.

4. τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον] Equivalent to τὸ δωδεκάφυλον, which occurs below § 55 and Acts xxvii. 7; for σκήπτρον (שִׁבְט), 'a branch or rod', is a synonym for 'a tribe'; e.g. 1 Kings xi. 31, 32 καὶ δώσω σοι δέκα σκήπτρα καὶ δύο σκήπτρα ἔσται αὐτῷ, and again ver. 35, 36 (see § 32); comp. *Test. xii*

*Patr.* Nepht. 5 τὰ δώδεκα σκήπτρα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

XXXII. 'If any one will consider, he may see what blessings God shows on the faithful. What great honours did He confer on this patriarch Jacob! From him was derived the priestly tribe of Levi: from him came the great High-priest, the Lord Jesus; from him are descended kings and rulers through Judah. And by the other tribes also he was the father of countless multitudes. It was God's will, not their own righteous doing, whereby they were glorified. And by His will also, not by our own piety or wisdom, are we and all men justified through faith—by His Almighty will to whom be glory for ever'.

5. Ἐάν] Previous editors read εἰ; but, though εἰ with the conjunctive is possible (see *Philippians* iii. 11), it is rare and ought not to be introduced unnecessarily.

εἰλικρινῶς] 'distinctly, severally'. It seems to be a military metaphor from εἶλη 'turma'; see the note, *Philippians* i. 10.

6. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] i.e. τοῦ Θεοῦ. There is a little awkwardness in the sudden transition to ἐξ αὐτοῦ, which must re-

ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα· ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς  
 10 καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγούμενοι, κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν· τὰ δὲ  
 λοιπὰ σκῆπτρα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐν μικρᾷ δόξῃ ὑπάρχουσιν,  
 ὡς ἐπαγγεिलाμένου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι Ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου  
 ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Πάντες οὖν ἐδοξάσθησαν  
 καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθησαν οὐ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἢ  
 15 τῆς δικαιοπραγίας ἧς κατεργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ

τες A.  
 ἡγούμενοι.  
 τάξει C.

10 κατὰ] AC; οἱ κατὰ S, this being a repetition of the last syllable of  
 δέ] A; τε CS. 11 αὐτοῦ] AS; om. C. δόξῃ] AS;  
 12 τοῦ Θεοῦ] A; Θεοῦ C. 14 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν C.

fer to Jacob; but τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδ. δωρεῶν can only be said of God (as in §§ 19, 23, 35), nor can ὑπ' αὐτοῦ be translated '*per eum*', as in the Latin version of Young. Lipsius (*de Clem. Rom. Ep.* p. 55) explains 'De beneficiis a Jacobo in nobis collocatis' and Harnack adds 'haec dona sunt sacerdotes, ipse Dominus secundum carnem, reges.'

7. ἐξ αὐτοῦ] i.e. from Jacob. The following clauses render it necessary to read αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν, which might otherwise stand. For the whole passage comp. Rom. ix. 4, 5 ὧν... ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.

9. ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς] He is mentioned in connexion with the Levitical tribe, as being the great High-priest, a favourite title in Clement: see the note § 36. Comp. Ign. *Philad.* 9 καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, κρείσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς. With Levi He is connected as a priest; from Judah He is descended as a king. Hence His name is placed between the two, as the link of transition from the one to the other. But there is no ground for assuming that by this collocation Clement implies our Lord to have descended from Levi, as Hilgenfeld (*Apost. Vät.* p. 103, and here p. 98, ed. 2) thinks. The Epistle to the Hebrews,

which Clement quotes so repeatedly, and from which his ideas of Christ's high-priesthood are taken, would distinctly teach him otherwise (vii. 14). A double descent (from both Judah and Levi) is maintained in the *Test. xii Patr.* (see *Galatians* p. 308), but this writing travels in a different cycle of ideas. And even in this Judaic work the Virgin herself is represented as belonging to Judah. In Iren. *Fragm.* 17 (p. 856, Stieren) likewise a double descent is ascribed to our Lord ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη. On the descent from Levi see Sinker *Test. of Twelve Patr.* p. 105 sq.

10. κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν] '*after Judah*,' i.e. as descended from him and thereby inheriting the attribute of royalty, Gen. xlix. 10. This idea of the royalty of the patriarch Judah runs through the *Test. xii Patr.*, e.g. Jud. 1 ὁ πατήρ μου Ἰακώβ ᾗξαστό μοι λέγων, Βασιλεὺς ἔσῃ κατενοδούμενος ἐν πᾶσι.

12. Ἔσται κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Gen. xv. 5, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4. It is not an exact quotation from any of these passages, but most closely resembles the first.

14. δι' αὐτῶν] Not αὐτῶν. See above the notes on §§ 9, 12, 14, 30.

15. τῆς δικαιοπραγίας κ.τ.λ.] Comp.



θελήματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας ἢ συνέσεως ἢ εὐσεβείας ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν· ᾧ ἔστω ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XXXIII. Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιίας καὶ ἐγκαταλείπωμεν τὴν ἀγά-

1 αὐτοῦ] AC; τοῦ θεοῦ S. καὶ ἡμεῖς...θελήματος αὐτοῦ] AS; om. C, by homoeoteleuton. 3 ἡμετέρας] ημερας A. 5 πάντας] A; ἅπαντας C. τοὺς] του A. 6 τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων] AS; αἰῶνας C. See also below, § 45. 8 Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί] AS; τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, ἀγαπητοί C. This variation is obviously suggested by Rom. vi. 1, where the argument is the same; see i. p. 125. For ἀδελφοί translated as if ἀγαπητοί see above, §§ 1, 4. ἀργήσωμεν] A; ἀργήσομεν C. 9 καὶ] AS; om. C. ἐγκαταλείπωμεν] A; καταλίπομεν C; dub. S. 10 ἐάσαι ὁ δεσπότης] A; ὁ δεσπότης ἐάσαι C.

Tit. iii. 5 οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.

2. δι' ἑαυτῶν] i.e. ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, as e.g. Rom. viii. 23, 2 Cor. i. 9, iii. 1, 5, and commonly.

3. σοφίας ἢ συνέσεως] The words occur together 1 Cor. i. 19 (from Is. xxix. 14), Col. i. 9; so too σοφοὶ καὶ συνετοί, Matt. xi. 25 (Luke x. 21). They are explained in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 7, 10. The first is a creative, the second a discerning faculty.

6. ἡ δόξα] See the notes on *Galatians* i. 5.

XXXIII. 'What then? If we are justified by *faith*, shall we leave off doing good? God forbid. We must needs *work*. The Almighty Himself rejoices in His own beneficent works. The heaven, the earth, the ocean, the living things that move on the land and in the sea, are His creation. Lastly and chiefly He made man after His own image. All these He created and blessed. As we have

seen before that the righteous have ever been adorned with good works, so now we see that even the Creator thus arrayed Himself. Having such an example, let us do good with all our might'.

In § 31 we have seen Clement combining the teaching of S. Paul and S. James in the expression οὐχὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλήθειαν διὰ πίστεως ποιήσας; So here, after declaring emphatically that men are not justified by their own works but by faith (§ 32 οὐ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ., and again οὐ διὰ...ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.), he hastens to balance this statement by urging the importance of good works. The same anxiety reveals itself elsewhere. Thus, where he deals with the examples adduced in the Apostolic writings, he is careful to show that neither faith alone nor works alone were present: § 10 of Abraham διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ υἱὸς κ.τ.λ., § 12 of Rahab

πην; μηθαμῶς τοῦτο εἶσαι ὁ δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε  
γενηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προ-  
θυμίας πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ  
δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις  
αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλιᾶται. τῷ γὰρ παμμεγεθεστάτῳ αὐτοῦ  
5 κράτει οὐρανούς ἐστήρισεν, καὶ τῇ ἀκαταλήπτῳ αὐτοῦ  
συνέσει διεκόσμησεν αὐτούς· γῆν τε διεχώρισεν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν ὕδατος καὶ ἥδρασεν ἐπὶ τὸν

γε γενηθῆναι] A; γενηθῆναι (om. γε) CS. Above, § 23, we have the same phenomenon, though there the relations of A and C are reversed, A omitting and C retaining γε. It is wanted here for the sense.

11 ἐκτενείας] εκτενια... A.

14 ἀγαλλιᾶται] A; ἀγάλλεται C Leont Damasc.

παμμεγεθεστάτῳ] AC; παμ-  
μεγεστάτῳ Leont Damasc.

15 ἐστήρισεν] AC; ἐστήριξεν Leont Damasc.

τῇ] A Leont Damasc; ἐν τῇ C; dub. S.

16 γῆν τε διεχώρισεν] C; γῆν  
τε . . . . . ρισεν A; γῆν δὲ διεχώρισεν Leont; γῆν δὲ ἐχώρισεν Damasc.

17 ἥ-  
δρασεν] AC Damasc; ἔδρασεν Leont.

διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη. See Westcott *Canon* p. 23. Nor is it only where doctrine is directly concerned that Clement places the teaching of the Apostles of the Circumcision and the Uncircumcision in juxtaposition, as e.g. § 49 ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται κ.τ.λ. (see the note there). This studied effort to keep the balance produces a certain incongruous effect in the rapid transition from the one aspect of the antithesis to the other; but it is important when viewed in connexion with Clement's position as ruler of a community in which the two sections of the Church, Jewish and Gentile, had been in direct antagonism and probably still regarded each other with suspicion. On this position of Clement, as a reconciler, see *Galatians* p. 323, and the introduction here, I. p. 96. A part of this chapter is quoted by Leontius and John *Res Sacr.* ii (see above, I. p. 188) with considerable variations.

8. Τί οὖν ποιῶμεν] Evidently modelled on Rom. vi. 1 sq.

10. εἶσαι ὁ δεσπότης κ.τ.λ.] True to his dictum that everything is διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ and nothing δι' ἐαυτῶν, he ascribes the prevention of this consequence solely to God's prohibition. On ὁ δεσπότης see the note above, § 7. For the preposition in ἐφ' ἡμῖν, 'in our case,' comp. John xii. 16, Acts v. 35, xxi. 24, 2 Cor. ix. 14.

12. αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] This passage as far as αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε is quoted (with some omissions and variations) by John of Damascus *Sacr. Parall.* (II. p. 310).

13. δημιουργὸς κ.τ.λ.] So *Clem. Hom.* xvii. 8 πάντων δημιουργὸν καὶ δεσπότην.

15. ἐστήρισεν] See the note on στήρισον § 18.

17. περιέχοντος] This has been thought to imply an acceptance of the theory of the ὠκεανὸς ποταμὸς supposed to encircle the earth; comp. e.g. Herod. ii. 21 τὸ δ' ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, M. Ann. Seneca *Suas.* i. 1 'de Oceano dubitant utrumne terras velut vinculum circumfluat.' But, as Clement does not use the word ὠκεανός, and as it is not un-

ἀσφαλῇ τοῦ ἰδίου βουλήματος θεμέλιον· τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα φοιτῶντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διατάξει ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι· θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα προδημιουργήσας ἐνέκλεισεν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἐξοχώτατον καὶ παμμέγεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἄνθρωπον ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοις χερσὶν ἔπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνος χαρακτῆρα. οὕτως γάρ φησιν ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐ-

- 1 βουλήματος] AC; θελήματος Leont Damasc.      τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῇ...δυνάμει] om. Leont Damasc.      2 ἑαυτοῦ] AS; ἑαυτῶν C.      3 προδημιουργήσας] προδημ....σας A; προετοιμάσας CS.      4 ἐνέκλεισεν] ἐνέκλεισεν A.      ἐπὶ πᾶσι...ἄνθρωπον] AC; ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸν ἐξοχώτατον (ἐξόστατον Leont) καὶ παμμεγέθη ἄνθρωπον Leont Damasc S.      5 παμμέγεθες] A; παμμεγεθέστατον C. For the other authorities see the last note.      6 ἱεραῖς] AC; ἰδίας αὐτοῦ Leont

natural to speak of the water 'girdling' the land independently of this theory, the inference is questionable. See the note on § 20.

3. προδημιουργήσας] i.e. before τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ ζῶα φοιτῶντα, which have been already mentioned out of their proper place.

4. ἐνέκλεισεν] 'inclosed' within their proper bounds': see above § 20 τὰ περικείμενα αὐτῇ κλείθρα.

τὸ ἐξοχώτατον κ.τ.λ.] Is this an accusative after ἔπλασεν, ἄνθρωπον being in apposition? Or is it a nominative absolute, referring to the whole sentence which follows, ἄνθρωπον...χαρακτῆρα? On the construction adopted depends the sense assigned to κατὰ διάνοιαν which will mean respectively either (1) 'in intellectual capacity', referring to man; or (2) 'as an exercise of His creative intelligence', referring to God. The former appears to be generally adopted; but the latter seems to me preferable; for a sentiment like Hamlet's 'How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty!' is somewhat out of place on

the lips of Clement, and such a strong expression as παμμέγεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν jars with his language elsewhere about human intellect, e.g. §§ 13, 32, 36. The παμμέγεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν therefore seems to have the same bearing as τῇ ἀκαταλήπτῳ αὐτοῦ συνέσει above. John of Damascus indeed takes the sentence otherwise, but he omits κατὰ διάνοιαν.

5. παμμέγεθες] The word does not occur either in the LXX or in the G. T., but is found in Symmachus Ps. lxvii (lxviii). 31 συνόδῳ παμμεγεθῶν (Field's Orig. Hexapl. II. p. 204).

6. ἀμώμοις] 'faultless'. See the note on μομοσκοπηθέν, § 41.

7. Ποιήσωμεν κ.τ.λ.] A broken quotation from the LXX Gen. i. 26, 27, clauses being left out.

8. εἰκόνα, ὁμοίωσιν] These words are distinguished in reference to this text by Trench N. T. Syn. 1st ser. § xv.

Dorner (Person Christi I. p. 100, Engl. trans.) considers it probable that 'under the expression εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, whose χαρακτῆρα man bears, we are



τοῦς. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τελειώσας ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἠυλόγησεν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀγζάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε. Εἶδομεν ὅτι ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς πάντες ἐκοσμήθησαν οἱ δίκαιοι· καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσας ἐχάρη. ἔχοντες οὖν τοῦτον τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἀόκνως προσέλθωμεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ὅλης ἰσχύος ἡμῶν ἐργασώμεθα ἔργον δικαιοσύνης.

### XXXIV. Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐργάτης μετὰ παρρησίας λαμ-

Damasc. 8 εἰκόνα] Damasc adds ἡμετέραν and omits it after ὁμοίωσιν. 10 ἐπήνεσεν] AC; ἐπαίνεσεν Leont; ἐποίησεν Damasc. 11 Αὐξάνεσθε] αυξανεσθαι A. πληθύνεσθε] πληθύνεσθαι A. Εἶδομεν] Young (marg.); ἰδωμεν ACS. 12 ὅτι] CS; add τὸ A. ἔργοις] εργοισ A. ἐκοσμήθησαν] AC; ἐκοιμήθησαν S. 13 οὖν] A; δὲ CS. ἔργοις] A; add ἀγαθοῖς CS. See above, § 30, and comp. I. pp. 126, 141. 15 ἐξ] A; καὶ ἐξ CS. ἰσχύος] A; τῆς ἰσχύος C.

to understand the Son'. Though the text in Genesis is so interpreted by later fathers (e.g. Clement of Alexandria and Origen), I see no indication in the context that this idea was present to the mind of the Roman Clement. See the remarks on the logos-doctrine above, I. p. 398.

II. Αὐξάνεσθε κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Gen. i. 28.

Εἶδομεν] The sense seems to require this substitution for ἰδωμεν; see the introduction I. p. 120 for similar errors of transcription. 'We saw before,' says Clement, 'that all the righteous were adorned with good works (§ 32), and now I have shown that the Lord God Himself etc.' By ὁ Κύριος is meant ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πάντων, as appears from οὖν and from ἐχάρη taken in connexion with what has gone before (compare ἀγαλλιάται above).

12. ὅτι κ.τ.λ.] If the reading τὸ be retained, we must understand a cognate accusative such as κόσμημα: e.g. Soph. *El.* 1075 τὸν δὲ πατρὸς (sc. στόνον) δειλαία στενάχουσα. This is possible; but the reading of A is dis-

credited by the fact that the scribe's attention was flagging here, for he writes *εργοις* for *εργοις* and (as we have seen) *ιδωμεν* for *ειδομεν*. On these grounds I proposed the omission in my first edition, and it has since been confirmed by our new authorities.

14. ὑπογραμμὸν] See the note on § 5.

15. προσέλθωμεν] The verb προσέρχεσθαι occurs several times of approaching God in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the imperative *προσερχώμεθα* more especially twice, iv. 16, x. 22. See also above § 29 *προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ* κ.τ.λ.; comp. §§ 23, 63.

XXXIV. 'The good workman receives his wages boldly: but the slothful dares not face his employer. The Lord will come quickly with His reward in His hand. He will come attended by myriads of angels, hymning His praises. Let us therefore with one voice and one soul cry to Him, that we may be partakers of His glorious promises, which surpass all that man can conceive'.

βάνει τὸν ἄρτον τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ, ὁ νωθρὸς καὶ παρειμένος οὐκ ἀντοφθαλμεῖ τῷ ἐργοπαρέκτῃ αὐτοῦ. δέον οὖν ἐστὶν προθύμους ἡμᾶς εἶναι εἰς ἀγαθοποιῶν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰ πάντα· προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν· Ἰδοὺ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῖ- 5 ναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Προτρέπεται οὖν ἡμᾶς πιστεύοντας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ μὴ ἀργοὺς μηδὲ παρειμένους εἶναι ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν· τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ παρρησία ἔστω ἐν αὐτῷ· ὑποτασ-

1 ὁ νωθρὸς] AC; ὁ δὲ νωθρὸς S. 3 ἡμᾶς] AC; ὑμᾶς S. ἐξ αὐτοῦ]  
AC. S translates as if it referred to προθύμους ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. 5 ὁ Κύριος] A;  
κύριος (om. ὁ) C. 6 Προτρέπεται] προτρέπετε A. 7 πιστεύοντας] CS;

1. ὁ νωθρὸς κ.τ.λ.] Both these words occur in the epistle to the Hebrews, and nowhere else in the N.T. For νωθρὸς see Heb. v. 11, vi. 12; for παρειμένος, ib. xii. 12. The combination appears in Ecclus. iv. 29 νωθρὸς καὶ παρειμένος ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, which passage perhaps Clement had in his mind.

2. ἀντοφθαλμεῖ] 'faces', as Wisd. xii. 14, Acts xxviii. 15, Barnab. § 5. The word occurs frequently in Polybius. Comp. ἀντωπεῖν Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 5, ἀντομματαῖν *Apost. Const.* vi. 2. For ἀντοφθαλμεῖν itself see *Lit. D. Jacob.* p. 25 (ed. Hammond).

ἐργοπαρέκτῃ] 'his employer'. I have not found any other instance of this word, which is equivalent to ἐργοδότης. Compare also ἐργολάβος, ἐργοδιώκτης (Exod. iii. 7, v. 6, etc.).

3. ἐξ αὐτοῦ] i.e. τοῦ ἐργοπαρέκτου ἡμῶν.

4. Ἰδοὺ ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] The beginning is a confusion of Is. xl. 10 ἰδοὺ Κύριος (ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν S) Κύριος (om. Κύριος sec. A) μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ βραχίων add. αὐτοῦ A) μετὰ κυρίας· ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, and Is. lxii. 11 ἰδοὺ ὁ σωτήρ σοι παραγέγονεν (σοι ὁ

σωτήρ παραγίνεται SA) ἔχων τὸν ἐαυτοῦ μισθόν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (om. αὐτοῦ A) πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ: but the ending comes from Prov. xxiv. 12 ὅς ἀποδίδωσιν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, unless (as seems more probable from the connexion) it is taken from Rev. xxii. 12 ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχὺ καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἔσται αὐτοῦ. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 22 (p. 625) has the same quotation, but is copying the Roman Clement.

7. ἐπ' αὐτῷ] i.e. τῷ μισθῷ, 'with our reward in view'. The position of ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας is opposed to such corrections as ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ or ἐπὶ τὸ for the MS reading ἐπ' αὐτῷ; nor does any alteration seem needed.

8. μηδὲ παρειμένους κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 21 εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον, ib. iii. 17, Tit. iii. 1, and see above, § 2. The μήτε after μὴ in A was so suspicious (see Winer § Iv. p. 513, A. Buttmann p. 315) as to call forth the suggestion in my first edition that it should probably be read μηδέ; see the vv. ll. in Luke vii. 33, Eph. iv. 27. Our new authorities have confirmed the justice of this suspicion.

12. Μύριαι κ.τ.λ.] Dan. vii. 10 (Theo-

10 σώμεθα τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· κατανοήσωμεν τὸ πᾶν  
 πλήθος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, πῶς τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ  
 λειτουργοῦσιν παρεστῶτες· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Μύριαι  
 μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτοῦρ-  
 γοyn αὐτῷ· Καὶ ἐέκραγον· ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος Κύριος κα-  
 15 βαώθ, πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 οὖν, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες τῇ συνειδήσει,  
 ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενωῶς εἰς  
 τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων

om. A. See I. p. 124.

8 μηδὲ] C, and so probably S; μήτε A.

12 λει-

τουργοῦσιν] λειτουργοῦσιν A.

13 ἐλειτούργουν] C; λειτουργοῦν A. S translates

both this word and παρειστήκεισαν as presents.

15 κτίσις] AS; γῇ C with

LXX and Hebr.

16 τῇ συνειδήσει] AC; in una conscientia S.

dot.) χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ (ἐθεράπευν αὐτόν LXX) καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, the clauses being transposed by Clement. The order of the clauses in the Hebrew is the same as in the Greek versions. Yet Iren. *Haer.* ii. 7, 4, Euseb. *Praef. Ev.* vii. 15 (p. 326), Greg. Nyss. *Hom. viii in Eccles.* (I. p. 463), Cyril. Hier. *Catech.* xv. 24 (p. 237), and others, give the quotation with the inverted clauses as here; but, as it is quoted with every shade of variation in different fathers and even these same fathers in some cases give the right order elsewhere, no stress can be laid on this coincidence which seems to be purely accidental.

14. Καὶ ἐέκραγον] A loose quotation from LXX Is. vi. 3. 'Ἐέκραγον is an imperfect of a new verb κεκράγω formed from κέκραγα; see Buttman *Ausf. Griech. Sprachl.* § 111 (II. p. 37).

15. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The connexion of this passage with the liturgical services had struck careful observers, even before the discovery of the liturgical ending of the epistle (§§ 60, 61) had furnished a solid ba-

sis for such conjectures. Probst more especially (*Liturg. d. drei ersten Jahrh.* 41 sq) emphasizes this connexion. The phenomena which expressly point to it are (1) the 'ter sanctus', and more especially the connexion of Is. vi. 3 with Dan. vii. 10; (2) The expressions ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες (comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 13, *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 7, 8), ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος (comp. Rom. xv. 6), ἐκτενωῶς (see I. p. 385), etc.; (3) The quotation ὀφθαλμός κ.τ.λ. For more on this subject see the introduction, I. p. 386 sq.

16. τῇ συνειδήσει] 'in heart, in consciousness'; comp. Eccles. x. 20 καὶ γε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράσῃ, i.e. 'in your secret heart'. The presence of their hearts, and not of their bodies only, is required. The commentators however either translate as though it were ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει, or give τῇ συνειδήσει the unsupported sense 'harmony, unanimity'. This last is apparently the sense assigned to it by the Syriac translator; see the upper note. Others have proposed to read συνδήσει or συνωδία.



ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ. λέγει γάρ· Ὁφθαλμός οὐκ εἶδεν  
καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,  
ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν.

1 Ὁφθαλμός] A; ἃ ὀφθαλμός CS (with 1 Cor. ii. 9). 3 ὅσα AC; om. S.  
ἡτοίμασεν] A; add. κύριος CS. τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν] A; τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν CS (see  
the lower note).

1. Ὁφθαλμός κ.τ.λ.] This quotation occurs also in S. Paul 1 Cor. ii. 9 (where it is introduced by καθὼς γέγραπται), in the form ἃ ὀφθαλμός οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. It is cited again in ii. § 11 (comp. § 14), *Mart. Polyc. 2, Clem. Ep. ad Virg.* i. 9; see also Lagarde's *Gesamm. Abhandl.* p. 142. It is apparently taken from Isaiah lxiv. 4, which runs in the LXX ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλὴν σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον, but more nearly in the Hebrew, 'From eternity they have not heard, they have not hearkened, neither hath eye seen a god [or 'O God'] save thee (who) worketh [or '(what) He shall do'] to him that awaiteth Him' (see Delitzsch *ad loc.*); combined with Is. lxx. 16, 17 οὐκ ἀναβήσεται αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν...οὐ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν. Clement mixes up S. Paul's free translation or paraphrase from the Hebrew (the latter words ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν κ.τ.λ. being apparently the Apostle's own explanatory addition) with the passage as it stands in the LXX; just as above, § 13, in quoting Jer. ix. 23, 24 (or 1 Sam. ii. 10) he condenses it after S. Paul. For a similar instance see above § 34 ἰδοὺ ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ. The passages, which Hilgenfeld suggests as the sources of the quotation (4 Esdr. x. 35 sq, 55 sq), diverge more from the language of S. Paul and Clement, than these words of Isaiah.

The passage, if we may trust S. Jerome, occurred as given by S. Paul, both in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and in the *Apocalypse of Elias* (Hieron. *in Is.* lxiv. 4, IV. p. 761; *Prol. in Gen.* ix. p. 3). And Origen, *in Matth.* xxvii. 9 (III. p. 916), says that S. Paul quotes from the latter, 'In nullo regulari libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi (ἐλ μὴ, 'but only') in Secretis Eliae prophetae'. This assertion is repeated also by later writers (see Fabricius *Cod. Ps. V. T.* i. p. 1073) doubtless from Origen, but combated by Jerome (II. cc. and *Epist.* lvii. § 9, I. p. 314), who refers the quotation to Is. lxiv. 4. If it could be shown that these apocryphal books were prior to S. Paul, this solution would be the most probable; but they would appear to have been produced by some Christian sectarians of the second century, for Jerome terms them 'Iberae naeniae' and connects them with the Basilideans and other Gnostics who abounded in Spain (II. cc.; see also *c. Vigil.* II. p. 393, and comp. Fabricius p. 1093 sq). If so they incorporated the quotation of S. Paul in their forgeries. For a similar instance of incorporation see the notes on *Galatians* vi. 15. At all events both these works appear from the extant remains to have been Christian. For the *Apocalypse of Elias* see Epiphanius *Haer.* xlii (p. 372), who says that the quotation in Eph. v. 14 (which is obviously Christian) was found there; and for the *Ascension of Isaiah*, this same father *Haer.* lxvii. 3 (p. 712), where he quotes a

XXXV. Ὡς μακάρια καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ  
 5 Θεοῦ, ἀγαπητοί. ζῶν ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ, λαμπρότης ἐν δι-

passage referring to the Trinity. Indeed there is every reason to believe that the work known to Epiphanius and several other fathers under this name, is the same with the *Ascension and Vision of Isaiah* published first by Laurence in an Æthiopic Version and subsequently by Gieseler in a Latin. The two versions represent different recensions; and the passage 'Eye hath not seen, etc.' appears in the Latin (xi. 34) but not in the Æthiopic (see Jolowicz *Himmelfahrt u. Vision des Propheten Iesaja* p. 90, Leipzig 1854). The Latin recension therefore must have been in the hands of Jerome; though this very quotation seems to show clearly that the Æthiopic more nearly represents the original form of the work (see Lücke *Offenbarung d. Johannes* p. 179 sq.). Both recensions alike are distinctly Christian.

It was at all events a favourite text with certain early Gnostic sects, who introduced it into their formula of initiation and applied it to their esoteric teaching; see Hippol. *Haer.* v. 24, 26, 27, vi. 24. This perverted use of the text was condemned by their contemporary Hegesippus (as reported by Stephanus Gobarus in Photius *Bibl.* 232), as contradicting our Lord's own words μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. In other words he complained that they would restrict to the initiated few the knowledge which Christ declared to be laid open to all. But Stephanus Gobarus himself, writing some centuries later and knowing the text only as it occurs in S. Paul, is not unnaturally at a loss to know what Hegesippus means by this condemnation (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ παθὼν μόνον μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα λέγει κ.τ.λ.). On the use which some

modern critics have made of this reference to Hegesippus in Stephanus Gobarus, see *Galatians* p. 320.

For the connexion of this quotation ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ εἶδεν κ.τ.λ. with the earlier liturgies, see the introduction, I. p. 389 sq.

Fabricius (p. 1073) quotes a parallel from Empedocles (*Fragm. Philo.* I. p. 2, ed. Mullach) οὐτ' ἐπιδερκτὰ τὰδ' ἀνδράσιν οὐτ' ἐπακουστά, οὔτε νόφ περιληπτά.

3. ὑπομένουσιν] It is clear that Clement wrote ὑπομένουσιν from the words which follow at the beginning of the next chapter τίνα οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἐτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν; where he picks up the expression according to his wont; see the note on § 46 τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι. On the other hand S, having broken the connexion by substituting ἀγαπῶσιν for ὑπομένουσιν, re-establishes it by the expedient of adding καὶ ἀγαπώντων to ὑπομενόντων in § 35. On this reading (ὑπομένουσιν) see also I. p. 390, note.

XXXV. 'Great and marvellous are God's gifts even in the present! How then can we conceive the glory that hereafter awaits His patient servants? Let us strive to attain this reward. And to this end let us do what is well-pleasing to Him: let us shun strife and vainglory; let us lay aside all selfish and unbrotherly sins. Remember how in the Psalms God denounces those who hearken not to His warning voice, who persist in wronging their neighbours, counting on His forbearance. He tells us that the sacrifice of praise is the path of salvation'.

5. λαμπρότης] 'cheerfulness, alacrity, strenuousness', as e.g. Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 17, Polyb. xxxii. 23. I (see

καιοσύνη, ἀλήθεια ἐν παρρησίᾳ, πίστις ἐν πεποιθήσει, ἐγκράτεια ἐν ἀγιασμῷ· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπέπιπτεν πάντα ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν. τίνα οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἐτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν; ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ πανάγιος αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὴν ποσότητα καὶ 5 τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτῶν. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὑπομενόντων αὐτόν, ὅπως μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν. πῶς δὲ ἔσται τοῦτο, ἀγαπητοί; ἐὰν ἐστηριγμένη ᾖ ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν διὰ πίστεως πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· ἐὰν ἐκζητῶμεν τὰ εὐάρεστα 10 καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτῷ· ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα

2 ἐγκράτεια] εγκρατια A. ὑπέπιπτεν πάντα] A; ὑποπίπτει πάντα C; ὑποπίπτοντα S, some letters having dropped out, γυποπιπτε[ιπα]ντα. 4 καὶ πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ πανάγιος] AS; τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πατὴρ πανάγιος C. 7 ὑπομενόντων] AC; add. καὶ ἀγαπόντων S. For the reason of this addition see the note on § 34 ὁφθαλμὸς κ.τ.λ. αὐτόν] A; om. CS. 8 τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν] τωρεπηγγελμενωνδωραιων A; τῶν δωρεῶν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων C, and so probably S. 9 ἀγαπητοί] AC; om. S. ἦ ἡ] η A; ἡ (om. ἦ) C. διὰ πίστεως] Young; *per fidem* S; πίστεως (om. διὰ) A; πιστῶς C. 10 ἐκζητῶμεν] A; ἐκζητήσωμεν C. τὰ εὐάρεστα καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτῷ] AS; τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα αὐτῷ καὶ εὐπρόσ-

Schweigh. *Lex.* s.v. λαμπρός). Compare the similar word *φαιδρότης*. The position of *λαμπρότης* here seems to require this sense, for all the words in the parallel clauses *ζωή, ἀλήθεια, πίστις, ἐγκράτεια*, refer to the moral consciousness, not to any external advantages.

1. *πίστις ἐν πεποιθήσει*] See the note above, § 26.

2. *καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.*] ‘These,’ Clement argues, ‘are already within our cognisance. What then are the joys in store for those who remain steadfast to the end?’ Comp. 1 Joh. iii. 2 νῦν τέκνα Θεοῦ ἐσμέν καὶ οὐπω ἐφανερώθη τί ἐσόμεθα.

5. *πανάγιος*] Apparently the first instance of the word, which afterwards takes a prominent place in the language of Greek Christendom; un-

less indeed the occurrences in 4 Macc. vii. 4, xiv. 7, are earlier.

9. *διὰ πίστεως*] The reading of the Syriac version is unquestionably right; see i. p. 143. The omission of *διὰ* in A may perhaps be explained by the neighbourhood of *διάνοια*. Hilgenfeld and Gebhardt read *πιστῶς*. Lipsius (p. 15) defends *πίστεως*, translating ‘*cogitationes fidei*’, but this would require *αἱ διάνοιαι τῆς πίστεως*.

11. *εὐπρόσδεκτα*] See the notes on § 7, 40.

13. *πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν κ.τ.λ.*] The whole passage which follows is a reminiscence of Rom. i. 29 sq *ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα...πάση ἀδικίᾳ πονηρίᾳ πλεονεξίᾳ...ἐριδος δόλου κακοηθείας, ψευδιστῶς καταλάλους θεοστονγείας...ὑπερηφάνους ἀλαζόνας...ἐπιγνόντες ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσιν,*



τῇ ἀμώμῳ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπορρίψαντες ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν  
 καὶ ἀνομίαν, πλεονεξίαν, ἔρεις, κακοηθείας τε καὶ δόλους,  
 15 ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιάς, θεοστυγίαν, ὑπερη-  
 φανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλο-  
 ξενίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πράσσοντες στυγητοὶ τῷ Θεῷ  
 ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πράσσοντες αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 οἱ συνενδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Τῷ δὲ  
 20 ἁμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἴνα τί σὺ διηγῇ τὰ δικαιώματά  
 μοῦ, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις τὴν διαθήκην μοῦ ἐπὶ στόματός σου;  
 σὺ δὲ ἐμίχῃσας παιδεῖαν, καὶ ἐξέβαλλες τοὺς λόγους μοῦ εἰς

δεκτα C. 14 ἀνομίαν] A; πονηρίαν CS (comp. Rom. i. 29). πλεονεξίαν]  
 AS; om. C. 15 καταλαλιάς] καταλιχισ A. ὑπερηφανίαν τε] AC; καὶ  
 ὑπερηφανίαν S. 16 ἀλαζονείαν] ἀλαζονία A. ἀφιλοξενίαν] CS; φιλοξενίαν  
 A. 18 μόνον] μον A. 20 διηγῇ] A; ἐκδιηγῇ C; dub. S. This is a  
 v.l. in the LXX also. 21 ἐπὶ] A (as the Hebr. **לפני**); διὰ CS with the LXX.  
 σου] μου A. So the MS seems clearly to read (as even the photograph shows),  
 though Tisch. gives it σου. 22 σὺ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] C omits all to ὁ ῥυόμενος (p. 111,  
 l. 1) inclusive. After the omission comes καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει θυσία αἰνέσεως κ.τ.λ.  
 παιδεῖαν] παιδίαν A. ἐξέβαλλες] ἐξαβαλλεσ A; ἐξέβαλες S; def. C.

οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν (v. l. ποιοῦντες)  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συνενδοκοῦσιν (v. l. συνενδο-  
 κοῦντες) τοῖς πράσσουσιν. On the  
 reading ποιοῦντες, συνενδοκοῦντες, sup-  
 ported by Clement's language here,  
 see Tischendorf's note.

16. ἀφιλοξενίαν] This was the sim-  
 plest emendation of the reading of A  
 (see the note on μὴ ἀτημελείτω § 38),  
 and it is now confirmed by our new  
 authorities. The word occurs *Orac.*  
*Sibyll.* viii. 304 τῆς ἀφιλοξενίης ταύτην  
 τίссουσι πράπεξαν. Other proposed  
 readings were φιλοτιμίαν, φιλοδοξίαν,  
 φιλονεικίαν. The suggestion of Lip-  
 sius (p. 115), that the Corinthians  
 had failed in the duty of providing  
 for others, appears to be correct.  
 But the word seems to point rather  
 to their churlishness in not enter-  
 taining foreign Christians at Corinth,  
 than (as he maintains) to the niggard-

liness of their contributions towards  
 the needs of poor Christians abroad,  
 though they may have failed in this  
 respect also (see the note § 38). The  
 duty of entertaining the brethren  
 from foreign churches was a re-  
 cognized obligation among the early  
 Christians. In former times the  
 Corinthians had obtained a good re-  
 port for the practice of this virtue  
 (§ 1 τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας  
 ὑμῶν ἦθος), but now all was changed.  
 Hence the stress laid on the hos-  
 pitality of Abraham (§ 10), of Lot  
 (§ 11), of Rahab (§ 12); for this  
 virtue cannot have been singled out  
 in all three cases without some special  
 reference.

19. Τῷ δὲ ἁμαρτωλῷ κ.τ.λ.] From  
 the LXX Ps. l. 16—23, with slight va-  
 riations, of which the more important  
 are noted below.

τὰ ὀπίσω. εἰ ἐθεώρεις κλέπτην, σὺνέτρεχες αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ  
μοίχων τὴν μερίδα σοῦ ἐτίθεις· τὸ στόμα σοῦ ἐπλεόνασεν  
κακίαν, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά σοῦ περιέπλεκεν δολιότητα· καθήμενος  
κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σοῦ κατελάλεις, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ γιόυ τῆς  
μητρός σοῦ ἐτίθεις σκάνδαλον· ταῦτα ἐποίησας καὶ ἐσίγησα· 5  
ὑπέλαβες, ἄνομε, ὅτι ἔσομαί σοι ὁμοιος· ἐλέγξω σε καὶ  
παραστήσω σε κατὰ πρόσωπόν σοῦ. σῦνετε δὲ ταῦτα, οἱ  
ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, μήποτε ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων, καὶ

2 ἐπλεόνασεν] A; ἐπλεόνασεν S.

4 ἀδελφοῦ] ἀδελφους A.

6 ἄνομε]

ανομαί A; ἀνομίαν S. See the lower note.

7 σε κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου] A;

κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου S. See the lower note.

10 ἦ] LXX (BS)

see below; ἦν ACS (with some MSS of the LXX).

αὐτῷ] AC; αὐτοῖς S.

τοῦ Θεοῦ] AS; μου C.

13 ἀσθενείας] ἀσθενιας A.

14 τούτου] C; τοῦτο

3. καθήμενος] Implying deliberate conspiracy; see Perowne on Ps. i. i.

6. ἄνομε] LXX ἀνομίαν (B); but S has ἀνομε, though it is afterwards corrected into ἀνομειαν (ἀνομίαν). Ἀνομίαν is read by Justin *Dial.* 22 (p. 240), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 14 (p. 798); but ἄνομε Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 24 (p. 634). The Syriac does not favour ἄνομε (as Wotton states), except that the existing pointing interprets it thus. The reading of our MS A here shows how easy was the transition from the one to the other, ἀνομαι (ἄνομε) and ἀνομιᾶ (=ἀνομίαν). See the notes on ἀναστήσομαι § 5, and ἦ δειξω just below. Though ἄνομε makes better sense, the original reading of the LXX here must have been ἀνομίαν (not ἄνομε as Wotton thinks); for the translators must have misread רמית היות אהיה 'Thou thoughtest, I shall surely be', as if אהיה הוות רמית 'Thou thoughtest destruction (or iniquity), I shall be', since הוות is elsewhere translated by ἀνομία, Ps. lvii. 2, xciv. 20; and Theodotion, whose version agreed with the LXX (see Field's *Hexapl.* ad loc.), must have read it in the same way.

7. παραστήσω σε κ.τ.λ.] 'I will

bring thee face to face with thyself, show thee to thyself in thy true light.' The σε is omitted in BS of the LXX and doubtless had no place in the original text of this version which agreed with the Hebrew, 'I will lay in order (the matter) before thee'. Justin *Dial.* 22 (l.c.) and other writers supply an accusative τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, which is found also in a large number of MSS (see Holmes and Parsons).

8. ὡς λέων] i.e. 'lest he seize you as it were a lion'. The words ὡς λέων are absent from the LXX (and Justin *Dial.* 22 p. 402), as also from the Hebrew. They must have come from Ps. vii. 3, either as a gloss in Clement's text of the LXX or as inadvertently inserted by him in a quotation made from memory.

10. ἦ δειξω] As ἦ is read in the LXX (BS) and in Justin l.c., and as the parallelism in the opening of the next chapter (ἡ ὁδὸς ἐν ᾗ εὗρομεν τὸ σωτήριον κ.τ.λ.) seems to require it, I have restored it for ἦν. For similar corruptions in the MS A see § 15 ἀναστήσομεν (note), § 36 ὁσων, § 41 συνειδησιν, ii. § 6 αἰχμαλωσιαν. If ἦν be retained, σωτήριον must be taken as a

μη ἡ ὁ ῥγόμενος. θγσία αίνέσεως δοξάσει με, καὶ ἐκεῖ  
 10 το ὁδός ἡ δειζω δγτῶ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

XXXVI. Αὕτη ἡ ὁδός, ἀγαπητοί, ἐν ἣ εὔρομεν τὸ  
 σωτήριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσ-  
 φορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας  
 ἡμῶν. διὰ τούτου ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν.  
 15 διὰ τούτου ἐνοπτριζόμεθα τὴν ἁμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην  
 ὄψιν αὐτοῦ· διὰ τούτου ἠνεώχθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ  
 τῆς καρδίας· διὰ τούτου ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διά-

(the superscribed γ being *prima manu*) A; τοῦτο S, and so ll. 15, 16, but not l. 17,  
 or p. 112 l. 2. ἀτενίσωμεν] A; *contemplerur* (or *contemplabimur*) S; ἀτενίζομεν C.  
 15 ἐνοπτριζόμεθα] AC; *videamus* (or *videbimus*) *tanquam in speculo* S. 16 ἠνεώ-  
 χθησαν] A; ἀνεώχθησαν C; *et aperti sunt* S. ἡμῶν] AC; ὑμῶν S. 17 ἐσκο-  
 τωμένη] AC; ἐσκοτισμένη Clem 613.

nominative in apposition with ὁδός.

XXXVI. 'On this path let us travel. This salvation is Jesus Christ our High-priest. Through Him our darkness is made light, and we see the Father: for He is the reflexion of God's person. He has a place far above all angels, being seated on God's right hand and endowed with universal dominion and made triumphant over His enemies. These enemies are they that resist God's will.'

12. τὸν ἀρχιερέα] This is founded on the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 17, iii. 1, iv. 14, 15, etc.), of which Clement's language throughout this section is an echo. See again §§ 61, 64. Photius (*Bibl.* 126) alludes to these two passages in his criticism of Clement, ἀρχιερέα καὶ προστάτην τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν ἐξο-  
 νομάζων οὐδὲ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς καὶ ὑψηλο-  
 τέρας ἀφῆκε περὶ αὐτοῦ φωνάς (see the note, § 2). The term ἀρχιερεὺς is very frequently applied to our Lord by the earliest Christian writers of all schools; Ign. *Philad.* 9, Polyc. *Phil.* 12, *Test. xii Patr.* Rub. 6, Sym. 7, etc., Clem. *Recogn.* i. 48, Jus-

tin *Dial.* 116 (p. 344).

13. προστάτην] 'guardian, patron, who protects our interests and pleads our cause'. To a Roman it would convey all the ideas of the Latin 'patronus,' of which it was the recognized rendering, Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 13, *Vit. Mar-  
 rii* 5. Comp. προστάτης Rom. xvi. 2.

τῆς ἀσθενείας] In connexion with the work of the great High-priest, as in Heb. iv. 15.

15. ἐνοπτριζόμεθα] Christ is the mirror in whom is reflected the faultless countenance of God the Father (αὐ-  
 τοῦ); comp. 2 Cor. iii. 18 τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, Philo *Leg. All.*  
 iii. 33 (l. p. 107) μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ιδεάν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ  
 Θεῷ; comp. John i. 14.

ἁμωμον] 'faultless', 'fleckless', because the mirror is perfect. For the meaning of ἁμωμος, see the note on μωμοσκοπηθέν, § 41.

17. διὰ τούτου κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 613) ὁ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, Διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ ἀσύνετος...ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι.

ἡ ἀσύνετος κ.τ.λ.] Rom. i. 21 καὶ



νοια ἡμῶν ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ [θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ] φῶς· διὰ  
τούτου ἠθέλησεν ὁ δεσπότης τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως  
ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐ-  
τοῦ τοσοῦτω μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον  
ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Ὁ ποιῶν 5  
τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ  
πρὸς φλόγα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ νύῳ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ  
δεσπότης· Υἱός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· αἰ-  
τησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔσθην τὴν κληρονομίαν σου,

1 τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς] A (with 1 Pet. ii. 9); τὸ φῶς S with Clem; τὸ  
θαυμαστὸν φῶς C.

2 τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως] AC; *mortis scientiae* S (θανάτου  
γνώσεως), where τῆς has been absorbed in the preceding syllable of δεσπότης and  
θανάτου is written for ἀθανάτου. For an instance of θάνατος for ἀθάνατος see ii.  
§ 19, and conversely of ἀθάνατος for θάνατος Ign. *Ep̄hes.* 7.

5 ὄνομα κεκλη-  
ρονόμηκεν] A; κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα C (with Heb. i. 4).

7 πρὸς φλόγα]  
A (with Heb. i. 7); φλόγα πρὸς C (as Rev. ii. 18).

13 τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ]  
CS; τῷ θελήματι τῷ θελήματι.....A, as correctly read by Tisch. The lacuna has space  
for seven letters and should probably be filled up (with Tisch.) *τιαντον*, the words

τῷ θελήματι being written twice over. 18 ἐκτικῶς] ἐκτικῶς C; *leniter*

ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδιά,  
Ephes. iv. 18 ἐσκοτωμένοι [v. 1. ἐσκο-  
τισμένοι] τῇ διανοίᾳ. These passages  
are sufficient to explain how Clem.  
Alex. in quoting our Clement writes  
ἐσκοτισμένη, but not sufficient to justify  
the substitution of this form for ἐσκο-  
τωμένη in our text. See A. Jahn's  
*Methodius* II. p. 77, note 453.

1. ἀναθάλλει κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'Our mind,  
like a plant shut up in a dark closet,  
had withered in its growth. Removed  
thence by His loving care, it revives  
and shoots up towards the light of  
heaven.' Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 9 τοῦ ἐκ  
σκοτῶν ὑμᾶς κατέσταντο εἰς τὸ θαν-  
μαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς. See also Clem.  
Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 117) πρὸς τὸ αἰδῖον  
ἀνατρεχόμενον φῶς and the note on  
§ 59 below ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ. It is  
strange that editors should have  
wished to alter ἀναθάλλει, which con-  
tains so striking an image.

3. ὅς ὢν κ.τ.λ.] The whole passage  
is borrowed from the opening of the

Epistle to the Hebrews, from which  
expressions, arguments, and quota-  
tions alike are taken: see esp. i. 3, 4,  
5, 7, 13. For the meaning see the  
commentators on that epistle. On  
ὄνομα, 'title, dignity', see *Philippians*  
ii. 9.

5. Ὁ ποιῶν κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Ps.  
civ. 4. It is quoted exactly as in Heb.  
i. 7, πρὸς φλόγα being substituted  
for πῦρ φλέγον of the LXX (BS, but A  
has *πυροσ φλεγᾶ* which shows the  
reading in a transition state).

8. Υἱός μου κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Ps. ii. 7  
word for word, after Heb. i. 5: comp.  
Acts xiii. 33 (in S. Paul's speech at  
the Pisidian Antioch), where it is  
again quoted. In both these passages  
the 7th verse only is given; Clement  
adds the 8th, αἰτῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

11. Κάθου κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Ps. cx. 1  
word for word, after Heb. i. 13.

XXXVII. 'We are fighting as  
soldiers under our heavenly captain.  
Subordination of rank and obedience

καὶ τὴν κατὰσχecin σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάθογ ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Τίνες οὖν οἱ ἐχθροί; οἱ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.

5 XXXVII. Στρατευσώμεθα οὖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, μετὰ πάσης ἐκτενείας ἐν τοῖς ἀμώμοις προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ· κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς στρατευσόμενους τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν, πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς εἰκτικῶς, πῶς ὑποτε-

(*placide*) תַּיִשָּׁבֵּעַ S; ἐγέκτι... A, as I read it. The first part has originally been written εἰεκτ, but the ι is prolonged and altered into an γ, and an ι is superscribed between ε and κ, so that it becomes ευεκτ-. So far I agree with Tischendorf prol. p. xix. After this he reads ω ('non integra'); it seems to me more like an ι with a stroke of another letter which might be κ, so that I read the part before the lacuna ευεκτικ. But the MS is so worn, that it is impossible to speak confidently. The lacuna seems too great for a single letter, and this again is an objection to ευεκτω[σ], the reading of Tisch. But the uneven length of the lines diminishes the force of this objection. See the lower note.

to orders are necessary conditions in an army. There must be harmonious working of high and low. So it is with the human body. The head must work with the feet and the feet with the head, for the health and safety of the whole.'

15. Στρατευσώμεθα] 2 Cor. x. 3, 1 Tim. i. 18, 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4, Ign. Polyc. 6.

17. κατανοήσωμεν κ.τ.λ.] So Seneca *de Tranq. An.* 4 'Quid si militare nolis nisi imperator aut tribunus? etiamsi alii primam frontem tenebunt, te sors inter triarios posuerit, inde voce, adhortatione, exemplo, animo, milita'.

τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν] 'under our temporal rulers.' For this sense of οἱ ἡγούμενοι see the note § 5. On the other hand οἱ ἡγούμενοι is used elsewhere of the officers of the Church: see § 1 (note). For the dative after στρατεύεσθαι see Ign. Polyc. 6 ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε, Appian *Bell. Cív.*

i. 42 τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις... ἐκήρυξεν... στρατεύσειν ἑαυτῷ (where στρατεύσειν is transitive).

18. εἰκτικῶς] 'concessively'. In my former edition I had proposed, with the evidence then before me, to read εὐεκτικῶς. The adverb εὐεῖκτως is recognized in the Etym. Magn., and of the adjective εὐεῖκτος the Lexicons give several instances, e.g. Dion Cass. lxi. 20. On the other hand of εὐεκτικός, -κῶς, though legitimate forms, no examples are given in the lexicons. But in the light of the recently discovered authorities, εἰκτικῶς seems to me more probable.

The alternative would be to read ἐκτικῶς with C. The word ἐκτικῶς means 'habitually', and so 'familiarily', 'easily', 'readily' (i.e. 'as a matter of habit'); comp. Epict. *Diss.* iii. 24. 78 συλλογισμοὺς ὡς ἀναλύσης ἐκτικώτερον, Plut. *Mor.* 802 F ἐκτικῶς ἢ τεχνικῶς ἢ διαιρητικῶς, Porph. *de*

ταγμένως ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὰ διατασσόμενα. οὐ πάντες εἰσὶν ἑπαρχοὶ οὐδὲ χιλιάρχοι οὐδὲ ἐκατόνταρχοι οὐδὲ πεντηκόνταρχοι οὐδὲ τὸ καθεξῆς· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐπιτελεῖ. οἱ μεγάλοι δίχα τῶν μικρῶν οὐ δύνανται εἶναι, οὔτε οἱ μικροὶ δίχα τῶν μεγάλων· σὺ γὰρ κρᾶσις τίς ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις χρῆσις. Λάβω-

1 ἐπιτελοῦσιν] A; τελοῦσι C; dub. S.

τὰ διατασσόμενα] AC; πάντα τὰ

διατασσόμενα S.

2 ἑπαρχοὶ] AC; S adopts the Greek word ὑπαρχοί, but it

does not necessarily imply any variation in the Greek text.

4 ἐπιτασσόμενα]

*Abst.* iv. 20 τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ συμμένειν εἴποις ἂν καὶ τοῦ ἐκτικῶς διαμένειν, Diod. Sic. iii. 4 μελέτη πολυχρονίῳ καὶ μνήμῃ γυμνάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκτικῶς ἕκαστα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀναγινώσκουσι, i.e. 'fluently' (where he is speaking of reading the hieroglyphics). So here, if the reading be correct, it will mean 'as a matter of course', 'promptly', 'readily'. The adjective is used in the same sense, e.g. Epict. *Diss.* ii. 18. 4 εἴ τι ποιεῖν ἐθέλεις ἐκτικόν. The reading of C confirms my account of A as against Tischendorf's, though he still adhered to his first opinion after my remarks. There can be little doubt now, I think, that the account in my upper note is correct; for the reading of Tischendorf has no relation to the ἐκτικῶς of C. The εἰ (altered from εἰ, as it was first written) must be explained by the preceding εἰ of εὐτάκτως catching the scribe's eye as he was forming the initial letters of either ἐκτικῶς or εἰκτικῶς. He had written as far as εἰ, and at this point he was misled by the same conjunction of letters πωεῖ just before. Whether this εἰ was the beginning of εἰκτικῶς, or an incomplete ἐκ as the beginning of ἐκτικῶς, may be doubtful. In the latter case we must suppose that the second ι, written above the line, was a deliberate (and perhaps later) emenda-

tion to get a word with an adequate sense; but on the whole it seems more probable that he had εἰκτικῶς in his copy, and not ἐκτικῶς as read in C. If so, εἰκτικῶς has the higher claim to be regarded as the word used by Clement. It is difficult to say whether the rendering in S represents εἰκτικῶς or ἐκτικῶς. In the Peshito Luke vii. 25 רַכִּינָה stands for μαλακός, and in the Harclean Mark xiii. 28 for ἀπαλός. Thus it seems nearer to εἰκτικῶς than to ἐκτικῶς. The word εἰκτικός occurs Orig. *de Princ.* iii. 15 (l. p. 124), and occasionally elsewhere. On these adjectives in -ικός see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 228.

1. οὐ πάντες κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 29, 30.

2. ἑπαρχοὶ κ.τ.λ.] See Exod. xviii. 21 καταστήσεις [αὐτοὺς] ἐπ' αὐτῶν χιλιάρχους καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντάρχους καὶ δεκαδάρχους (comp. ver. 25). The reference here however is to Roman military organization as the context shows; comp. *Clem. Hom.* x. 14 ὅνπερ γὰρ τρόπον εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ Καίσαρ, ἔχει δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς διοικῆτας (ὑπατικούς, ἐπάρχους, χιλιάρχους, ἐκατοντάρχους, δεκαδάρχους), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κ.τ.λ. The ἑπαρχοὶ therefore are 'prefects', ἑπαρχος being used especially of the 'praefectus praetorio', e.g. Plut. *Galb.* 13, *Otho* 7; comp. Dion



μεν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν· ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τῶν ποδῶν οὐδὲν ἔστιν, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πόδες δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἐλάχιστα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ εὐχρηστά εἰσιν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι· ἀλλὰ πάντα συνπνεῖ καὶ ὑποταγῇ μιᾷ χρῆται εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.

### XXXVIII. *Ὡς ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ὁὖν ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν*

A; ὑποτασσόμενα C. The converse error appears in the MS of Ign. *Ephes.* 2 ἐπιτασσόμενοι for ὑποτασσόμενοι. 8 οὐδὲν ἔστιν] A and so prob. S; ἔστιν οὐδέν C. 11 συνπνεῖ] A; συμπνεῖ C. 12 χρῆται] A; χράται C: see the note on ii. § 6.

Cass. *Fragm.* (v. p. 203 ed. L. Dind.) αἰσχροὺς ἐστὶ καὶσαρ, ἐκατοντάρχῳ σε διαλέγεσθαι τῶν ἐπάρχων ἕξω ἐστῶτων. The χιλίарχοι, ἐκατοντάρχοι, again are the common equivalents for 'tribuni', 'centuriones', respectively. But for πεντηκόνταρχος I do not know any corresponding term in the Roman army. If it represents the 'optio' the lieutenant or the signifer 'the ensign' (see Löhr *Taktik u. Kriegswesen* p. 41), the numerical relation of 50 to 100 has become meaningless.

3. ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. xv. 23 ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι; comp. below § 41.

4. βασιλέως] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 13 sq εἴτε βασιλεῖ...εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν; comp. Joh. xix. 15, Acts xvii. 7. The official title of the emperor in Greek was αὐτοκράτωρ, but βασιλεὺς is found in common parlance, though the corresponding 'rex' would not be used except in gross flattery.

5. οἱ μεγάλοι κ.τ.λ.] See Soph. *Aj.* 158 (quoted by Jacobson) καίτοι συμκροὶ μεγάλων χωρὶς σφαλερὸν πύργου εὐμα πέλονται κ.τ.λ. (with Lobeck's note), Plato *Leg.* x. p. 902 E οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι μικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους εὖ κείσθαι, with the remarks of Donaldson, *New Crat.* § 455, on this proverb. I have therefore ventured to print the words as a

quotation, and indeed Clement's text seems to embody some anapaestic fragments.

6. σύγκρασις κ.τ.λ.] This seems to be a reference to Eurip. *Fragm. Aiol.* 2 ἀλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς, for Euripides is there speaking of the mutual cooperation of rich and poor: see the passage quoted from the context of Euripides on ὁ πλούσιος κ.τ.λ. just below § 38. Cotterill (*Peregrinus Proteus* p. 25) points out that this extract appears in close proximity to the passage from Sophocles quoted in the last note in Stobæus *Floril.* xliii. 18, 20 (p. 82 sq, Meineke). Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 24 ἀλλὰ ὁ Θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα.

7. Λάβωμεν τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Cor. xii. 12 sq (comp. Rom. xii. 4); see esp. ver. 22 τὰ δοκῶντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖα ἔστιν. For λάβωμεν see above, § 5.

XXXVIII. 'So therefore let the health of the whole body be our aim. Let weak and strong, rich and poor, work together in harmony. Let each man exercise his special gift in humility of heart and without vainglory, remembering that he owes everything to God and giving thanks to Him for His goodness.'

Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ. ὁ ἰσχυρὸς μὴ ἀτμημελείτω τὸν ἀσθενῆ, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς ἐν-  
 τρεπέσθω τὸν ἰσχυρόν· ὁ πλούσιος ἐπιχορηγείτω τῷ  
 πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν  
 αὐτῷ δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα. ὁ σοφὸς  
 ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν  
 ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς· ὁ ταπεινοφρονῶν μὴ ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖτω,  
 ἀλλ' ἐάτω ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἐαυτὸν μαρτυρεῖσθαι. ὁ ἀγνὸς  
 ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἦτω καὶ μὴ ἀλαζονευέσθω, γινώσκων ὅτι 10

1 Ἰησοῦ] A; om. CS.

2 καὶ] A; om. CS.

3 μὴ ἀτμημελείτω]

μητμημελείτω A; τμημελείτω (omitting μὴ) CS. Obviously the α of ἀτμημελείτω had already disappeared from its prototype as it has from A, and the transcribers are obliged to erase the counterbalancing negative μὴ in order to restore the sense; see above, I. p. 143.

ἐντρεπέσθω] C; ἐντρεπέτω A, retained by Gebhardt;

but it is a solœcism.

7 ἐνδεικνύσθω] ἐνδεικνυσθω A. ἐν λόγοις] AC; λόγοις

μόνον Clem 613.

ἐν ἔργοις] A; ἔργοις C, thus omitting ἐν here, while conversely

Clem has omitted it in ἐν λόγοις. S has it in both, but no stress can be laid on the fact, as the translator repeats the preposition where it does not occur in the Greek; see I. p. 137.

8 ταπεινοφρονῶν] A, and so prob. S; ταπεινόφρων C Clem;

see above, § 19.

μὴ ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖτω] AC; μαρτυρεῖτω μὴ ἐαυτῷ Clem.

1. ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ.] Ephes. v. 21; comp. 1 Pet. v. 5.

2. καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη] sc. ὁ πλησίον, 'according as he was appointed with his special gift'; comp. 1 Pet. iv. 10 ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα, 1 Cor. vii. 7 ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ Θεοῦ, Rom. xii. 6 ἔχοντες χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα.

3. μὴ ἀτμημελείτω] This reading makes better sense than *πλημμελείτω* (for Clement is condemning the depreciation of others) and accounts more easily for the corruption; see the omission of α in ἀφιλοξενίαν § 35.

4. ὁ πλούσιος κ.τ.λ.] See Eurip. *Fragm. Æol.* 2 (of which the context is cited above, § 37) ἂ μὴ γάρ ἐστι τῷ πένητι, πλούσιος διδωσ'· ἂ δ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα, τοῖσι πένησι χρώμενοι θηρώμεθα. The resemblance

here confirms the conjecture that in the earlier passage Clement has the words of Euripides in his mind.

6. ἀναπληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ.] For the expression see 1 Cor. xvi. 17, Phil. ii. 30; comp. Col. i. 24.

ὁ σοφὸς κ.τ.λ.] This passage down to τὴν ἐγκράτειαν is quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 613) between extracts from §§ 40, 41 (see the notes there).

10. ἦτω] 'let him be it'. For this emphatic use compare Ign. *Ephes.* 15 ἄμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι, Iren. ii. 30. 2 οὐκ ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὁ κρείττων δείκνυσθαι ὀφείλει. I have preferred Laurent's happy emendation ἦτω to σιγάτω which has also been suggested, both because it better suits the vacant space in A, and because it is the

ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἀνα-  
 λογισώμεθα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐκ ποίας ὕλης ἐγενήθημεν·  
 ποῖοι καὶ τίνες εἰσῆλθαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον· ἐκ ποίου  
 τάφου καὶ σκότους ὁ πλάσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας  
 5 εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, προετοιμάσας τὰς  
 εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς γεννηθῆναι. ταῦτα οὖν  
 πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ὀφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχα-  
 ριστεῖν αὐτῷ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.  
 ἀμήν.

9 ἑάτω] ACS; ἐν τῷ Clem.

ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἑαυτὸν] A; αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑτέρου Clem;

ἑαυτὸν ὑφ' ἑτέρου C; S translates the sentence *sed ab aliis testimonium detur* (μαρ-  
 τυρεῖσθω) *super ipso*. ἑαυτὸν] AC; αὐτὸν Clem.

10 ἐν] AC; om.

Clem; dub S. ἦτω] Laurent (his earlier suggestion had been ἔστω, *Zeitschr.*

*f. Luther. Theol.* xxiv. p. 423). CS Clem omits the words ἦτω καὶ: see above, i. p. 142. In A the margin of the parchment is cut off, so that nothing is visible. There seems however to have been room for ἦτω, as the size of the letters is often diminished at the end of the lines; see below.

11 ἐγκράτειαν] εγκρατιαν A.

13 καὶ τίνες] C; καὶ τι... A; om. S. εἰσῆλθαμεν] ...σηλθαμεν A; εἰσῆλθομεν C.

15 τὸν κόσμον] AC; S has *hunc mundum*, but it probably does not represent a various reading; see the critical note on ii. § 19.

17 ὀφείλομεν] οφίλομεν A.

κατὰ πάντα] AC; om. S. εὐχαριστεῖν] ευχαριστι A.

form found elsewhere in Clement, § 48. Hort suggests στήτω, comparing 1 Cor. vii. 37. At the end of a line it is not safe to speak positively about the number of letters to be supplied, as there the letters are sometimes much smaller and extend beyond the line; but σιγάτω seems under any circumstances too long to be at all probable. Hilgenfeld's reading, ὁ ἀγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ [αὐτὸς] μὴ ἀλαζονεύσθω, supplies the lacuna in the wrong place. For the sentiment see Ign. *Polyc.* 5 εἰ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχῆσιν μενέτω· ἐὰν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο (see above, i. p. 149), Tertull. *de Virg. Vel.* 13 'Et si a Deo confertur continentiae virtus, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis', passages quoted by Wotton. Clement's language is not sufficient to explain

the allusions of Epiphanius and Jerome (quoted above, i. pp. 170, 173), which doubtless refer to the spurious Epistles on Virginity; see above, i. p. 408 sq.

13. ποῖοι καὶ τίνες] 1 Pet. i. 11 εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρόν.

εἰσῆλθαμεν] For the form see Winer § xiii. p. 86.

ἐκ ποίου τάφου κ.τ.λ.] Harnack refers to Ps. cxxxix (cxl). 15 τὸ ὅστούν μου...ἐποίησας ἐν κρυφῇ καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις μου ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς.

15. προετοιμάσας κ.τ.λ.] See the fragment from 'the 9th Epistle' of Clement of Rome in Leontius and John *Sacr. Rer.* ii (Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vii. p. 84) given above, i. p. 189. Though it has some points of resemblance with this passage in our epistle, it cannot have been taken from it.



XXXIX. "Αφρονες καὶ ἀσύνετοι καὶ μωροὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι χλευάζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ μυκτηρίζουσιν, ἑαυτοὺς βουλόμενοι ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν. τί γὰρ δύναται θνητός; ἢ τίς ἰσχὺς γηγενοῦς; γέγραπται γάρ· Οὐκ ἦν μορφή πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου· ἀλλ' ἦ αἶψαν καὶ φωνὴν ἤκουον. τί γάρ; μὴ καθαρὸς ἔσται βροτὸς ἔναντι Κυρίου; ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἄμεμπτος ἀνὴρ; εἰ κατὰ παίδων αὐτοῦ οὐ πιστεύει, κατὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ σκολιόν

1 "Αφρονες...ἀπαίδευτοι] AS; ἀφρονες καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ μωροὶ C. 2 μυκτηρίζουσιν] μυκτηριζουσιν A. 6 καθαρὸς] AC; נָכַח corruptor S, perhaps connecting it with καθαίρειν, as if καθαιρέτης: see above, 1. p. 140. The translator however may have had φθόρος in his text. ἔσται] AC; ἔστιν S. ἔναντι] A (with LXX SA); ἐναντίον C (with LXX B). 7 εἰ] AC; ἢ S. 8 παίδων] AC; operum S, but this is due to the false pointing; see above, 1. p. 138. αὐτοῦ] A; ἐαυτοῦ C.

XXXIX. 'What folly is the arrogance and self-assumption of those who would make a mockery of us! Have we not been taught in the Scriptures the nothingness of man? In God's sight not even the angels are pure: how much less we frail creatures of earth! A lump of clay, a breath of air, the sinner is consumed in a moment by God's wrath: and the righteous shall inherit his forfeited blessings.'

1. "Αφρονες κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Hermas Sim.* ix. 14 ἄφρων εἶ καὶ ἀσύνετος.

2. χλευάζουσιν κ.τ.λ.] Ps. xlv. 14 (v. 1.), lxxix. 4, μυκτηρισμὸς καὶ χλευασμός; comp. *Apost. Const.* iii. 5 μυκτηρίσαντες χλευάσουσι. In C ἑαυτοὺς is connected with the preceding words by punctuation.

4. γηγενοῦς] As a LXX word, γηγενής is a translation of גִּבּוֹר in Jer. xxxii. 20. In Ps. xlix (xlviii). 2 οἱ τε γηγενεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων is a rendering of אִישׁ בְּנִי אָדָם בְּנִי אָדָם where the next clause of the verse has πλούσιος καὶ πένης. In *Wisd.* vii. 1 Adam is called γηγενής πρωτόπλαστος. The word occurs *Test. xii Patr.* Jos. 2,

*Clem. Alex. Paed.* i. 12 (p. 156), *Strom.* iv. 6 (p. 577). In classical writers the γηγενεῖς are the fabled giants, the sons of Uranus and Gæa, and rebels against the Olympians (e.g. *Soph. Trach.* 1058 ὁ γηγενῆς στρατὸς γιγάντων, *Aristoph. Av.* 824 οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς γηγενεῖς...καθυπερχόντισαν, see *Pape Wörterb. d. Griech. Eigennam.* s. v.). Connected with this idea is the translation of דִּמְנָה, where it means 'the shades of the dead', by γηγενεῖς in the LXX of *Prov.* ii. 18, ix. 18; while in these and other passages the other Greek translators (*Theodotion, Symmachus*) render the same word by γίγαντες or θεομάχοι: see *Gesenius Thesaur.* s. v. דִּמְנָה on the connexion of 'Rephaim' and the giants. Altogether we may say that the word (1) signifies originally 'humility and meanness of origin', and (2) connotes 'separation from and hostility to God'.

γέγραπται γάρ] A long passage from the LXX *Job* iv. 16—v. 5, the words οὐρανὸς δὲ...αὐτοῦ being inserted from *Job* xv. 15 (see below). The variations from the LXX are for the

ΤΙ ΕΠΕΝΟΗΣΕΝ· ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΑ  
 10 ΔΕ, ΟΙ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΠΗΛΙΝΑΣ ΕΞ ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ  
 ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΗΛΟΥ ΕΣΜΕΝ· ΕΠΑΙΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΣΗΤΟΣ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ  
 ΠΡΩΪΘΕΝ ΕΩΣ ΕΣΠΕΡΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ· ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ  
 ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΑΙ ΑΠΩΛΟΝΤΟ· ΕΝΕΦΥΧΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝ, ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ. ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΣΑΙ  
 15 ΔΕ, ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΟΙ ΥΠΑΚΟΥΣΕΤΑΙ, Η ΕΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΔΓΙΩΝ ΔΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΘΨΗ·  
 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΦΡΟΝΑ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΙ ΟΡΓΗ, ΠΕΠΛΑΝΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ

οὐ] AC; om. S. πιστεύει] AC; πιστεύσει S. 11 ἐπαίσεν αὐτοὺς] AC (but  
 Α ἐπεσεν); ἐπεσον αὐτοῦ S; see above, I. p. 140. σῆτος] σῆτον stands in A  
 (as I read it), by a transposition with the termination of the next word. Tischendorf  
 gave σῆτος, but afterwards acquiesced in my reading of the MS. τρόπων] CS;  
 τροπος A; see the last note. 12 ἔτι] AC; om. S. 15 εἴ pri] AC; ἡ S.  
 σοι] A, and so prob. S (with LXX BS); σου C (with LXX A). ὁψῃ] A; ὁψε C.

most part slight.

5. Οὐκ ἦν μορφή κ.τ.λ.] The words of Eliphaz reproving Job. He relates how a voice spoke to him in the dead of night, telling him that no man is pure in God's sight. The LXX differs materially from the Hebrew, but the general sense is the same in both. The οὐκ is not represented in the Hebrew, and it may have been inserted by the LXX to avoid an anthropomorphic expression; but the translators must also have read the preceding words somewhat differently.

7. εἰ κατὰ παίδων κ.τ.λ.] 'seeing that against His servants He is distrustful, and against (to the discredit of) His angels He noteth some depravity.'

9. οὐρανὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From Job xv. 15 (likewise in a speech of Eliphaz) εἰ κατὰ ἀγίων οὐ πιστεύει, οὐρανὸς δὲ οὐ καθαρὸς ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. The fact that nearly the same words occur as the first clause of xv. 15, which are found likewise in iv. 18, has led Clement to insert the second clause also of this same verse in the other passage to which it does not belong.

ἐα δέ, οἱ κατοικοῦντες] 'how much

more, ye that dwell'. In the LXX BS read τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας, but A ἐα δὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας 'let alone those that dwell'. The latter is a better rendering of the Hebrew and must have been the original LXX text. Symmachus has πόσω μᾶλλον, to which ἐα with this construction is an equivalent, Job xv. 16, xxv. 6.

10. οἰκίας πηλίνας] The houses of clay in the original probably signify men's bodies: comp. 2 Cor. v. 1 ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους, called before (iv. 7) ὀστράκινα σκεύη. But the LXX by the turn which they give to the next clause, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ., seem to have understood it literally, 'We are made of the same clay as our houses'; ἐξ ὧν being explained by ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ.

11. καὶ ἀπὸ πρωΐθεν κ.τ.λ.] καὶ is found in BS but omitted in A. By ἀπὸ πρωΐθεν κ.τ.λ. is meant 'in the course of a single day'; comp. Is. xxxviii. 12, 13.

14. ἐτελεύτησαν] In the LXX A so reads with all authorities here; but BS have ἐξηράνθησαν.

16. ὀργή, ζῆλος] i.e. indignation against God, such as Job had shown.

ζῆλος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐώρακα ἄφρονας ῥίζας βαλόντας, ἀλλ' εὐ-  
θέως ἐβρώθη αὐτῶν ἡ δίαίτα. πόρρω γένοιτο οἱ γιοὶ  
αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σωτηρίας· κολαβρισθεῖν ἔπ' ὅθρ' αἱς ἡσσόνων,  
καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐξαίρουμένος· ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἡτοίμασται,  
δίκαιοι ἔδονται· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι ἔσονται. 5

1 δὲ] AC; om. S. βαλόντας] A; βάλλοντας C (with LXX), and S also has  
a present. εὐθέως] A (with LXX BS); εὐθὺς C (with LXX A). 4 ἐκείνοις  
ἡτοίμασται] AC; ἐκείνοι ἡτοίμασαν S: for the LXX see below. 5 ἐξαίρετοι]

2. δίαίτα] 'their abode'; as e. g.  
LXX Job viii. 6, 22, xi. 14, xxxix. 6.

3. κολαβρισθεῖσαν] 'mocked, in-  
sulted', as Athen. viii. p. 364 A καλα-  
βρίζουσι τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἀπειλοῦσι τοῖς  
πολλοῖς. Suidas after others says  
κολαβρισθεῖν· χλευασθεῖν, ἐκτιναχθεῖν,  
ἀτιμασθεῖν· κόλαβρος γὰρ καὶ κάλαβρος,  
ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδενὸς λόγου  
ἄξιος νομισθεῖν. And so Bochart  
*Hieros.* ii. § 57, l. p. 707, 'κολαβρίζειν  
Hellenistis *contemnere*, quia porcello  
apud Judaeos nihil fuit contemptius'.  
But this derivation cannot be correct;  
for (to say nothing else) the word was  
not confined to Hellenist Jews. The  
same Athenæus, who furnishes the  
only other instance of the verb κολα-  
βρίζω, has also two substantives, κόλα-  
βρος or κάλαβρος (iv. p. 164 E, xv. p.  
697 C) 'a licentious song', and καλα-  
βρισμός (xiv. p. 629 D) 'a certain  
Thracian dance'. The latter is de-  
fined by Pollux (iv. 100) *Θρακικὸν*  
*ὄρχημα καὶ Καρικόν*. Here therefore  
the derivation must be sought. The  
jeering sallies and mocking gestures  
of these unrestrained songs and dan-  
ces would be expressed by κολαβρί-  
ζειν. The reading of A in the LXX  
σκολαβρισθεῖσαν, compared with σκο-  
ρακίζειν, might seem to favour the  
other derivation, if there were suffi-  
cient evidence that κόλαβρος ever  
meant χοιρίδιον.

ἐπὶ θύραις ἡσσόνων] 'at the doors  
of their inferiors'. There is nothing  
corresponding to ἡσσόνων in the He-

brew, where 'at the gate' means 'in  
court, in judgment'.

4. ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνοις κ.τ.λ.] In the LXX  
(BS) ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνοις συνήγαγον (ἐθέρισαν  
A), δίκαιοι ἔδονται κ.τ.λ. For ἐξαίρετοι  
ἔσονται A has ἐξερεθησονται (i. e. ἐξαι-  
ρεθήσονται). The LXX in this verse  
diverges considerably from the He-  
brew. ἐξαίρετοι here has the some-  
what rare sense 'rescued, exempt,' as  
e. g. Dion. Hal. *A. R.* vi. 50.

XL. 'This being plain, we must  
do all things decently and in order, as  
our Heavenly Master wills us. The  
appointed times, the fixed places, the  
proper ministers, must be respected  
in making our offerings. So only  
will they be acceptable to God. In  
the law of Moses the high-priest, the  
priests, the Levites, the laity, all have  
their distinct functions'.

The offence of the Corinthians  
was contempt of ecclesiastical order.  
They had resisted and ejected their  
lawfully appointed presbyters; and—  
as a necessary consequence—they  
held their agape and celebrated their  
eucharistic feast when and where  
they chose, dispensing with the in-  
tervention of these their proper offi-  
cers. There is no ground for sup-  
posing (with Rothe *Anfänge* p. 404  
sq), that they had taken advantage  
of a vacancy in the episcopate by  
death to mutiny against the presby-  
ters. Of bishops, properly so called,  
no mention is made in this epistle (see  
the notes on §§ 42, 44); and, if the



XL. Προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως, πάντα τάζει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους· τὰς τε προσφορὰς

εξερετοί A. 6 ἡμῖν ὄντων] AC; ὄντων ἡμῖν Clem 613. τούτων] AC; add.  
ἀδελφοί S. ἐγκεκυφότες] AC; ἐκκεκυφότες Clem. 8 ὀφείλομεν] οφίλομεν  
A. ὅσα] AC; *sicut* (ὥς?) S.

government of the Corinthian Church was in any sense episcopal at this time, the functions of the bishop were not yet so distinct from those of the presbyters, but that he could still be regarded as one of them, and that no special designation of his office was necessary or natural. On the late development of the episcopate in Corinth, compared with the Churches of Syria and Asia Minor, see the dissertation in *Philippians* p. 213 sq, and *Ignat. and Polyc.* i. p. 562 sq, ed. i (p. 579, ed. 2).

6. Προδήλων κ.τ.λ.] This passage as far as καιροὺς τεταγμένους is quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 613). ἐγκεκυφότες] ‘peered into, pored over’. See below §§ 45, 53, Polyc. *Phil.* 3, Clem. *Hom.* iii. 9. In all these passages it is used of searching the Scriptures. Similarly παρακύπτειν, James i. 25, 1 Pet. i. 12. The word ἐκκεκυφότες in Clem. Alex. must be regarded as an error of transcription.

7. τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως] The large and comprehensive spirit of Clement, as exhibited in the use of the Apostolic writers, has been already pointed out (notes on §§ 12, 31, 33, 49). Here it is seen from a somewhat different point of view. While he draws his arguments from the law of Moses and his illustrations from the Old Testament, thus showing his sympathy with the Judaic side of Christianity, he at the same time uses freely those forms of expression

which afterwards became the watchwords of the Gnostic sects and were doubtless frequently heard on the lips of their forerunners his contemporaries. To this class belongs τὰ βάθη τῆς γνώσεως (comp. 1 Cor. ii. 10): see S. John’s language in Rev. ii. 24 οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς λέγουσιν, which is illustrated by Iren. *Haer.* ii. 22. 3 ‘profunda Dei adinvenisse se dicentes’, ii. 28. 9 ‘aliquis eorum qui altitudines Dei exquisisse se dicunt’, Hippol. *Haer.* v. 6 ἐπεκάλεσαν ἐαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν; compare the description in Tertullian *adv. Valent.* i ‘Si bona fide quaeras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio, *Altum est aiunt*’, and see *Galatians* p. 298. It is significant too that γνώσις is a favourite word with Clement: see §§ 1, 36, 41, and especially § 48 ἤτω δυνατὸς γνώσιν ἐξειπεῖν (with the note). Again in § 34 he repeats the favourite Gnostic text ‘Eye hath not seen etc.’, which they misapplied to support their principle of an esoteric doctrine. See the note there.

9. τὰς τε προσφορὰς κ.τ.λ.] Editors have failed to explain the reading of the MS satisfactorily. Two modes of punctuation are offered. The main stop is placed (1) after ἐκέλευσεν, so that we read κατὰ καιρ. τετ. τὰς τε προσφ. κ.τ.λ.; but in this case we get an unmeaning repetition, κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους and ὁρισμένοις καιροῖς κ.τ.λ. belonging to the same sentence: or

καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὀρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις· ποῦ τε καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῳ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει· ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκῇσει εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι 5 αὐτοῦ. Οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες

1 λειτουργίας] λειτουργίαις A. ἐπιμελῶς] conj.; om. ACS. The reasons for the insertion are given below.

ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ] AC; om. S: see below.

2 ἀλλ'] A; ἀλλὰ C. 3 ὥραις ποῦ τε] AC. S translates as if it had read ὥραις τέ που.

4 ὑπερτάτῳ] A; ὑπεράτῃ C; see the lower note, and above, I. p. 127. πάντα] παντάτα A; πάντα τὰ C. For S see below.

5 ἐν εὐδοκῇσει] AC: S translates the sentence, *ita ut, quum omnia pie fiant, velit ut acceptabilia sint voluntati suae*, thus apparently taking ἐνευδοκῇσει (one word) as a verb and reading

(2) after ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, in which case ἐπιτελεῖσθαι must be governed by ὀφείλομεν. But, with this construction (not to urge other obvious objections) there is an awkwardness in using the middle ἐπιτελεῖσθαι in the same sense in which the active ἐπιτελεῖν has occurred just before; though the middle in itself might stand. (In James iv. 2, 3 however we have αἰτεῖν and αἰτεῖσθαι side by side.) I have therefore inserted ἐπιμελῶς, supposing that the omission was due to the similar beginnings of the two words (as e.g. αἰωνιον for αἰων ἐπιτελεσθήτω ἐπιμελῶς τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, Herm. Mand. xii. 3 τὴν διακονίαν...τέλει ἐπιμελῶς. Thus the passage reads smoothly and intelligibly. An alternative would be to omit ἐπιτελεῖσθαι (and this is done by the Syriac translator), as having been inserted from below (διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι), and to take τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας in apposition with ὅσα, but this does not seem so good for more than one reason. For the growth of the various

readings in our authorities, see I. p. 143. I should have preferred τὰς δὲ προσφορὰς, as Tischendorf deciphered A, but (unless I misread it) it certainly has τε, as also have CS. On the Christian sense of προσφοραὶ see the note on προσενηγκόντας τὰ δῶρα § 44.

2. καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις] A pleonasm, as in Dionys. *de Isocr.* 14 (p. 561) μὴ ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐν ὥρᾳ, Plut. *Ages.* 36 τοῦ καλοῦ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον εἶναι καὶ ὥραν. The words differ only so far, that καιρός refers to the *fitness*, ὥρα to the *appointedness*, of the time. Demosth. *Olynth.* ii. p. 24 μηδένα καιρὸν μηδ' ὥραν παραλείπων shows that ὥρα does not refer to the '*hour of the day*', as this use of the word was only introduced long after the age of Demosthenes.

4. ὑπερτάτῳ] I have not ventured to alter the reading to ὑπεράτῃ, since even in classical writers comparatives and superlatives are sometimes of two terminations; e.g. Thucyd. iii. 89, 101, v. 71, 110. See Buttmann *Griech. Sprachl.* § 60 anm. 5.

πάντα γινόμενα] I have struck out τὰ before γινόμενα as a mere repetition of the last syllable of πάντα



τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι,  
τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότητος ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ  
διαμαρτάνουσιν. τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι  
10 δεδομέναι εἰσίν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος  
προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπείκειν-

εἶναι for ἐλη. ἐλη] A; add. πάντα C (thus repeating it a second time in the sentence); for S see the last note.

6 προστεταγμένοις] A; προσταγείσι C.  
9 ἀρχιερεῖ] AC; ἀρχιερεῦσιν S. This is probably due to a misapprehension of the translator or of a scribe who supposed that the Christian bishops were meant.

10 ὁ τόπος] A; τόπος (om. ὁ) C. S translates as if it had read ἰδίοις τόποις.

11 λευίταις...ἐπείκεινται] AC (but ἐπικύπτει A); *levitae in ministeriis propriis ponuntur* S.

and as interfering with the sense. The omission of τὰ is confirmed by the Syriac.

5. ἐν εὐδοκῇσει] sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ. See the note on § 2. But possibly we should here for ΕΥΔΟΚΗCΕΙΕΥ-ΠΡΟCΔΕΚΤΑ read ΕΥΔΟΚΗCΕΙΘΥ-ΠΡΟCΔΕΚΤΑ; as in Epiphan. *Haer.* lxx. 10 (p. 822) εὐδοκῇσει Θεοῦ.

9. τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ κ.τ.λ.] This is evidently an instance from the old dispensation adduced to show that God will have His ministrations performed through definite *persons*, just as below (§ 41) οὐ πανταχοῦ κ.τ.λ. Clement draws an illustration from the same source that He will have them performed in the proper *places*. There is therefore no *direct* reference to the Christian ministry in ἀρχιερεῖς, ἱερεῖς, Λευῖται, but it is an argument by *analogy*. Does the analogy then extend to the *three* orders? The answer to this seems to be that, though the episcopate appears to have been widely established in Asia Minor at this time (see *Philippians* p. 209 sq with the references given above, p. 121), this epistle throughout only recognizes two orders, presbyters and deacons, as existing at Corinth (see esp. the notes on ἐπισκόπων § 42, and on εἰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξονται κ.τ.λ. § 44). It has been held indeed

by some (e.g. Lipsius p. 25) that, this being so, the analogy notwithstanding extends to the number three, Christ being represented by the high-priest (see the note § 36), the presbyters by the priests, and the deacons by the Levites. But to this it is a sufficient answer that the High-priesthood of Christ is wholly different in kind and exempt from those very limitations on which the passage dwells. And again why should the analogy be so pressed? It would be considered ingenious trifling to seek out the Christian equivalents to ἐνδελεχισμού ἢ εὐχῶν ἢ περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελείας below (§ 41), or to ἑπαρχοί, χιλιάρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, πεντηκόνταρχοι, κ.τ.λ. above (§ 37); nor is there any reason why a closer correspondence should be exacted from this passage than from the others. Later writers indeed did dwell on the analogy of the *threefold* ministry; but we cannot argue back from them to Clement, in whose epistle the very element of *threefoldness*, which gives force to such a comparison, is wanting.

10. ἴδιος ὁ τόπος κ.τ.λ.] ‘*The office assigned to the priests is special*’. On this sense of τόπος comp. below § 44 τοῦ ἱδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου, and see the notes on Ign. *Polyc.* 1 ἐκδίδει σου τον τόπον.



ται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

XLI. Ἐκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγ-

2 δέδεται] A; δέδοται CS. 3 ὑμῶν] A; ἡμῶν CS. 4 εὐχαριστεῖτω]  
A; εὐαρεστεῖτω CS. See the lower note. συνειδήσει] συνειδήσιν A. 5 μὴ

1. λαϊκός] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* Epist. Cl. § 5 οὕτως ἐκάστω λαϊκῷ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ., *Clem. Alex. Strom.* iii. 12 (p. 552) κἂν πρεσβύτερος ἢ κἂν διάκονος κἂν λαϊκός, *ib.* v. 6 (p. 665) κώλυμα λαϊκῆς ἀπιστίας. In Tertulian 'laicus' is not uncommon, e.g. *de Praescr.* 41 'nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt'. In the LXX λαός is used not only in contradistinction to 'the Gentiles' (see the note on § 29 above), but also as opposed to (1) 'The rulers', e.g. 2 Chron. xxiv. 10, xxx. 24, (2) 'The priests', e.g. Exod. xix. 24, Neh. vii. 73 (viii. 1), Is. xxiv. 2; comp. Jer. xxxiv (xli). 19 τοὺς ἄρχοντας Ἰούδα καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὸν λαόν. From this last contrast comes the use of λαϊκός here. The adjective however is not found in the LXX, though in the other Greek versions we meet with λαϊκός 'laic' or 'profane' and λαϊκοῦν 'to profane', Deut. xx. 6, xxviii. 30, Ruth i. 12, 1 Sam. xxi. 4, Ezek. vii. 22, xlviii. 15.

XLI. 'Let each man therefore take his proper place in the thanksgiving of the Church. Then again, in the law of Moses the several sacrifices are not offered anywhere, but only in the temple at Jerusalem and after careful scrutiny. If then transgression was visited on the Israelites of old with death, how much greater shall be our punishment, seeing that our knowledge also is greater'.

4. εὐχαριστεῖτω] The allusion here is plainly to the public services of the Church, where order had been violated. Thus εὐχαριστία will refer chiefly,

though not solely, to the principal act of Christian thanksgiving, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which at a later date was almost exclusively termed εὐχαριστία. The usage of Clement is probably midway between that of S. Paul where no such appropriation of the term appears (e.g. 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 2 Cor. ix. 11, 12, Phil. iv. 6, 1 Tim. ii. 1, etc.), and that of the Ignatian Epistles (*Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 7) and of Justin (*Apol.* i. § 66, p. 97 sq, *Dial.* 41, p. 260) where it is especially so applied. For the ἴδιον τάγμα of the people at the eucharistic feast see Justin *Apol.* i. § 65 (p. 97 D) οὐ (i.e. τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν ἀδελφῶν) συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν... εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ κ.τ.λ., and again *ib.* § 67 (p. 98 E). See Harnack *Der Christliche Gottesdienst* etc. (Erlangen, 1854).

Though the reading εὐαρεστεῖτω is simpler, εὐχαριστεῖτω is doubtless correct; comp. § 38 with Rom. xiv. 6, 1 Cor. xiv. 17. For another instance of confusion between εὐαρεστεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν in our authorities, see § 62.

ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει] Acts xxiii. 1, 1 Tim. i. 5, 19, 1 Pet. iii. 16, 21; comp. καλῇ συνείδησις, Heb. xiii. 18. For an explanation of the reading συνειδήσιν in A see above § 15.

6. κανόνα] Compare the metaphor 2 Cor. x. 13, 14, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος and ὑπερεκτείνωμεν; see also the note on § 7.

προσφέρονται] The present tense

ματι εὐχαριστεῖτω Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων,  
 5 μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ  
 κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. Οὐ πανταχοῦ, ἀδελφοί, προσφέ-  
 ρονται θυσίαι ἐνδελεχισμοῦ ἢ εὐχῶν ἢ περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ

παρεκβαίνων] AC (but παραικβαινων A); et perficiens S. λειτουργίας] λειτουργ-  
 γιας A. 6 προσφέρονται] AC; om. S. 7 εὐχῶν] A; προσευχῶν C.

has been thought to imply that the sacrifices were still offered and the temple yet standing, and therefore to fix the date of the epistle before the destruction of Jerusalem, i.e. about the close of Nero's reign. To this very early date however there are insuperable objections (see the introduction, I. p. 346 sq. and notes on §§ I, 5, 44, 47). Clement therefore must use *προσφέρονται* as implying rather the *permanence of the record* and of the lesson contained therein than the *continuance of the institution* and practice itself. Indeed it will be seen that his argument gains considerably, if we suppose the practice discontinued; because then and then only is the sanction transferred from the Jewish sacrifices to the Christian ministrations, as the true fulfilment of the Divine command. If any one doubts whether such usage is natural, let him read the account of the Mosaic sacrifices in Josephus *Ant.* iii. cc. 9, 10 (where the parallels to Clement's present tense *προσφέρονται* are far too numerous to be counted), remembering that the *Antiquities* were published A.D. 93, i.e. within two or three years of our epistle. Comp. Barnab. 7 sq, *Epist. ad Diogn.* 3, where also the present is used. This mode of speaking is also very common in the Talmud; comp. Friedmann and Graetz *Die angebliche Fortdauer des jüdischen Opfercultus* etc. in the *Theolog. Jahrb.* xvii. p. 338sq (1848), and the references in Derenbourg *L'Hist. et la Géogr. de la Palestine*

p. 480 sq. See also Grimm in *Zeitsch. f. Wiss. Theol.* XIII. p. 28 sq (1870) with reference to the bearing of this phenomenon on the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 25 ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης πλημμελείας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν, where parts of the context seem to be suggested by this passage of Clement, though the analogies in the O. T. are interpreted after the fashion of a later age.

7 ἐνδελεχισμοῦ] 'of continuity, perpetuity', the expression used in the LXX for the ordinary daily sacrifices, as a rendering of מִנְיָה (e.g. Exod. xix. 42, Neh. x. 33); and thus opposed to the special offerings, of which the two types are the freewill offerings (εὐχῶν) and expiatory offerings (περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἢ πλημμελείας). Of the last two words ἁμαρτία denotes the sin-offering (חַטָּאת) and πλημμελεία the trespass-offering (עֲוֹן). A similar threefold division of sacrifices is given by Philo *de Vict.* 4 (II. p. 240) τὸ δλοκαυτον, τὸ σωτήριον, τὸ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, and by Josephus *Ant.* iii. 9. 1 sq ἡ δλοκαύτωσις, ἡ χαριστήριος θυσία, ἡ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων (passages referred to in Jacobson's notes); see also Ewald *Alterth. des Volkes Isr.* p. 52 sq. Here the θυσία ἐνδελεχισμοῦ stands for the δλοκαυτώματα generally, as being the most prominent type; and in the same way the θυσία εὐχῶν, as a part for the whole, represents the peace-offerings (σωτήριον in the LXX and Philo) which comprised two species (Lev. vii. 11—17), the vow or



πλημμελείας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ· καὶ κεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσφέρεται, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, μωμοσκοπηθὲν τὸ προσφερόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν. οἱ οὖν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῦ 5 ποιοῦντές τι θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον ἔχουσιν. Ὁρᾶτε,

1 πλημμελείας] πλημμελίας A; πλημμελημάτων C. S has a singular. μόνῃ] AS; om. C (as a pleonasm after ἀλλ' ἢ). 2 προσφέρεται] AC; offeruntur sacrificia S. 4 τῶν] AC; ceterorum S. λειτουργῶν] λειτουργων A. 5 βουλήσεως] A; βουλῆς C; dub. S. 7 ὅσῳ] AC; add. γὰρ S. κατη-

free-will offering (which Clement has selected) and the thanksgiving-offering (which Josephus takes as the type). On the other hand, when speaking of expiatory offerings, Clement gives both types.

εὐχῶν] The v. l. προσευχῶν has parallels in James v. 15, 16, Ign. Ephes. 10, Rom. 9. It is explained by the tendency to substitute a common word for a less common. Here εὐχῶν is unquestionably right; for more especially in the later language, while προσευχή is 'a prayer' in the more comprehensive sense, εὐχή is 'a vow' specially. In the LXX προσευχή is commonly a rendering of הַפֶּתִיחַ, but εὐχή of נָדָה or נָדָה. For εὐχή 'a vow' see Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23. In the only other passage in the N. T. in which it occurs, James v. 15, the idea of a vow may possibly be present, though it is certainly not prominent, and in the context (ver. 14, and prob. ver. 16) προσεύχεσθαι is used of the same act. But, though εὐχή might undoubtedly be said of a 'prayer, supplication', it is not so evident conversely that προσευχή could be used of a vow specifically. In Numb. vi. 4 sq. where a vow is distinctly meant, the word occurs many times in the same context and the form is εὐχῆς throughout, though an ill-supported reading προσευχῆς

occurs in one instance. In Ps. lxi (lx). 6, where the word is נָדָה, the LXX (with Symmachus) have προσευχῶν, but Aquila more correctly εὐχῶν, thus preserving the fundamental meaning of the Hebrew word, though the connoted idea of 'prayer' is so prominent in the context as to explain the LXX rendering.

2. ἔμπροσθεν κ.τ.λ.] The ναὸς is here the shrine, the holy-place; the θυσιαστήριον, the court of the altar: see the note on Ign. Ephes. 5. The ἱερὸν comprises both. This distinction of ναὸς and ἱερὸν is carefully observed in the N. T.: see Trench N. T. Synon. 1st ser. § iii.

3. μωμοσκοπηθὲν] 'after inspection', with a view to detecting blemishes. A flaw or blemish, which vitiates a person or thing for holy purposes, is in the LXX μῶμος. Doubtless the choice of this rendering was partly determined by its similarity in sound to the Hebrew מוֹם, for otherwise it is not a very obvious or natural equivalent. [A parallel instance is the word σκηνή, chosen for the same reasons, as a rendering of Shechinah, and carrying with it all the significance of the latter.] Hence ἄμωμος in the LXX signifies 'without blemish', being applied to victims and the like, and diverges from its classical meaning. Hence also are derived the words



ἀδελφοί, ὅσω πλείονος κατηξιώθημεν γνώσεως, τοσούτω μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

XLII. Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξεπέμφθη. ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ

ξιώθημεν] καταξιώθημεν A, as Tisch. (præf. p. xix) reads it, but I could not see distinctly.

9 εὐηγγελίσθησαν] AC; *evangelizaverunt* (active) S. Hilgenfeld wrongly gives the reading of C εὐαγγελίσθησαν.

10 ὁ Χριστὸς] A; χριστὸς (om. ὁ) C. 11 ἐξεπέμφθη... ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ] AS; om. C (by homœoteleuton).

μωμοσκόπος, μωμοσκοπεῖν, which seem to be confined to Jewish and Christian writers: Philo *de Agric.* 29 (i. p. 320) οὗς ἐνιοι μωμοσκόπους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἵνα ἄμωμα καὶ ἀσυνή προσάγῃται τῇ βωμῇ τὰ ἱερεῖα κ.τ.λ., Polyc. *Phil.* 4 πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 18 (p. 617) ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν θυσίων προσαγωγαῖς παρὰ τῇ νόμῳ οἱ ἱερεῖων μωμοσκόποι, *Apost. Const.* ii. 3 γέγραπται γάρ, Μωμοσκοπεῖσθε τὸν μέλοντα εἰς ἱερωσύνην προχειρίζεσθαι (a paraphrase of Lev. xxi. 17).

4. ἀρχιερέως] Wotton suggests *ἱερέως*, 'quum sacerdotum inferioris ordinis potius quam summi sacerdotis sit τὰς θυσίας μωμοσκοπεῖν'; but διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ. belongs rather to προσφέρεται than to μωμοσκοπηθέν, as the order seems to show. The three conditions are (1) that it must be offered at the proper place, (2) that it must be examined and found without blemish, (3) that it must be sacrificed by the proper persons, the high priests or other priests. The διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ. is comprehensive, so as to include all sacrifices.

5. τὸ καθήκον κ.τ.λ.] 'the seemly ordinance of His will.' For the genitive comp. Plut. *Mor.* p. 617 Εἰς τῶν Ὁμήρου τὸ θεώρημα τοῦτο λαμβάνων καθηκόντων.

6. τὸ πρόστιμον] 2 Macc. vii. 36. Ἐπιτίμιον Ἀττικῶς, πρόστιμον Ἑλληνικῶς Moeris s. v. ἐπιτίμιον. This is one

among many instances of the exceptional character of the Attic dialect, for πρόστιμον occurs as early as Hippocrates; see for other examples *Galatians* vi. 6 and p. 92 (p. 89, ed. 1), *Philippians* i. 28, ii. 14. In the inscriptions it is a very common word for a fine.

Ὁρᾶτε κ.τ.λ.] This sentence is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 16 (p. 613).

7. γνώσεως] See the note on τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως § 40.

XLII. 'The Apostles were sent by Christ, as Christ was sent by the Father. Having this commission they preached the kingdom of God and appointed presbyters and deacons in every place. This was no new institution, but had been foretold ages ago by the prophet.'

9. εὐηγγελίσθησαν] 'were taught the Gospel', as Matt. xi. 5 (Luke vii. 22), Heb. iv. 2, 6; for the first aorist apparently is always passive, being used with a nominative either of the person instructed or the lesson conveyed; and ἡμῖν will be 'for our sakes'. It might be a question however whether we should not read ἡμῶν, as in the opening of § 44.

11. ἐξεπέμφθη] This is attached by the editors generally to the following sentence. Yet I can hardly doubt that it belongs to the preceding words; for (1) The position of οὖν

ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφοτέρα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ. παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξήλθον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων

2 λαβόντες] AC; add. οἱ ἀπόστολοι S.  
(Ἦ being the common rendering of ὁ Κύριος as well as of ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν).

4 ἡμῶν] A; om. C; dub. S

seems to require this; (2) The awkward expression that 'Christ was taught the Gospel by the Father' thus disappears; (3) We get in its place a forcible epigrammatic parallelism ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν κ.τ.λ. For the omission of the verb to gain terseness, and for the form of the sentence generally, see Rom. x. 17 ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. iii. 23 ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ Θεοῦ; comp. also Rom. v. 18, 1 Cor. vi. 13, Gal. ii. 9. My punctuation has been accepted by Gebhardt and Harnack and by Hilgenfeld (ed. 2), and is now confirmed by the Syriac version. For the thought see Joh. xvii. 18 καθὼς ἐμὲ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, κἀγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον, xx. 21 καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατήρ, κἀγὼ πέμπω ὑμᾶς. See also the notes on Ign. Ephes. 6; and comp. Tertull. de Praescr. 37 'in ea regula incedimus, quam ecclesia ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo tradidit' (quoted by Harnack).

2. παραγγελίας] 'word of command', received as from a superior officer that it may be passed on to others; as e.g. Xen. Cyr. ii. 4. 2, iv. 2. 27.

4. πιστωθέντες] 2 Tim. iii. 14 μένεν οἷς ἔμαθες καὶ ἐπιστάθης.

5. μετὰ πληροφορίας κ.τ.λ.] 'with firm conviction inspired by the Holy Ghost': comp. 1 Thess. i. 5 ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ [ἐν] πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ.

7. καθίστανον] The same word is used in Tit. i. 5 καταστήσης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. Both forms of the imperfect καθίστανον (from ἰστώνω) and καθίστων (from ἰστάω) are admissible, at least in the later language; see Veitch Greek Verbs p. 299. But I cannot find any place for either of the readings of our MSS, καθεστανον and καθιστάν.

χώρας] 'country districts', as opposed to towns; comp. Luke xxi. 21, Joh. iv. 35, Acts viii. 1, James v. 4. Hence the ancient title χωρεπίσκοπος; see Philippians p. 230.

8. τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν] 'the first-fruits of their preaching'; or perhaps αὐτῶν refers not to the Apostles but to the χῶραι καὶ πόλεις, and is like the genitives in Rom. xvi. 5 ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας, 1 Cor. xvi. 15 ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, which passages Clement may have had in his mind.

δοκιμάσαντες] 1 Tim. iii. 10 δοκι-



ο πιστεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων· οὕτως γὰρ πού λέγει ἡ γραφή· ΚΑΤΑСТΗΣΩ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΣ ΑΥΤῶΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝῃ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΣ ΑΥΤῶΝ ΕΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ.

5 XLIII. Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστευθέντες παρὰ Θεοῦ ἔργον τοιοῦτο κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους; ὅπου καὶ ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ Μωϋσῆς τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ

7 καθίστανον] καθεστανον A; καθιστᾶν C.

8 τῷ πνεύματι] AC; *spiritu*

*sancto* (or rather *sanctos*, for the word has *ritui*) S.

10 καινῶς] AC; *kenōs* S.

12 οὕτως] AC, but Bryennios tacitly writes οὕτω; see the note on § 56.

μαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἴτα διακονείτωσαν: see below § 44 διαδέχονται ἑτεροὶ δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες.

τῷ πνεύματι] 'by the Spirit', which is the great searcher, 1 Cor. ii. 10.

9. ἐπισκόπους] i.e. πρεσβυτέρους; for Clement thrice mentions ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι in conjunction (as in Phil. i. 1 σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις), and it is impossible that he could have omitted the presbyters, more especially as his one object is to defend their authority which had been assailed (§§ 44, 47, 54). The words ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος therefore are synonymes in Clement, as they are in the Apostolic writers. In Ignatius they first appear as distinct titles. See *Philippians* p. 93 sq, p. 191 sq.

12. Καταστήσω] Loosely quoted from LXX Is. lx. 17 δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. Thus the introduction of the διάκονοι is due to misquotation. Irenæus also (*Haer.* iv. 26. 5) applies the passage to the Christian ministry, but quotes the LXX correctly. The force of the original is rightly given in the A. V., 'I will also make thy officers [magistrates] peace and thine exactors [task-masters] righteous-

ness'; i.e. 'there shall be no tyranny or oppression'. For ἐπίσκοπος, 'a task-master', see *Philippians* p. 93.

XLIII. 'And no marvel, if the Apostles of Christ thus ordained ministers, seeing that there was the precedent of Moses. When the authority of the priests was assailed, he took the rods of the twelve tribes and placed them within the tabernacle, saying that God had chosen the tribe whose rod should bud. On the morrow when the doors were opened, Aaron's rod alone had budded, and the office of the priesthood was vindicated.'

16. πιστευθέντες] 'entrusted with'. The construction πιστεύεσθαι τι is common in S. Paul: Rom. iii. 2, 1 Cor. ix. 17, Gal. ii. 7, 1 Thess. ii. 4, 1 Tim. i. 11, Tit. i. 3.

17. πιστὸς θεράπων κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. iii. 5 Μωϋσῆς μὲν πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ὡς θεράπων, where there is a reference to Num. xii. 7 οὐχ οὕτως ὁ θεράπων μου Μωϋσῆς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μου πιστὸς ἔστω. On θεράπων see above § 4. For the combination of epithets here comp. Justin *Dial.* 56 (p. 274) Μωϋσῆς οὖν ὁ μακάριος καὶ πιστὸς θεράπων Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.



πάντα ἐσημειώσατο ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ᾧ καὶ ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται συνεπιμαρτυροῦντες τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νενομοθετημένοις. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ζήλου ἐμπεσόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ στασιαζουσῶν τῶν φυλῶν ὅποια αὐτῶν εἴη τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι κεκοσμημένη, ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς δώδεκα φυλάρχους προσενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ ῥάβδους ἐπιγεγραμμένας ἐκάστης φυλῆς κατ' ὄνομα· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν τοῖς δακτυλίοις τῶν φυλάρχων, καὶ ἀπέθετο αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ κλείσας τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσφράγισεν τὰς κλεῖδας ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς θύρας· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἡς ἂν φγλῆς ἡ ῥάβδος βλαστήσῃ, ταύτην ἐκκλέλεκται ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν αὐτῷ. *πρωίας*

1 ἐσημειώσατο] ἐσημωσατο A.

5 φυλῶν] AC; add. πασῶν [τοῦ] Ἰσραὴλ S.

8 αὐτὰς] AS; αὐτὸς C.

ἐσφράγισεν.

See I. p. 140.

11 κλείσας] κλίσας A.

15 τὸν] A; om. C.

2 ἐπηκολούθησαν] A; ἡκολούθησαν C.

κεκοσμημένη] κεκοσμημενῶ A.

τοῖς] A; ἐν τοῖς C, a repetition of the last syllable of

12 θύρας] S; ῥάβδους AC.

16 ἐπέδεξάτο] ...δέξατο A;

1. ἐσημειώσατο] 'recorded as a sign': comp. § 11 εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς σημειώσιν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς γίνονται. So in the narrative to which Clement here refers, Num. xvii. 10 ἀπόθες τὴν ῥάβδον Ἀαρὼν...σημείον τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνηκόων.

ἱεραῖς] On this epithet see below, § 53.

2. οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται] Moses appears as the leader of the prophetic band, who prophesied of the Messiah, in Deut. xviii. 15, as emphasized in Acts iii. 21 sq. vii. 13.

3. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] The lesson of this narrative is drawn out also by Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 4. 2, and by Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 21 (II. p. 162).

5. ὄνοματι] i.e. 'dignity, office', sc. τῆς ἱερωσύνης; as § 44 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. On this sense of ὄνομα

see above § 36.

7. ἐκάστης φυλῆς] For the genitive of the thing inscribed after ἐπιγράφειν comp. Plut. *Mor.* 400 E τὸν ἐνταῦθα τουτονὶ θησαυρὸν ἐπιγράφαι τῆς πόλεως. Here however φυλῆς might be governed by κατ' ὄνομα.

8. ἔδωκεν κ.τ.λ.] This incident, with the following ἐσφράγισεν τὰς κλεῖδας ὡσαύτως, is not given in the biblical narrative (Num. xvii). It seems however to be intended by Josephus (l.c.) τῶν τότε (τε?) ἀνδρῶν κατασημνημένων αὐτὰς, οἵπερ ἐκόμιζον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, though his language is obscure. Comp. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 27 κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν.

11. ὡσαύτως καὶ] So also ὁμοίως καὶ Ign. *Ephes.* 16, 19, *Trall.* 13.

18. προεἶλεν] 'took out'. For this

5 δὲ γενομένης συνεκάλεσεν πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, τὰς ἐξακοσίας χιλιάδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐπεδείξατο τοῖς φυλάρχοις τὰς σφραγίδας καὶ ἡνοίξεν τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ προεῖλεν τὰς ῥάβδους· καὶ εὐρέθη ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν οὐ μόνον βεβλαστηκυῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ καρπὸν ἔχουσα. τί δοκεῖτε, ἀγαπητοί; οὐ προήδει Μωϋσῆς τοῦτο μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι; μάλιστα ἦδει· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἀκαταστασία γένηται ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, οὕτως ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ δοξασθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. 5 ἀμήν.

XLIV. Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ

ἐπέδειξε C. 17 τὰς σφραγίδας] AC; om. S. 18 προεῖλεν] προε . . . A; προεῖλε C; *sustulit* S. 20 δοκεῖτε] δοκεται A. 23 εἰς τὸ] A; ὥστε C and so apparently S. The variation is to be explained by the uncial letters, ΕΙCΤΟ, ΩCΤΕ. 24 Θεοῦ] S; def. A; Κυρίου C. S translates as if it had read τοῦ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ. 27 Κυρίου] κΥ CS; χΥ A. ἔρις] ερεισ A. ἔσται] AC; but S seems to have read ἔστιν. ἐπὶ] A; περὶ C, and so app. S.

sense of the active *προαιρεῖν* see Judith xiii. 15 *προελοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκ τῆς πύρας*. Though it occurs comparatively seldom, it is a strictly classical use, *e pœnu promere*; see the commentators on Thucyd. viii. 90. The much commoner form is the middle voice with a different sense, *προαιρεῖσθαι pœferre, eligere*.

20. οὐ προήδει κ.τ.λ.] This passage is loosely quoted or rather abridged and paraphrased by one Joannes. The quotation is given in *Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 293 (see above, I. p. 187).

23. τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Joh. xvii. 3.

XLIV. 'So likewise the Apostles foresaw these feuds. They therefore provided for a succession of tried persons, who should fulfil the office of the ministry. Thus it is no light

sin of which you are guilty in ejecting men so appointed, when they have discharged their duties faithfully. Happy those presbyters who have departed hence, and are in no fear of removal from their proper office.'

26. ἡμῶν] Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 2 *τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς*, where *ὑμῶν* (not *ἡμῶν*) is the correct reading, as quoted by Hilgenfeld; so that it is an exact parallel to Clement's expression. See the note on *τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους* § 5.

27. ἔρις ἔσται κ.τ.λ.] See Tert. *de Bapt.* 17 'episcopatus aemulatio scismatum mater est', quoted by Harnack.

τοῦ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] On ὄνομα see above §§ 36, 43. The ἐπισκοπή here is of course the 'office of presbyter', as in 1 Tim. iii. 1.

ονόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν  
πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προει-

1 οὖν] AC; om. S. 3 μεταξὺ] μετοξὺ A. ἐπιμονὴν] επινομήν] A;  
ἐπιδομήν C. S translates *et in medio (interim) super probatione* (ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ or ἐπὶ  
δοκιμῇ) *dederunt etiam hoc ita ut si homines ex iis* etc. See the lower note.

2. τοὺς προειρημένους] sc. ἐπισκό-  
πους καὶ διακόνους, § 42.

3. μεταξὺ] 'afterwards'; comp.  
Acts xiii. 42 εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον,  
Barnab. § 13 εἶδεν δὲ Ἰακώβ τύπον τῷ  
πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ, Theoph.  
*ad Autol.* i. 8, iii. 21, 23. See also  
the references in Meyer's note to  
Acts I. c.

ἐπιμονὴν δεδώκασιν] 'have given  
permanence to the office': comp.  
Athenag. *de Resurr.* 18 δέεται δὲ δια-  
δοχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονήν.  
For ἐπιμονή (which occurs occasion-  
ally also in classical writers of this  
age) see *Epist. Gall.* § 6 in Euseb.  
v. 1, Tatian *ad Graec.* 32. This read-  
ing was adopted by Bunsen, but he  
wrongly interpreted it 'life-tenure'  
(see *Ignat. von Antioch.* etc. p. 96  
sq, *Hippolytus* I. p. 45 2nd ed); and  
it has consequently found no favour.  
The original author of this emenda-  
tion ἐπιμονήν is mentioned by Ussher  
(*Ignat. Epist.* proleg. p. cxxxvii) who  
quoting the passage adds this note  
in his margin; 'ἐπιμονήν D. Petrus  
Turnerus [Savilian Professor at Ox-  
ford, † 1651] hic legit, ut *continuatio*  
episcopatus ab apostolis stabilita  
significetur; quod Athanasiano illi,  
καὶ βέβαια μένει, bene respondet'.  
Other suggestions, ἐπιλογήν, ἐπιτρο-  
πήν, ἐπισκοπήν, ἐπιστολήν, ἀπονομήν, ἔτι  
νόμον, are either inappropriate or di-  
verge too widely from the authorities.  
It seems impossible to assign any fit  
sense to the reading ἐπινομήν con-  
formably with usage or derivation.  
The word elsewhere has two mean-  
ings only; (1) 'encroachment or rav-  
age', e.g. of the spread of fire (Plut.

*Alex.* 35) or poison (*Ælian H.A.* xii.  
32), (2) 'a bandage' Galen xviii. 1.  
p. 791 (Kuhn) and frequently (see Hase  
in *Steph. Thes.*). It might also consis-  
tently with its derivation have the  
sense 'distribution, assignment', like  
ἐπινέμησις. If it is to be retained, we  
have the choice (1) of assuming a  
secondary meaning 'injunction', de-  
rived from the possible (though un-  
supported) sense 'assignment' (so  
Lipsius p. 19 sq); or (2) of giving to  
ἐπινομή the known meaning of ἐπι-  
νομίς, 'an after enactment', 'a codicil'  
(so Rothe *Anfänge* p. 374 sq; see  
the note on κοιμηθῶσιν). Of these  
alternatives the former is preferable,  
but both are unwarranted. I have  
the less hesitation in making so  
slight a change in the reading of the  
chief MS, because μετοξὺ before and  
ἐδώκασιν after show that the scribe  
of A wrote carelessly at this point.  
Hilgenfeld (ed. 2), not knowing the  
reading of S, conjectured ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ,  
which he explains καὶ μεταξὺ  
(*'jam conditis ecclesiis'*) ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ  
ἔδωκαν (τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς) ὅπως  
(*'hac ratione inducta'*) κ.τ.λ., adding  
'jam ecclesiarum aī ἀπαρχαί spiritu  
probati episcoporum et diaconorum  
munera susceperunt, post eos sola  
probationis ratione episcopi  
constituti sunt'. But notwithstanding  
the coincidence of this conjecture  
with S, I do not think that a reading  
so harsh can possibly stand. The  
word ἐπινομήν is retained by Laurent,  
who explains it 'adsignatio muneris  
episcopalis' (a meaning of ἐπινομή  
which though possible is unsup-  
ported, and which even if allowable



ρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπιμονὴν δεδώκασιν ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες

δεδώκασιν] ἔδωκασιν A; ἔδωκαν C.  
and similarly S inserts *homines ex iis*.

4 κοιμηθῶσιν] A; *τινες κοιμηθῶσιν* C,  
ἀνδρες] AS; om. C.

in itself would be very awkward here); and in their first edition by Gebhardt and Harnack, where it is interpreted 'dispositio, praeceptum' (a meaning which would be adequate indeed, but which the word could not, I think, possibly have). In ed. 2 however Harnack expresses a belief that the word is corrupt and suggests ἐπιβολήν. Hagemann (*Römische Kirche* p. 684) conjectures ἐπινομίμν, 'd. h. wenn diese Form des Accusativs von ἐπινομίς nachgewiesen werden könnte'; and Hort quite independently suggested to me 'ἐπινομίδα, or conceivably but improbably ἐπίνομιμν, as we have both χάριτα and χάριν, νήστιδα and νήστιν, κλείδα and κλείν', and refers to Philo *de Creat. Princ.* 4 (II. p. 363 M.) where Deuteronomy is so called (comp. *Quis rev. div.* 33, 51, I. pp. 495, 509). Donaldson conjectures ἐπίδομα 'an addition' (*Theol. Rev.* Jan. 1877, p. 45), and Lipsius ἐπιταγήν (*Jen. Lit.* 13 Jan. 1877).

The Latin quotation of Joannes Diaconus (I. p. 187) contains the words 'hanc formam tenentes apostoli etc.', and Card. Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 293) considers that 'forma' here represents ἐπινομή (so too even Ewald *Gesch.* VII. p. 269), congratulating himself that the sense of ἐπινομή is thus decided. A late Latin paraphrase would be worthless as an authority, even if this view of its meaning were correct. But a comparison of the order of the Latin with the original of Clement shows that the words mean 'the Apostles following this precedent set by Moses', and that 'forma' therefore has nothing to do with ἐπινομή.

For ἔδωκασιν it is a question whether we should read δεδώκασιν or ἔδωκαν. The former involves a less change, and the transition from the aorist (κατέστησαν) to the perfect (δεδώκασιν) may be explained by the fact that the consequences of this second act are permanent.

4. κοιμηθῶσιν] sc. οἱ προειρημένοι, i. e. the first generation of presbyters appointed by the Apostles themselves; and αὐτῶν too will refer to these same persons. Rothe (l.c.) refers both to the Apostles themselves. He assumes Clement to be here describing the establishment of episcopacy properly so called, and supposes ἐπινομή, which he translates 'after-enactment', to refer to a second Apostolic Council convened for this purpose. I have discussed this theory at length elsewhere (*Philippians* p. 199 sq). Of his interpretation of this particular passage it is enough to say that it interrupts the context with irrelevant matter. The Apostles, says Clement, first appointed approved persons to the ministry (καθίστανον δοκιμάσαντες § 42), and afterwards (μεταξὺ) provided for a succession so that vacancies by death should be filled by other approved men (ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες). The presbyters at Corinth, who had been rudely ejected from office, belonged to these two classes: some were appointed directly by the Apostles (κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων); others belonged to the second generation, having been appointed by the persons thus immediately connected with the Apostles (κατασταθέντας ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν).

τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξύ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν

2 μεταξύ] μετοξὺ Α. ἀνδρῶν] AC; add. ἐκλελεγμένους S.  
γήσαντας] λειτουργήσαντας Α. 5 ἀβαναύσως] ἀβανάσως C.  
μένους] μεμαρτυρημενοῖς Α. τε] AC; om. S. 6 τούτους] AC; add.

3 λειτουργήσαντας] λειτουργήσαντας Α.  
5 ἀβαναύσως] ἀβανάσως C.  
6 τούτους] AC; add.

1. τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας κ.τ.λ.] This notice assists to determine the chronology of the epistle. Some of those appointed by the Apostles had died (οἱ προοδιπορήσαντες), but others were still living (οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων). See the introduction, I. p. 349. Here again μεταξύ means 'afterwards', as above.

2. συνευδοκησάσης κ.τ.λ.] Wotton quotes Cyprian's expression 'plebis suffragium' referring to the appointment of Church officers, *Epist.* lv (p. 243), lxviii (p. 292). Add also the more important passage *Epist.* lxvii (p. 288), where the part of the laity in such appointments is described. See also the account of the appointment of Polycarp to the episcopate in the spurious Pionius, *Vit. Polyc.* 23.

4. τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] The phrase occurs again §§ 54, 57 (comp. § 16). See also Acts xx. 28, 29, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

5. ἀβαναύσως] 'unassumingly'. The adjective occurs *Apost. Const.* ii. 3 ἔστω δὲ εὐσπλαγχνος, ἀβαναστος, ἀγαπητικός, where again it refers to the qualifications for the ministry. See below § 49 οὐδὲν βάνασον ἐν ἀγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον, *Clem. Alex. Paed.* iii. 6 (p. 273) μεταδοτέον φιλανθρώπως, οὐ βαναύσως οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικῶς, *Job* xli. 26 (*Theod.*) νιοὶ βαναυσίας (*Heb.* יָצָו 'pride, arrogance'). In

*Arist. Eth. Nic.* ii. 7, iv. 2, βαναυσία is the excess of μεγαλοπρέπεια 'lavish profusion', the result of *vulgarity*. Somewhat similar is the sense which the word has here and in the passages quoted, 'vulgar self-assertion'.

8. ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως] So 1 Thess. ii. 10.

προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα] What does Clement mean by *sacrifices*, by *gifts* (δῶρα) and *offerings* (προσφοράς)? In what sense are the presbyters said to have presented or offered the gifts? The answers to these questions must be sought in the parallel passages; § 18 θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον, §§ 35, 36 θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁδὸς ἣ δειξῶ αὐτῷ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ· αὕτη ἡ ὁδός, ἀγαπητοί, ἐν ἣ εὐρομεν τὸ σωτήριο ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν, § 41 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὀρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, § 52 θύσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ὑπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου κ.τ.λ. These passages are illustrated by *Heb.* xiii. 15, 16, δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν (i.e. διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ, vv. 11, 12) ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ πάντας τῷ Θεῷ, τουτέστιν, καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τῆς



ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. ἁμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, εἰὰ τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν. μακάριοι  
 10 οἱ προοδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι, οἵτινες ἔγκαρπον καὶ τελείαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐλαβούνται

οὖν S. 7 ἀποβάλλεσθαι] C; ἀποβαλεσθαι A. It is rendered by an active verb in S. See the lower note. λειτουργίας] λειτουργίᾳ S. 8 ἔσται] AS; ἐστίν C. 9 μακάριοι] AC; add. γὰρ S.

δὲ εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, τοιαύταις γὰρ θυσίαις εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ Θεός, to which epistle Clement is largely indebted elsewhere. The sacrifices, offerings, and gifts therefore are the prayers and thanksgivings, the alms, the eucharistic elements, the contributions to the agape, and so forth. See esp. *Const. Apost.* ii. 25 αἱ τότε θυσίαι νῦν εὐχαὶ καὶ δεήσεις καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, αἱ τότε ἀπαρχαὶ καὶ δεκάται καὶ ἀφαιρέματα καὶ δῶρα νῦν προσφοραὶ αἱ διὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπισκόπων προσφερόμεναι Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ., § 27 προσήκει οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, θυσίας ὑμῶν ἡτοι προσφοράς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσφέρειν ὡς ἀρχιερεῖ κ.τ.λ., § 34 τοὺς καρποὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν εἰς εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν προσφέροντες αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ)...τὰ δῶρα ὑμῶν διδόντες αὐτῷ ὡς ἱερεῖ Θεοῦ, § 35 μηκέτι ἑάσας ὑμᾶς (ὁ Θεός) θύειν ἄλογα ζῶα...οὐ δῆπον καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ὑμᾶς ἡλευθέρωσεν ὧν ὀφείλετε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους εὐποιῶν κ.τ.λ., § 53 δῶρον δέ ἐστι Θεῷ ἑκάστου προσερχή καὶ εὐχαριστία. These passages show in what sense the presbyters might be said to 'offer the gifts'. They led the prayers and thanksgivings of the congregation, they presented the alms and contributions to God and asked His blessing on them in the name of the whole body. Hence Clement is careful to insist (§ 40) that these offerings should be made at the right

time and in the right place and through the right persons. The first day of the week had been fixed by Apostolic authority not only for common prayer and breaking of bread (Acts xx. 7) but also for collecting alms (1 Cor. xvi. 2); and the presbyters, as the officers appointed by the same authority, were the proper persons to receive and dispense the contributions. On the whole subject see Höfling *die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer etc.* p. 8 sq (Erlangen 1851).

10. ἔγκαρπον κ.τ.λ.] The same combination of epithets occurs again § 56 ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἔγκαρπος καὶ τελεία ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.

11. 'τελείαν] i.e. 'in mature, ripe age', so that it has borne fruit (ἔγκαρπον). Comp. the compound τελειοκαρπεῖν which occurs several times in Theophrastus (e.g. *Hist. Pl.* i. 13. 4, *Caus. Pl.* iii. 6. 9). The work of these presbyters had not, like those Corinthian elders whose cause Clement pleads, been rudely interfered with and prematurely ended.

τὴν ἀνάλυσιν] 'their departure'; comp. Phil. i. 23, 2 Tim. iv. 6. The metaphor seems to be taken from the breaking up of an encampment (see *Philippians* l.c.), so that it is well suited to προοδοιπορήσαντες.

οὐκ εὐλαβούνται μὴ] 'they have no fear lest': comp. 1 Macc. iii. 30, xii. 40 (v. l.). In Acts xxiii. 10 εὐλαβηθεὶς is a false reading.



μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς †τετιμημένης† λειτουργίας.

XLV. Φιλόνοικοι ἔστε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ζηλωταὶ περὶ 5 τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. ἐνκεκύφατε εἰς τὰς γραφάς, τὰς ἀληθεῖς, τὰς [διὰ] τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ

2 μετηγάγετε] μεταγαγετε A.

ἀμέμπτως] AC; om. S, perhaps from a feeling that it was not appropriate with τετιμημένης.

4 λειτουργίας] λειτουργίαις A.

3 πολιτευομένους] AS; πολιτευσαμένους C.

ἔστε] εἰσιν A.

6 τῶν ἀνηκόντων] C (as I had conjectured); ...ἀνηκόντων A.

S inserts a negative. See the lower note.

ἐνκεκύφατε] εν.....τε A; ἐγκεκύφατε

C; εἰ ἐγκεκύφατε S.

τὰς γραφάς] A; τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς CS. This is probably

taken from § 53 ἐπίστασθε τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς...καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε κ.τ.λ.

7 τὰς διὰ

τοῦ] CS; def. A: see the lower note. No better way of filling the lacuna in A

2. τόπον] On the *place* of the departed see the note on § 5. There is here also an allusion to the other sense, 'office'; see § 40 (with the note).

3. †τετιμημένης†] 'respected by them'. So all the authorities. But I am disposed to read *τετρημένης*: comp. 1 Thess. v. 23 ἀμέμπτως...τρηθείη. My emendation was accepted by Gebhardt (ed. 1), and indeed it seems to be required notwithstanding the coincidence of our existing authorities. In their second edition however Gebhardt and Harnack return to *τετιμημένης*, explaining it 'officio quo inculpabiliter ac legitime honorati erant', and supposing that *τιμᾶν τινί τι* can mean 'aliquid alicui tamquam honorem tribuere'. But the passages quoted by them, which seem to favour this meaning, Pind. *Ol.* [l. *Pyth.*] iv. 270 Παῖδ' ἄν τέ σοι τιμᾶ φάος, Soph. *Ant.* 514 ἐκείνῳ δυσσεβῇ τιμᾶς χάριν [comp. also *Aj.* 675], are highly poetical. Moreover even in these the expression must be referred to the original meaning of *τιμᾶν*, 'to respect (and so 'to scrupulously ob-

serve') a thing for a person' (comp. e.g. Eur. *Orest.* 828 πατρὶ' ἄν τιμᾶν χάριν with Soph. *Ant.* l.c.); and thus they afford no countenance for a passive use *τιμᾶσθαι τινι* 'to be bestowed as an honour on a person'. The instances of the passive, which are quoted in their note, all make against this interpretation; e.g. Euseb. *H. E.* X. 4 γεραρᾶ φρονήσει παρὰ Θεοῦ τετιμῆμεν, *Const. A.p.* ii. 26 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος...Θεοῦ ἀξία τετιμημένος. If *τετιμημένης* can stand at all here, it must mean 'respected', i.e. 'duly discharged'. Hilgenfeld (ed. 2) speaks favourably of *τετρημένης*.

XLV. 'Your zeal is misplaced, my brethren. Search the Scriptures. You will indeed find that God's servants have been persecuted, but their persecutors are always the impious and unholy. Did pious men shut up Daniel in the lions' den? Or cast the three children into the fire? This was the deed of the wicked who knew not that God mightily shields His faithful people. And so He has crowned the sufferers with everlasting renown and honour.'

ἀγίου· ἐπίστασθε ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον οὐδὲ παραπεποιη-  
 μένον γέγραπται ἐν αὐταῖς. οὐχ εὐρήσετε δικαίους  
 10 ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν· ἐδιώχθησαν δί-  
 καιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων· ἐφυλακίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ  
 ἀνοσίων· ἐλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρανόμων· ἀπεκτάνθησαν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν μιαρὸν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον ἀνελιηφότων. ταῦτα

occurred to me in my first edition than τὰς τοῦ. I saw that the *ρήσεις* of all previous editors could not stand, as the usual expression is either πνεύματος ἁγίου or τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. 8 ἐπίστασθε] επιτασθαι A. 9 γέγραπται] A; γέγραπτο C. εὐρήσετε] C; ...υρησεται A; *invenitis* (a present) S. 12 ὑπὸ παρανόμων] C; υποπα...νομων A; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ παρανόμων S: see I. p. 142. 13 ὑπὸ τῶν] A; ἀπὸ τῶν C; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ (or ἀπὸ) τῶν S. See the last note. μιαρὸν] C (as I had conjectured, ed. 1); μιαρῶν AS. ἄδικον] AC; ἀδικων S: see I. p. 143. ταῦτα] AC; καὶ ταῦτα S.

5. Φιλόνοι· ἐστε κ.τ.λ.] By reading τῶν ἀνηκόντων, instead of μὴ ἀνηκόντων (by which previous editors supplied the lacuna of A), I changed ἐστε from an indicative to an imperative; 'Contend zealously, if you will, but let your zeal be directed to things pertaining to salvation'; comp. Gal. iv. 17, 18, 1 Pet. iii. 13. There is a Θεοῦ ζῆλος, and in some sense also a Θεοῦ φιλονεικία. My conjecture was approved by Tischendorf and accepted by Gebhardt, and is now confirmed by C. S translates ἐστε as an indicative, and is obliged in consequence to insert a negative with ἀνηκόντων, thus falling into the same trap as the editors. Compare Barnab. § 17 ἐλπίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. For ἀνήκειν εἰς see also Ign. Philad. I, Smyrn. 8, Polyc. Phil. 13. For τὰ ἀνηκοντα with a dative see §§ 35, 62.

6. ἐνεκύνφατε] See the note above § 40.

7. τὰς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος] The emendation τὰς τοῦ πνεύματος, which I proposed somewhat hesitatingly, was adopted by Gebhardt in place of the *ρήσεις* πνεύματος of previous edi-

tors. It is confirmed to a greater extent than I could have hoped by CS, which have τὰς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. It is difficult however to see how there was room for so many letters in the lacuna of A; for the space left for τασδιατου is at most half a letter more than is taken up in the next line by σιουδ, i.e. six letters. Since the lacunæ here are at the beginnings, not (as commonly) at the ends of the lines, there can be no uncertainty about the spaces. I have therefore placed διὰ in brackets.

8. παραπεποιημένον] 'counterfeit, spurious'. For the metaphor see Basil. (?) in Esai. i. 22 (I. p. 416 E) μήπου κίβδηλος ἢ δραχμή, τουτέστι, μήπου δόγμα παραπεποιημένον, with the whole context in which the metaphor is developed. So παραποιεῖν Justin Dial. 69, 115, παραποίησις Iren. i. 9. 2.

11. ἐφυλακίσθησαν] Many editors read ἐνεφυλακίσθησαν, but this is open to objection, for there seems to be no authority for a verb ἐμφυλακίζω; and indeed such a compound is hardly possible, for φυλακίζω is derived not from φυλακή but from φύλαξ.

13. μιαρὸν] The emendation (μιαρὸν for μιαρων) which I made in my first



πάσχοντες εὐκλεῶς ἤνεγκαν. τί γὰρ εἶπωμεν, ἀδελφοί; Δανιὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν Θεὸν ἐβλήθη εἰς λάκκον λεόντων; ἢ Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν θρησκευόντων τὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ ἔνδοξον θρησκείαν τοῦ ὑψίστου κατείρχθησαν εἰς κάμινον πυρός; 5 μηθαμῶς τοῦτο γένοιτο. τίνες οὖν οἱ ταῦτα δράσαντες; οἱ στυγητοὶ καὶ πάσης κακίας πλήρεις εἰς τοσοῦτο ἐξήρισαν θυμοῦ ὥστε τοὺς ἐν ὁσία καὶ ἀμώμῳ προθέσει δουλεύοντας τῷ Θεῷ εἰς αἰκίαν †περιβαλεῖν†, μὴ εἰδότες

1 εὐκλεῶς] ευκλαιωσ A. εἶπωμεν] ειπομεν A; ειπομεν C; dicam (εἶπω) S.  
5 τοῦ ὑψίστου] AC. The present text of S has כְּרִימָה τοῦ Κυρίου, but this is doubtless a corruption of כְּרִימָה τοῦ ὑψίστου. κατείρχθησαν] A; καθείρχθησαν C.  
7 στυγητοὶ] CS; στυητοι A. eis] AS; om. C (owing to the last syllable of the preceding word -eis). 9 περιβαλεῖν] AC; jacent] S.

edition is now confirmed by C. For the confusion of ο and ω in A compare *ειπομεν* just below, and see above, i. p. 120. Here the immediate neighbourhood of τῶν would suggest the change to a transcriber. Compare § 1 μιᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίου στάσεως, § 3 ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνελιφθῆτας.

5. θρησκείαν] The word is here used in its correct sense (see Trench *N. T. Syn.* 1st ser. § xlviii); for the incident turns on an act of *external worship*.

6. μηθαμῶς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'Let us not entertain the thought, let us not so pervert facts'.

8. ἐξήρισαν] '*persisted in strife*'. So Plut. *Pomp.* § 56 οὐκ ἐξερίσσας ἄλλ' οἷον ἡττηθεῖς, Appian. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 151 φιλονεικότεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐξερίζουσιν ὄντες. So too ἐξεριστής Eur. *Suppl.* 894, ἐξεριστικός Diog. Laert. x. 143. For the whole expression comp. § 1 εἰς τόσον οὐκ ἀπονοίας ἐξέκασαν. Hilgenfeld reads ἐξηρέθισαν, but this, besides being unsupported and unnecessary, would give a wrong meaning, for ἐρεθίζω, ἐξερεθίζω, are transitive.

9. περιβαλεῖν] '*to drive round*'.

If the reading be correct, the idea of the preposition (as in *περιπίπτειν*) must be 'sudden and complete change'. But I cannot find any parallel; for in Eur. *Hel.* 312 φόβος γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεῖμα περιβαλὼν μ' ἄγει the meaning of the word is wholly different. Elsewhere (see Schweighäuser *Lex. Polyb.* s.v. περιβάλλεσθαι) περιβάλλειν has been substituted for παραβάλλειν, and this may possibly have been the case here. So Heb. xiii. 9 περιφέρεσθε and παραφέρεσθε are confused. Comp. § 55 παρέβαλεν. Our Greek MSS however are agreed in reading περιβαλεῖν here.

10. ὑπέρμαχος κ.τ.λ.] Ὑπέρμαχος is said of God, 2 Macc. xiv. 34 (comp. Wisd. x. 20): ὑπερασπιστής is frequently so applied (especially in connexion with βοηθός), Ps. xviii. 2, xxviii. 7, 8, xxxiii. 20, cxiv. 17, 18, 19, etc.; comp. § 56 πόσος ὑπερασπισμὸς ἐστίν.

11. ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει] The same expression occurs 1 Tim. iii. 9, 2 Tim. i. 3; comp. Ign. *Trall.* 7.

παναρέτω] See the note on § 1.

14. ἔγγραφαι] '*recorded, notable, famous*'. The word occurs also in a



10 ὅτι ὁ ὑψιστος ὑπέρμαχος καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴς ἐστὶν τῶν  
 ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει λατρευόντων τῷ παναρέτῳ ὀνό-  
 ματι αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.  
 ἀμήν. οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες ἐν πεποιθήσει δόξαν καὶ  
 τιμὴν ἐκληρονόμησαν, ἐπήρθησάν τε καὶ ἔγγραφοι ἐγέ-  
 15 νοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μνημοσύνῳ αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς  
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

XLVI. Τοιούτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασιν κολληθῆναι καὶ  
 ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἀδελφοί. γέγραπται γάρ· Κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις,

12 τῶν αἰώνων] S; τῶναι.... A; om. C. See above, § 32.

14 ἔγγραφοι]

C (as conjectured by Laurent p. 424); επαφοι A. For ἔγγραφοι ἐγένοντο S has  
*scripti sunt*.

15 αὐτῶν] A; αὐτοῦ CS.

16 ἀμήν] AC; om. S.

17 οὖν] AC; om. S.

18 Κολλᾶσθε] κολλασθαι A.

fragment ascribed to our Clement in Joann. Dāmasc. *Eclog.* i. 49 (II. p. 752 ed. Lequien) ὅθεν ἔγγραφον περὶ αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ Ἀβραάμ) ἱστορίαν γενέσθαι φικονόμησεν; but see especially Herm. *Sim.* v. 3 ἔσται ἡ θυσία σου δεκτὴ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἔγγραφος ἔσται ἡ νηστεία αὐτῆ (comp. *Vis.* i. 3 ἐνγραφῆσονται εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς), *Apost. Can.* § 19 ὁ γὰρ ἐμπληθὼν ὅτα μὴ νοοῦντος ἔγγραφος λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, § 29 ὁ γὰρ θησαυρίζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔγγραφος ἐργάτης λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ (Lagarde's *Rel. Jur. Eccles.* pp. 78, 79, see Hilgenfeld *Nov. Test. extr. Can.* IV. pp. 102, 104; this writing elsewhere bears traces of the influence of Clement's epistle, e.g. in § 23 which reproduces the language of Clem. § 40). It is however unnecessary to substitute ὑπὸ for ἀπὸ with Hilgenfeld; e.g. in this very chapter we have ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν: see also 1 Cor. i. 30, James i. 13, with the examples in Winer § xlvii. p. 389. The phrase τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ, or αὐτῶν, is common in the LXX. It might be a question here whether we should read αὐτοῦ or αὐτῶν, but § 26 τὸ μνη-

μόσυνον αὐτῶν (and indeed the general use of the genitive with *μνημόσυνον* in the LXX of the persons whose memorial is preserved) points distinctly to αὐτῶν.

XLVI. 'Copy these bright examples. Cleave to the righteous, to the elect of God. To what end are these strifes and divisions? Have you forgotten that, as there is one God, one Christ, one Spirit, so also there is one body? Would you rend asunder its limbs? Remember how the Lord denounces the man through whom the offences shall come. Already have your feuds been a scandal to many, and yet they continue.'

18. Κολλᾶσθε κ.τ.λ.] This quotation is nowhere found in the Old Testament. The nearest approach is Ecclus. vi. 34 τίς σοφός; αὐτῷ προσκολλήθητι. Similar words however occur in Hermas *Vis.* iii. 6 μηδὲ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Sim.* viii. 8 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι καὶ μὴ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Sim.* ix. 20 οὐ κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ. It is perhaps another of those apocryphal quotations to which Photius alludes (see the notes on §§ 8, 13, 17,

ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιάσθονται. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει· Μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθώου ἀθῶος ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις. κολληθῶμεν οὖν τοῖς ἀθώοις καὶ δικαίοις· εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. "ἵνα τί ἔρεις καὶ 5 θυμοὶ καὶ διχοστασίαι καὶ σχίσματα πόλεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν; ἢ οὐχὶ ἓνα Θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἓν

6 πόλεμός τε] AC; S has the plural (as determined by *ribui*) πόλεμοι τε and adds *et contentiones* ΝΠΙΥΩΙ, which probably represents καὶ μάχαι, since the same word elsewhere stands for μάχαι (e.g. James iv. 1, Pesh., Hcl.; 2 Tim. ii. 23,

23, 29); or possibly Clement is giving from memory the sense of some canonical text or texts. This passage is imitated by Clem. Alex. *Sírom.* v. 8 (p. 677) γέγραπται δέ, Μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθώου ἀθῶος ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις· κολλᾶσθαι οὖν τοῖς ἀγίοις προσήκει ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιάσθονται, where the change of form suggests that the Alexandrian Clement did not recognise the source of the quotation in his Roman namesake. Part of this passage is loosely quoted also by Nicon thus: κολληθῶμεν οὖν τοῖς ἀθώοις καὶ δικαίοις· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· γέγραπται γάρ· Κολλᾶσθαι (κολλᾶσθε) τοῖς ἀγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιάσθονται (see above § 14).

2. Μετὰ ἀνδρὸς κ.τ.λ.] An accurate quotation from Ps. xviii. 25, 26: but the application of the passage by S. Clement to the influence of good or bad companionship is wholly wrong. The 'Thou' of the Psalmist is God Himself, and the passage teaches that He deals with men according to their characters.

5. ἔρεις κ.τ.λ.] The words are arranged in an ascending scale; see the notes on *Galatians* v. 20, 21. Θυμοὶ are 'outbursts of wrath,' as in l.c. Διχοστασία is weaker than σχίσμα, as

it is stronger than στάσις § 51: as στάσις develops into διχοστασία, so διχοστασία widens into σχίσμα.

6. πόλεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν] comp. James iv. 1.

7. οὐχὶ ἓνα Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 4 sq ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν πνεύμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν· εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεός...ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κ.τ.λ.; comp. 1 Cor. viii. 6, xii. 12 sq. See also *Hermas Sínt.* ix. 13 ἔσονται εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα, εἰς ἐν σώμα...καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν πνεῦμα καὶ ἐν σώμα, ix. 18 ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν σώμα, μία φρόνησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία πίστις, μία ἀγάπη, *Ign. Magn.* 7.

This mention of Θεός, Χριστός, πνεῦμα, has a parallel in the reference to the Trinity quoted by S. Basil (*de Spir. Sanct.* xxix, III. p. 16) as from our Clement, but not found in our MS and probably belonging to the lacuna from § 58, ζῇ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ζῇ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Owing to this parallel, I have taken ἐν πνεῦμα as an accusative and connected it with the preceding words, rather than as a nominative, in which case it would be attached to the following clause, καὶ μία κλήσις ἐν Χριστῷ; but the construction is doubtful. The construction and punctuation has



πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ; ἵνα τί διέλκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ  
 10 μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἐρχόμεθα ὥστε ἐπι-  
 λαθέσθαι ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων; μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν· εἶπεν γάρ· Οὐαὶ

Tit. iii. 9, Hcl.). The connecting particles in the Greek are favourable to such an addition; but it is suspicious, as being perhaps borrowed from James iv. 1. 9 διέλκομεν] AS; διέλκωμεν C. 13 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν] A; τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ CS.

been confirmed by the Syriac, since I first proposed it.

12. μεληέσμεν] Rom. xii. 5 οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ, τὸ δὲ καθ' εἰς ἀλλήλων μέλη.

13. Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] Two different sayings of our Lord are here combined. The first is recorded in Matt. xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος; and more briefly in Luke xxii. 22, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται. The second runs in Matt. xviii. 6, 7, ὅς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, συμφέρεῖ αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης... οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται: in Mark ix. 42, ὅς ἂν σκ. εἰ. τ. μ. τ. τ. π. εἰς ἐμέ, καλὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περικείται μ. ὄν. π. τ. τ. ρ. αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν: in Luke xvii. 1, 2, ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἔλθειν, πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται· λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περικείται π. τ. τ. ρ. αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἓνα. Hermas Vis. iv. 2 has οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν· αἰρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι: and in Clem. Hom. xii. 29 a saying of our Lord is quoted,

τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται· ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται. S. Clement here may be quoting from our canonical gospels (confusing them together), or from oral tradition, or possibly (though this seems the least probable supposition) from some written account no longer extant, e.g. the Gospel of the Hebrews. The first solution presents no difficulties; for the insertion of ἢ ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι is not a more violent change than is found in many of his Old Testament quotations; e.g. the perversion of Is. lx. 17 at the end of § 42. See also the fusion of different passages in §§ 18, 26, 29, 32, 35, 39, 50, 52, 53. The quotation of Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 18 (p. 561) is not an independent authority, for it is evidently taken from the Roman Clement.

I have no doubt that the Syriac has preserved the right reading; and this for three reasons. (1) This reading is farther from the language of the canonical Gospels and therefore more likely to have been changed; (2) Clement of Alexandria, Strom. iii. 18 (p. 561), so read the passage in the Roman Clement; (3) The word διαστρέφαι explains the sequel τὸ σχίσμα ὑμῶν πολλοὺς διέστρεψεν ('perverted not one, but many'), it being



τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη, ἢ  
 ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ  
 περιτεθῆναι μύλον καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,  
 ἢ ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι. τὸ σχίσμα ὑμῶν  
 πολλοὺς διέστρεψεν, πολλοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἔβαλεν, πολ- 5  
 λους εἰς δισταγμόν, τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς λύπην· καὶ  
 ἐπίμονος ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ στάσις.

1 οὐκ] A; μὴ C.  
 μου σκανδαλίσαι AC. See the lower note.  
 πάντας S. ἡμᾶς] AS; ὑμᾶς C.

4 τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι] S Clem; τῶν μικρῶν

6 τοὺς πάντας] AC; τοὺς δὲ

11 αὐτοῦ τε... Ἀπολλῶ] A; ἐαυτοῦ καὶ

after Clement's manner to take up and comment on a leading word in his quotations; e.g. § 14 ἀνθρώπῳ εἰρηνικῶ followed by § 15 κολληθῶμεν τοῖς μετ' εὐσεβείας εἰρηνέουσιν, § 27 ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται followed by § 28 πάντων οὖν βλέπομένων καὶ ἀκουομένων, § 29 ἐγενήθη μερὶς Κυρίου... ἄγια ἄγιων followed by § 30 Ἀγίου οὖν μερίς, § 30 Θεοῦ... ἀδελφῶν χάριν followed by οἷς ἡ χάρις ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δέδοται, § 34 ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν followed by § 35 τίνα οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἐτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν; § 35 ὁ δὲ ἡ δειξὺ αὐτῷ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ followed by § 36 αὕτη ἡ ὁδός... ἐν ᾗ εὐρομεν τὸ σωτήριον ἡμῶν, § 36 εὖς ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ. followed by τίνες οὖν οἱ ἐχθροί, § 46 (just above) μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθώου ἀθώος ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἔσῃ followed by κολληθῶμεν οὖν τοῖς ἀθώοις... εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, § 48 ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης κ.τ.λ. followed by πολλῶν οὖν πυλῶν ἀνεφγνιῶν ἡ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ αὕτη ἐστίν, § 50 ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι κ.τ.λ. followed by § 51 ὅσα οὖν παρεπέσαμεν... ἀξιῶμεν ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν, § 57 κατασκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πεποιθώς followed by §

58 ἵνα κατασκηνώσωμεν πεποιθότες κ.τ.λ. I have collected these examples, because this characteristic determines the readings in three passages of interest (here and §§ 35, 57; comp. also § 51), where there are variations.

6. δισταγμόν] The word is rare, but occurs in *Hermas Sim.* ix. 28, *Plut. Mor.* 214 F.

XLVII. 'Read the epistle which Paul the Apostle wrote to you long ago. See how he condemns strife and party spirit in you. Yet then you had this excuse, that you chose as leaders Apostles and Apostolic men. Now even this palliation of your offence is wanting. It is sad indeed that two or three ringleaders should sully the fair fame of the Corinthian Church and bring dishonour on the name of Christ.'

8. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν] It must not be inferred from this expression that Clement was unacquainted with the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians; for exactly in the same way Irenæus (i. 8. 2) writes ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους (where the present Latin text specifies 'in prima ad Corinthios epistola'), and again (iv. 27. 3) 'in epistola quae est ad Corinthios', and (iv. 27. 4) quotes 2 Thessalonians as 'ea quae est ad Thessalonicenses epistola'. So also

XLVII. Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσαι ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι· ἀλλ' ἡ

ἀπολλῶ καὶ κηφᾶ, C, thus conforming the order to 1 Cor. i. 12 (comp. iv. 6). S has the same order as A, but omits τε in both places. It also repeats the preposition before each word, but no stress can be laid on this (see above, I. p. 137). 12 προσκλίσαι] A; divisiones S; προσκλήσεις C. For this itacism see above § 21.

Orig. c. Cels. i. 63 ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον φησι, iii. 20 τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς, Method. Symf. iii. 14 (p. 22 Jahn) λαβέτω δὲ μετὰ χειρὸς ὁ βουλόμενος τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴν, Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* iii. 36 (p. 131 Blondel) καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους δὲ ἐπιστολῇ λέγει Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω κ.τ.λ., Hieron. *Epist.* lii. 9 (I. p. 264) 'lege Pauli epistolam ad Corinthios, quomodo diversa membra unum corpus efficiunt', Anast. Sin. *Hodeg.* 12 (p. 97) ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους, and Chrysostom in his preface to the Colossians (XI. p. 322 B, ed. Bened.) refers to 2 Timothy as ἡ πρὸς Τιμόθεον (ἐπιστολή). Where the context clearly shows which epistle is meant, no specification is needed. On the other hand I have not observed any distinct traces of the influence of 2 Corinthians on Clement's language or thoughts.

μακαρίον] Polyc. *Phil.* § 3 τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, *ib.* § 11 'beatus Paulus.' This passage of Clement is perhaps the earliest instance of the specially Christian sense of μακάριος: comp. Rev. xiv. 13 μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι. In § 43 he applies the epithet to Moses; in § 55 to Judith. The word continues to be used occasionally of the living, e.g. Alex. Hieros. in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11 διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυ-

τέρου, and even in later writers.

9. πρῶτον] 'first and foremost', referring to the position and prominence assigned to this topic in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It does not seem to be quite correct to explain the word with different commentators either (1) Of time purely, in which case it adds nothing to ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; or (2) of quality purely, as if it signified the primary value and excellence of the injunction.

ἐν ἀρχῇ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'in the first days of the Gospel, soon after your conversion.' The expression occurs in S. Paul himself, Phil. iv. 15. See also the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 11 'in principio'. It is quite impossible that ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου can mean (as Young, Cotelier, and others suppose), 'the beginning of his epistle' as containing his evangelical teaching (Iren. iv. 34. 1 'legite diligentius id quod ab apostolis est evangelium nobis datum').

11. περὶ αὐτοῦ τε κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. i. 10 sq. The party whose watchword was ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ is passed over in silence by Clement, because the mention of them would only have complicated his argument. Moreover it is not probable that their exact theological position was known to him or his contemporaries.

12. προσκλίσαι] See above on § 21.



πρόσκλησις ἐκείνη ἦττον ἀμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν·  
προσεκλήθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις καὶ  
ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς. νυνὶ δὲ κατανοήσατε  
τίνες ὑμᾶς διέστρεψαν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς περιβοήτου  
φιλαδελφίας ὑμῶν ἐμείωσαν. αἰσχροῦ, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ 5  
λίαν αἰσχροῦ, καὶ ἀνάξια τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγωγῆς,  
ἀκούεσθαι τὴν βεβαιωτάτην καὶ ἀρχαίαν Κορινθίων ἐκ-  
κλησίαν δι' ἐν ἣ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς  
πρεσβυτέρους. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοὴ οἱ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώ-

1 πρόσκλησις] πρόσκλησις C; προσκλησεις A. ἦττον] A; ἦττονα C, and  
so apparently S. προσήνεγκεν] A; ἐπήνεγκε C, and so apparently S.  
2 προσεκλήθητε] A; προσεκλήθητε C. μεμαρτυρημένοις] AS; δεδοκιμασμένοις  
C, which reads conversely μεμαρτυρημένῳ for δεδοκιμασμένῳ in the next line.  
3 παρ' αὐτοῖς] AS; παρ' αὐτῶν C. 4 περιβοήτου] AC; om. S translating  
βεβαιωτάτην, as if βεβαιώτητα. 5 ἐμείωσαν] ἐμύωσαν A. αἰσχροῦ, ἀγαπητοί]  
AC; om. S. 6 Χριστῷ] AC; add. ἰησοῦ S. ἀγωγῆς] AS; ἀγάπης C.

2. μεμαρτυρημένοις] 'attested, famous': see the note on § 17. So Ign. *Eph.* 12 Παύλου... τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου.

3. ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ] Apollos therefore is not regarded as an Apostle; see *Galatians* pp. 96, 98.

4. τὸ σεμνὸν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. § 1 ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγέπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι.

5. αἰσχροῦ καὶ λίαν αἰσχροῦ] Comp. § 53 ἐπίστασθε καὶ καλῶς ἐπίστασθε. See also Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 17 καλὰ καὶ καλὰ λίαν, Hippol. p. 36 (Lagarde) πάντα μὲν καλὰ καὶ καλὰ λίαν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Clem. Recogn.* iii. 25 'Ignoras, O Simon, et valde ignoras', and perhaps *Hermas Mand.* viii. οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα πονηρὰ εἶναι καὶ λίαν πονηρὰ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ; (if this be the right punctuation). The very words αἰσχροῦ καὶ λίαν αἰσχροῦ occur in Maximus (?) on Jude 7 in *Cramer's Calena* p. 157.

6. ἀγωγῆς] 'education', 'training', as below § 48. The word is used

commonly of any systematic disciplinary or scholastic training.

7. ἀκούεσθαι] i.e. 'It is a disgraceful state of things, that *it should be reported*,' the word ἀκούεσθαι being dependent on αἰσχροῦ... καὶ ἀνάξια. I mention this, because the construction is generally mistaken; some editors wanting to understand δεῖ and others substituting ἀκούεται for ἀκούεσθαι. For the plural αἰσχροῦ κ.τ.λ. see Jelf's *Gramm.* § 383.

ἀρχαίαν] This epithet seems not to be consistent with the very early date which some critics would assign to Clement's epistle: see i. p. 364 sq. and the notes on §§ 5, 44.

8. πρόσωπα] 'persons', or rather 'ringleaders'; as in § 1. See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 6.

9. ἀκοή] Thus it was a rumour or report which had reached the ears of Clement and the Roman Church respecting the feuds at Corinth; like those earlier accounts of irregularities in the same Church which reached



ρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεισθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι.

XLVIII. Ἐξάρωμεν οὖν τοῦτο ἐν τάχει καὶ προσ-  
πέσωμεν τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτόν,  
ὅπως ἴλεως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν  
σεμνὴν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγνὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀποκατα-  
στήσῃ ἡμᾶς. πύλη γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἀνεωγυῖα εἰς ζωὴν

7 καὶ] AC; om. S. 11 ἡμῶν] AS; ὑμῶν C. 12 ἑαυτοῖς δὲ] A; ἑαυτοῖς  
τε C; *et vobis ipsis* S. 16 ἴλεως γενόμενος] A; γενόμενος ἴλεως C. ἡμῖν  
AS; ὑμῖν C. ἐπὶ τὴν κ.τ.λ.] S translates loosely *restituat nos ad priorem illam  
modestiam nostram amoris fraternitatis et ad puram illam conversationem*, but this  
probably does not represent a various reading. 17 ἡμῶν] AS; ὑμῶν C.  
18 ἡμᾶς] AS; ὑμᾶς C. ἀνεωγυῖα εἰς ζωὴν] A; εἰς ζωὴν ἀνεωγυῖα CS.

the ears of S. Paul (1 Cor. v. 1 ὅλος ἀκούεται κ.τ.λ., xi. 18 ἀκούω σχίσματα κ.τ.λ., comp. i. 11). It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Church of Corinth had formally and by letter asked advice; see the note on § 1 νομίζομεν κ.τ.λ.

10. ἑτεροκλινεῖς] See the note on § 11.

11. ὥστε...βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεισθαι] 'so that you hear blasphemies'; ἐπιφέρεισθαι being middle as frequently elsewhere, and the subject being ὑμᾶς or possibly τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας. Comp. Rom. ii. 24 τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καθὼς γέγραπται.

12. κίνδυνον] i.e. the danger of incurring God's wrath, as § 14 κίνδυνον ὑποίσομεν μέγαν, § 41 τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

13. ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι] 'withal to create'; for this is the force of ἐπι, as in Demosth. *de Cor.* p. 274 ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο τοιοῦτον ὁ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος. Here ἑαυτοῖς will be equivalent to ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς: see the note

on § 32 and Winer § xxii. p. 163.

XLVIII. 'Let us put our sin away. Let us fall on our knees and implore God's pardon. Righteousness in Christ is the only gate which leads to life. Is any one faithful, wise, learned, energetic, pure? He should be the more humble in proportion as he is greater. He should work for the common good.'

16. ἐπικαταλλαγῇ] While no other instance of the verb ἐπικαταλλάσσειν is given in the lexicons, the substantive appears in Theophrast. *Charact.* 26 τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν, where it seems to signify 'the discount'.

τὴν σεμνὴν κ.τ.λ.] The expression is copied by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 17 (p. 613) ἡ σεμνὴ οὖν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγνῆς ἀγωγῆς κατὰ τὸν Κλήμεντα τὸ κοινωφελὲς ζητεῖ, where the insertion of καὶ relieves the sentence. Comp. the words at the close of this chapter. Ἀγωγή is 'conduct', as in § 47: see also 2 Tim. iii. 10, Esth. ii. 20, x. 3, 2 Macc. iv. 16, vi. 8, xi. 24.

αὕτη, καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἀνοιξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης,  
ἵνα εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐξομολογήσωμαι τῷ Κυρίῳ· αὕτη  
ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου, δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ. πολ-  
λῶν οὖν πυλῶν ἀνεωγυιῶν, ἡ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ αὕτη ἐστὶν  
ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾗ μακάριοι πάντες οἱ εἰσελθόντες καὶ 5

1 αὕτη] A; ἐστὶν αὕτη C, and so apparently S.

ἀνοιξατέ] AC; ἀperi S.

2 ἵνα] S Clem.; om. AC. See the next note.

ἐξομολογήσωμαι AS; ἐξομολο-

γήσομαι C with Clem. See above, I. p. 143.

5 ἡ] AC; om. S apparently.

9 διακρίσει] C; διακρικρίσει A, as read by Tischendorf; see prol. p. xix. As far as the c he appears to me to have deciphered the ms correctly. Jacobson, instead of CEI, reads it CIN. This seemed to me more like the traces in the MS, but I could not see it distinctly. See below.

ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, ἦτω ἀγνός]

Clem (see below); ἦτω ἀγνός AC. S has *sit homo (quispiam) fidelis, sit validus,*

1. Ἀνοιξατέ κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Ps. cxviii. 19, 20, word for word. This passage, as far as ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, is loosely quoted with interpolations of his own by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 7 (p. 338 sq), who gives his authority as ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ. Elsewhere *Strom.* vi. 8 (p. 772), after quoting Ps. cxviii. 19, 20, he adds (by a lapse of memory) ἐξηγούμενος δὲ τὸ ῥήτον τοῦ προφήτου Βαρνάβας ἐπιφέρει, Πολλῶν πυλῶν ἀνεωγυιῶν...οἱ εἰσελθόντες, though a few sentences below he cites the words ἔστω τοίνυν πιστός...μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι, as from 'Clement in the letter to the Corinthians'. His two quotations do not agree exactly either with the original text of Clement or with one another. These facts make it clear that he cites chiefly from memory, and this must be borne in mind in using his quotations to correct the text of the Roman Clement.

2. ἐξομολογήσωμαι] The best MSS of the LXX have ἐξομολογήσομαι, which is substituted for the conjunctive by most editors here, but ἐξομολογήσωμαι will stand; see Winer § xli. p. 300. Hilgenfeld inserts ἵνα before εἰσελθόν, following Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 7 (p. 338); but the quotation

of the later Clement is much too loose to be a guide here, and he probably inserted the ἵνα to improve the grammar of the sentence.

3. πολλῶν οὖν πυλῶν κ.τ.λ.] Perhaps a reference to our Lord's saying, Matt. vii. 13, 14.

5. ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ] John x. 9 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα, Hermas *Sim.* ix. 12 ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ (and the whole section), Ign. *Philad.* 9 αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς, Clem. *Hom.* iii. 52 διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἀληθὴς ὢν προφήτης ἔλεγεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς κ.τ.λ., Hegesipp. in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23 ἀπάγγελον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

6. ὁσιότητι κ.τ.λ.] The usual combination of ὁσιος and δίκαιος. See the note on ii. § 5.

7. ἦτω τις πιστός κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'If a man has any special gift, let him employ it for the common good, and not as a means of self-assertion.' The same gifts of the Spirit are enumerated, though in the reverse order, in 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9 ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδεται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι. Unless Clement is using this language without warrant, the temper of the factious Corinthians of his



κατευθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀταράχως πάντα ἐπιτελοῦντες. ἦτω τις πιστός, ἦτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, ἦτω ἄγνός· τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσω

*scientiam possideat (possidebit), laboret (laborabit) sapiens in interpretatione verborum, sit furus in operibus.* This represents substantially the same Greek with AC, except that ἦτω δύναντος γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἦτω σοφὸς κ.τ.λ. must have been corrupted into ἦτω δύναντος, γνῶσιν ἐξει, πορεύτω σοφός, as Bensly points out. 10 τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ] AS; Clem τοσοῦτῳ (om. γὰρ) C; τοσοῦτόν τις Anton Max. γὰρ] AS; om. C. ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει] AC Clem; ὀφείλει ταπεινοφρονεῖν Anton Max.; dub. S. ὀφείλει A. ὅσω] AC Clem; ὅσον Anton Max.

time must have closely resembled that of their predecessors in S. Paul's age.

8. γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν] 'to utter, expound a γνῶσις', i.e. 'to bring out the hidden meaning of a scripture'. For this sense of γνῶσις see the note on Barnabas § 6. The possession of γνῶσις was an old boast of the factious Corinthians, 1 Cor. viii. 1, 10, 11, xiii. 2, 8; and the vaunt has not without reason been attributed especially to the party among them which claimed as its leader Apollos, the learned Alexandrian, 'mighty in the scriptures' (Acts xviii. 24).

9. διακρίσει] The reading of A (if it be correctly given διακριακρῖσιν) is a corruption of διακρισιν (= διακρισι) which itself arose out of διακρισι and this out of διακρισει: see for other instances of a like error the note on ἀναστήσομαι § 15. Otherwise διακρίσεσιν might be read (see above, I. p. 120, for similar corruptions), as the plural διακρίσεις occurs Rom. xiv. 1 διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν, 1 Cor. xii. 10 διακρίσεις πνευμάτων.

ἦτω γοργός] 'let him be energetic'. In later writers γοργός is 'active, quick, strenuous'; e.g. Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* p. 133 (Reiske) τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν [τῶν κώλων] γοργότερον τὸ

δὲ βραδύτερον, Epict. *Diss.* ii. 16. 20 ἐν μὲν τῇ σχολῇ γοργοὶ καὶ κατὰ γλωσσοί, iii. 12. 10 ἄσκησον, εἰ γοργὸς εἶ, λοιδορούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι κ.τ.λ., M. Antonin. xii. 6 εἰ οὖν γοργὸς εἶ, ταύτην θεράπευσον. The departure in the later usage of the word from its Attic sense 'terrible' is noted by the old lexicographers. The passage is twice quoted by Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i. 7 (p. 339) αὐτίκα ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ κατὰ λέξιν φησί, τὰς διαφορὰς ἐκτιθέμενος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν δοκίμων, ἦτω τις πιστός, ἦτω δυνατός τις γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, and *Strom.* vi. 8 (p. 722 sq) ἔστω τοίνυν πιστὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἔστω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, ἦτω ἄγνός· τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσω δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους φησί. The correction adopted in the text (after Hilgenfeld) seems to be justified by these two quotations. It does not however find any support in our existing authorities. The reading of the MS may be explained as arising out of a confusion, the transcriber's eye passing from one similar ending to another.



δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι, καὶ ζητεῖν το κοινωφελές παῖσιν καὶ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.

XLIX. Ὁ ἔχων ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ ποιησάτω τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραγγέλματα. τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ τίς δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι; τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς 5 καλλονῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ἀρκετὸς ἐξειπεῖν; τὸ ὕψος εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνεκδιήγητόν ἐστιν. ἀγάπη κολλᾷ ἡμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ· ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλήθος ἁμαρτιῶν· ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ· οὐδὲν βᾶ-

1 μείζων] AC Clem; om. Anton Max.

3 ποιησάτω] CS. So also

Tischendorf reads A, but other collators give it τηρησάτω. I could not satisfy myself. On the first two inspections I inclined to τηρησάτω, but on the last to ποιησάτω. There are various readings ποιῶμεν, τηρῶμεν (both well supported) in 1 Joh. v. 2.

6 ἀρκετὸς] ACS. Bryennios represents C as omitting ἀρκετὸς, but this is a lapse of the pen.

7 ἐστίν. ἀγάπη] A; ἐστίν ἡ ἀγάπη C.

I. μᾶλλον μείζων] See Matt. xxiii.

II. For the double comparative see the note on *Philippians* i. 23. Antonius Melissa *Loc. Comm.* ii. 73 (34) and Maximus *Serm.* 49 both quote this sentence as from Clement in a somewhat different form, τοσοῦτόν τις μᾶλλον ὀφείλει ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὅσον δοκεῖ μᾶλλον εἶναι: but they cannot be regarded as *independent* authorities for omitting μείζων, since in such collections of excerpts the later compiler generally borrows directly from his predecessor: see *Philippians* p. 251, note 2. The Syriac connects μᾶλλον with δοκεῖ.

ζητεῖν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. x. 24 μηδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖτω ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου, and *ib.* ver. 33 μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σύμφορον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν. For ζητεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ see also 1 Cor. xiii. 5, Phil. ii. 21.

τὸ κοινωφελές] 'the common advantage'; comp. Philo *de Joseph.* II. p. 47 M. διὰ τὸ κοινωφελὲς φθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους, M. Anton. iii. 4 χωρὶς μεγάλης καὶ κοινωφελούς ἀνάγκης, *Apost. Const.* vi. 12 συζητοῦντες πρὸς τὸ

κοινωφελές.

XLIX. 'Who shall tell the power and the beauty of love? Love unites us to God: love is all enduring: love is free from pride and vulgarity: love brooks no strife or discord. In love all the saints were perfected. In love God took us to Himself. In love Christ gave His body for our bodies and His life for our lives.'

3. Ὁ ἔχων κ.τ.λ.] This resembles our Lord's saying in John xiv. 15 ἐὰν ἀγαπᾷτέ με, τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς ἐμὰς τηρήσετε (v.l. τηρήσατε): comp. 1 Joh. v. 1—3.

4. τὸν δεσμὸν] i.e. 'the binding power': comp. Col. iii. 14 τὴν ἀγάπην ὃ ἐστὶν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος. This clause is quoted by Jerome *ad Ephes.* iv. 1 (VII. p. 606) 'Cujus rei et Clemens ad Corinthios testis est, scribens Vinculum charitatis Dei qui (quis) poterit enarrare?'

6. ἀρκετὸς ἐξειπεῖν] Previous editors had misread the MS A, and written ἀρκεῖ, ὡς ἔδει, εἰπεῖν. For the construction of ἀρκετὸς see 1 Pet. iv. 3. The word occurs also Matt. vi. 34,

ο ναυσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον· ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ· ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· δίχα ἀγάπης οὐδὲν εὐάρεστόν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ· ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης· διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἣν ἔσχεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

The whole of the preceding passage is disturbed in CS by false punctuation. 8 πλῆθος] AC; but S translates מורו 'murum.' 13 οὐδὲν...τῷ Θεῷ] AC, and so Clem (except that he omits ἐστιν); *Deo placere nemo potest* (as if οὐδενὶ εὐαρεστῆν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ) S. 14 ἡμᾶς] AS; ὑμᾶς C. 15 ἔδωκεν] A; δέδωκεν C. 16 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς] AS; Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν C. 18 τῶν ψυχῶν] AS; τῆς ψυχῆς C.

x. 25, Hermas *Vis.* iii. 8.

τὸ ὕψος κ.τ.λ.] See the elaborate metaphor in Ign. *Ephes.* 9 ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ. The passage of Clement from this point, as far as τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ (§ 50), is loosely quoted and abridged by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 17 (p. 613 sq).

8. ἀγάπη καλύπτει κ.τ.λ.] 'throws a veil over, omits to notice, forgets, forgives'. The expression is taken from 1 Pet. iv. 8 (comp. James v. 20), which again seems to be a loose quotation from Prov. x. 12, where the original has כֻּל־פְּשָׁעָי 'all sins' for 'a multitude of sins', and the LXX rendering is still wider, πάντα δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικούντας καλύπτει φιλία. For this Hebrew metaphor of 'covering' see Ps. xxxii. 1, lxxxv. 3, Neh. iii. 37 (iv. 6).

9. ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται] An imitation of 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 7, ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ...πάντα στέγει...πάντα ὑπομένει: and indeed the whole passage is evidently inspired by S. Paul's praise of love. The juxtaposition of

the language of S. Paul and the language of S. Peter is a token of the large and comprehensive sympathies of one who paid equal honour to both these great Apostles (§ 5), though rival sectarians claimed them for their respective schools. See *Galatians* p. 323, with notes above §§ 12, 33.

βάνανσον] 'coarse, vulgar, self-asserting, arrogant'. See the note on ἀβανάνσως § 44.

10. σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are in an ascending scale (1) 'knows nothing of outward schisms'; (2) 'does not even foster a factious spirit'; (3) 'nay, preserves entire and universal harmony'.

12. ἐτελειώθησαν] 1 John iv. 18 ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ.

14. διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην κ.τ.λ.] Comp. John xv. 12, Gal. ii. 20, Ephes. v. 2.

17. καὶ τὴν σάρκα] Wotton quotes Iren. v. 1. 1 τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι λυτρωσάμενον ἡμᾶς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δόντος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν, which seems to have been taken from this passage of Clement.

L. Ὁράτε, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀγάπη, καὶ τῆς τελειότητος αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξήγησις· τίς ἱκανὸς ἐν αὐτῇ εὑρεθῆναι, εἰ μὴ οὖς ἂν καταξιώσῃ ὁ Θεός; δεώμεθα οὖν καὶ αἰτώμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ εὑρεθῶμεν δίχα προσ- 5 κλίσεως ἀνθρωπίνης ἁμωμοι. αἱ γενεαὶ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆσδε ἡμέρας παρήλθον, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ

2 ἡ ἀγάπη] A; ἀγάπη C. αὐτῆς A; αὐτοῦ C. S translates *ejusdem (ipsius) perfectionis*. It seems to have had αὐτῆς and made it agree with τελειότητος. οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] AC; S translates *non est sermo ullus sufficiens ut inveniat*, thus reading ἐξήγησις τις and making ἱκανὸς feminine.

3 ἐξήγησις] ἐξηγησις A. εἰ μὴ] AC; S apparently adds ἐν ἀγάπῃ καί, but a false punctuation has confused the translation of the whole context. οὖς ἂν καταξιώσῃ] Tischendorf seems to

have rightly deciphered A as reading ΟΥΚΑΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΧ, though the superscribed N is not distinct.

4 καταξιώσῃ] S; καταδιώξῃ C. For the reading of A see the last note. δεώμεθα] *supplicemus* S; .....θα A; δεόμεθα C; I had conjec-

L. 'In this marvellous love let us pray God that we may live. We can only do so by His grace. Past generations, thus perfected in love, now dwell in the abodes of bliss, awaiting His kingdom: for He has promised to raise them again. Happy are we, if we pass our time here in harmony and love. For then our sins will be forgiven us: we shall inherit the blessing promised to the elect of God through Christ.'

2. τῆς τελειότητος κ.τ.λ.] See 1 John iv. 18 οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, above § 49 ἐτελειώθησαν, and below οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες; comp. 1 John ii. 5, iv. 12.

3. ἐν αὐτῇ εὖρ.] Comp. Phil. iii. 9.

6. αἱ γενεαὶ πᾶσαι] Comp. § 7 εἰς τὰς γενεὰς πᾶσας.

8. χώρον εὖσεβῶν] 'the place assigned to the pious', like τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης § 5, or τοῦ ἰδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου § 44. See the note on § 5, and comp. Iren. v. 31. 2 (quoted by Wotton here) αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν [ἀόρατον] τόπον τὸν ὀρισμένον

αὐταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κακεῖ μέχρι τῆς ἀναστάσεως φοιτῶσι, περιμένουσιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν κ.τ.λ. See also *Apost. Const.* viii. 41 χώρος εὖσεβῶν ἀνειμένος κ.τ.λ., Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* Inscr. 168 εὖσεβέων χώρον δέξατο πᾶσι φίλον. For χώρον εὖσεβῶν the existing text of Clem. Alex. has χώραν εὖσεβῶν, 'the country, the realms of the pious', which suggests a more sensuous image, conveying a notion similar to the 'Elysian fields'. The one might be translated 'locus piorum', the other 'campus piorum'. But χώρος, rather than χώρα, accords with the language of the Roman Clement elsewhere. A place in Sicily, named after two brothers famous for their piety, was called indifferently Εὖσεβῶν χώρα and Εὖσεβῶν χώρος; see Bentley's *Dissert. on Phalar.* v (1. p. 238, ed. Dyce).

9. ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ κ.τ.λ.] Luke xix. 44 τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου, 1 Pet. ii. 12 δοξάσωσιν τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, Wisd. iii. 7 καὶ ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἀναλάβουσιν, Polycra-



τελειωθέντες κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἔχουσιν χώρον  
 εὐσεβῶν· οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς βα-  
 σιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. γέγραπται γάρ· Εἰέλθετε εἰς τὰ  
 ταμεῖα μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως οἷ παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ  
 θυμὸς μοῦ, καὶ μνησθήσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἀναστήσω  
 ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηκῶν ὑμῶν. μακάριοι ἡμεῖς, ἀγαπητοί,  
 εἰ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐποιούμεν ἐν ὁμοιοῖᾳ  
 5 ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν δι' ἀγάπης τὰς ἀμαρτίας.

tured δεώμεθα (ed. 1). οὐδ' AC; add. ἀγαπητοί S. αἰτώμεθα AS;  
 αἰτούμεθα C. 5 αὐτοῦ AC; τοῦ Θεοῦ S. προσκλίσω A; προσκλήσεως  
 C; *adhaerentia* S. On this itacism see above, § 47. 7 τῇδε ἡμέρας A;  
 τῆς ἡμέρας τῇδε C; while Clem has τῇδε τῆς ἡμέρας. The reading of S is inde-  
 terminable. 9 οἱ AS; οἱ δὲ C. 10 Θεοῦ CS; .Υ A; Tischendorf  
 reads ΧΥ; but I could only see Υ, the first letter being hopelessly blurred.  
 εἰσέλθετε CS; εἰσελ.... A. It is quite possible that A read εἰσελθε with the  
 LXX, but the other authorities point to εἰσέλθετε. 11 ταμεῖα ταμια A;  
 ταμεία C. 12 θυμός] θυ... A; ὁ θυμός C. 13 ἡμεῖς CS; ἐσμεν A.  
 15 ἡμῶν AS; ὑμῶν C.

tes in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 περιμένων  
 τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐν ᾗ ἐκ  
 νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται.

10. Εἰσέλθετε κ.τ.λ.] A combination  
 of passages. The opening is taken  
 from the LXX Is. xxvi. 20 εἰσελθε εἰς  
 τὰ ταμεῖά σου, ἀποκλείσον τὴν θύραν σου,  
 ἀποκρύβηθι μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως ἂν  
 παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ Κυρίου: the close prob-  
 ably from Ezek. xxxvii. 12 ἀνάξω  
 ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων ὑμῶν. The in-  
 termediate words καὶ μνησθήσομαι  
 ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς are not found any-  
 where. They may possibly be in-  
 tended to give the general purport  
 of the promise which they introduce:  
 see a parallel instance in § 52. The  
 combination of the two passages  
 from different prophets was probably  
 suggested by the verse in Isaiah  
 which immediately precedes the  
 words quoted, ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ  
 καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (Is.  
 xxvi. 19). Comp. 5 Esdr. ii. 16 'et  
 resuscitabo mortuos de locis suis et  
 de monumentis educam illos etc.'

11. ταμεῖα] 'the inner chamber',  
 77π. On the form see Lobeck *Phryn.*  
 p. 493, *Paral.* p. 28. The same ten-  
 dency to elide the ι before ει appears  
 in *ύγεία* § 20. In § 21 however our  
 chief MS writes ταμεία.

ὅσον ὅσον] Comp. Heb. x. 37 (with  
 Bleek's note).

ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός] ὀργή is the settled  
 temper, 'anger'; θυμός the sudden  
 outburst, 'wrath'. See the distinc-  
 tion in Trench's *N. T. Syn.* 1st  
 ser. § xxxvii, and to the passages  
 there collected add Joseph. *B. J.* ii.  
 8. 6 ὀργῆς ταμίαι δίκαιοι θυμοῦ καθεκ-  
 τικοί, *Hermas Mand.* v. 2 ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή,  
 κ.τ.λ.

14. ἐποιούμεν] If the reading be  
 correct, the point of time denoted in  
 ἐσμεν must be the second advent, so  
 that the deeds of this present life are  
 regarded as past.

ἐν ὁμοιοῖᾳ ἀγάπης] § 49 ἀγάπη πάντα  
 ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμοιοῖᾳ.

15. δι' ἀγάπης] 'through God's love',

γέγραπται γάρ· Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἄνθρωπος ὃς ὃς μὴ λογίσεται Κήριος ἁμαρτίαν οὐδέ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ [οὔ] δόλος. οὗτος ὁ μακαρισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκληλεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου 5 ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

1 μακάριοι] μακακαριοι A.

the LXX.

5 τοῦ Θεοῦ] A; Θεοῦ C.

CS; παρε...μεν A. See the lower note.

probably A. See the lower note.

2 οὔ] A; ᾧ CS. There is the same v. l. in

7 παρεπέσαμεν καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν]

8 ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν] CS, and so prob-

10 τῆς ἐλπίδος] AC; *spei nostrae* S, but it

probably does not represent a different Greek text.

11 φόβου] AC; add.

of which we become partakers by ourselves living in love. There is the same transition from the believer's love to God's love in § 49 διχα ἀγάπης κ.τ.λ.

1. Μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Ps. xxxii. 1, 2, word for word, as read in A (S writes ἀφειθησαν). For οὗ B has ᾧ. In Rom. iv. 8 it is a question whether οὗ or ᾧ is the correct reading.

4. οὗτος ὁ μακαρισμὸς] Suggested by Rom. iv. 9, where after quoting the same passage from the Psalms S. Paul continues, ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομήν κ.τ.λ. For μακαρισμὸς see also Rom. iv. 6, Gal. iv. 15 (note).

7. παρεπέσαμεν καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν] There can be no doubt about the reading of our two new authorities; for though the last word indeed, as now read in the Syriac MS, is **ܚܒܝܬܐ**

*transgressi sumus*, the diacritic point has been altered and it was originally **ܚܒܝܬܐ**

*fecimus*. But what was the reading of A? The editors have hitherto given *παρέβημεν*; but the older collators Young and Wotton professed only to see *παρε...μεν*, and after C was discovered, Gebhardt (ed. 2), observing that nothing was said either by Tischendorf or by my-

self 'de litera B adhuc conspicua', suggested that the reading of A was not *παρέβημεν* but *παρεπέσαμεν* and that the following words *καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν* were omitted owing to homœoteleuton, for there certainly is not room for them. I believe he is right. Having my attention thus directed to the matter, I looked at the MS again. I could not discern a B but saw traces of a square letter which looked like π followed by a curved letter which might be ε. Not satisfied with my own inspection, I wrote afterwards to Dr E. M. Thompson, now chief librarian of the British Museum, to obtain his opinion. He read the letters independently exactly as I had done, and says confidently that the reading was *παρεπέσαμεν*. This reading is favoured by the words which follow *καλὸν γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν παραπτωμάτων* (see the note on § 46), as also by the loose paraphrase of the younger Clement *Strom.* iv. 18 (p. 614) *ἦν δὲ καὶ περιπέση ἄκων τοιαύτη τινὲ περιστάσει διὰ τὰς παρεμπτώσεις τοῦ ἀντικειμένου*, where *περιπέση* seems to have been suggested by the association of sounds.

LI. 'We must therefore ask pardon for our sins. Above all ought the leaders of these factions to deny

LI. "Ὅσα οὖν παρεπέσαμεν καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν διὰ τινος τῶν τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ἀξιώσωμεν ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οἵτινες ἀρχηγοὶ στάσεως καὶ διχοστασίας ἐγενήθησαν, ὀφείλουσιν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐλπίδος σκοπεῖν. οἱ γὰρ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγάπης πολιτευόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς θέλουσιν μᾶλλον αἰκίαις περιπίπτειν ἢ τοὺς πλησίον,

dei S.

12 θέλουσιν] AC; cogunt (coarctant) S.

αἰκίας] οικιασ A.

Tischendorf (prol. p. xix) considers that it is altered into αικιασ *prima manu*, but I could not distinctly see this correction.

τοὺς πλησίον] AC; τοῖς πλησίον S, which also omits δὲ ἑαυτῶν, thus throwing the syntax into confusion.

themselves for the common good. It is well always to confess our wrong-doings, and not to harden our hearts. Let us take warning by the fate of the factious opponents of Moses who were swallowed up alive in the pit, and by the fate of Pharaoh and his host who were overwhelmed in the Red Sea, because they hardened their hearts.'

7. διὰ τινος κ.τ.λ.] 'by any of the wiles (or of the ministers) of the adversary'.

8. τοῦ ἀντικειμένου] So ὁ ἀπιδίκος 1 Pet. v. 8, and perhaps ὁ ἀντενεργῶν Barnab. § 2. Ὁ ἀντικείμενος itself is not so used in the New Testament (except possibly in 1 Tim. v. 14), but occurs *Mart. Polyc.* 17, and in later writers.

ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν] So the lacuna in A is now supplied in our new authorities in place of συγγνώμην. Among other suggestions I had proposed ἀφεθῆναι in my notes; comp. § 50 εἰς τὸ ἀφεθῆναι ἡμῖν... γέγραπται γάρ· Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν κ.τ.λ. It is entirely after Clement's manner to take up the key word of a quotation and dwell upon it; see the instances collected above, § 46. There can be no doubt therefore that Tischendorf misread A. Nevertheless he reiterated the statement to which I

took exception and said 'Emen-datione veteris scripturae vix opus est [συγγνωμ[ην]; literarum γνωμ pars superior in codice superest, quapropter de vera lectione vix dubito: dubitat vero Lightf. et dicit etc.' He took no notice of my grammatical objection to this construction of ἀξιοῦν. I had urged that the instances where ἀξιοῦν appears to govern an accusative of the thing claimed (e.g. Dan. ii. 23, Esth. v. 6, ix. 12, Xen. *Mem.* iii. 11. 12) are not decisive. I might have added a further lexical objection; for neither in the LXX nor in the N.T. nor in the Apostolic Fathers are συγγνώσκειν, συγγνώμη, ever said of God. The fact is that the MS is eaten into holes here and nothing can be read. The letters can only be conjectured from the indentations left. Dr E. M. Thompson of the British Museum whom I consulted and whose practised eye I should trust much more than my own, gives it as his opinion that συγγνωμην would not fit into these indentations but that ἀφεθηναιμ[ιν] might.

9. διχοστασίας] See the note on § 46.

10. τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐλπίδος] Comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 1 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος with the note.



μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατὰγνωσιν φέρουσιν ἢ τῆς παρα-  
 δεδομένης ἡμῖν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὁμοφωνίας. καλὸν  
 γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν παραπτωμά-  
 των ἢ σκληρύναι τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐσκληρύνθη  
 ἡ καρδία τῶν στασιαζόντων πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ 5  
 Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν· ὧν τὸ κρίμα πρόδηλον ἐγενήθη. κατέ-  
 βησαν γὰρ εἰς ἄδου ζῶντες, καὶ θάνατος ποιμανεῖ  
 αὐτοῖς. Φαραὼ καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες  
 οἱ ἡγούμενοι Αἰγύπτου, τὰ τε ἄρματα καὶ οἱ ἀναβάται  
 αὐτῶν, οὐ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐβυθίσθησαν εἰς θά- 10  
 λασσαν ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ἀπώλοντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σκλη-

5 στασιαζόντων] A; στασιάντων CS, but there is a tendency in S in these cases  
 to translate by a past where the principal verb is a past, as here. θερά-  
 ποντα] AS; ἄνθρωπον C. See the lower note. 9 Αἰγύπτου] S; ...υπτου A;  
 αὐτοῦ C. Perhaps the archetype of C was partially erased here and ran α...του.  
 ἀναβάται] ἀναβάταις C. 10 οὐ] οἱ A. 12 αὐτῶν] here A; after καρδίας C.  
 13 γῆ Αἰγύπτου] γηαιγυ... A; Αἰγύπτῳ CS. 14 Μωϋσέως] μωυσεω A;

2. 'καλὸν...ῆ] Matt. xviii. 8, Mark  
 ix. 43, 45; see Winer *Gramm.* § xxxv.  
 p. 255.

4. σκληρύναι κ.τ.λ.] Ps. xcv. 8;  
 comp. Heb. iii. 8, 15, iv. 7.

5. τὸν θεράποντα] See the various  
 reading in C. Moses is called ἄν-  
 θρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Deut. xxxiii. 1, Josh.  
 xiv. 6, 1 Chron. xxiii. 14, 2 Chron.  
 xxx. 16, Ezra iii. 2. Familiarity with  
 the phrase (which is especially  
 prominent in Deut. xxxiii. 1, where  
 it prefaces the Song of Moses) would  
 lead to its introduction here. Else-  
 where (§ 53) C alters the designation  
 θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ in another way.  
 On the other hand θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 is itself a common designation of  
 Moses (see the note on § 4), and  
 might well have been substituted for  
 the other expression here. But the  
 preponderance of authority must be  
 considered decisive as to the reading.

6. κατέβησαν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Num. xvi.

32, 33 ἠνοίχθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς  
 ...καὶ κατέβησαν αὐτοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 αὐτῶν ζῶντα εἰς ἄδου. Comp. *Apost.*  
*Const.* ii. 27 Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρὼν ζῶντες  
 κατέβησαν εἰς ἄδου καὶ ῥάβδος βλασ-  
 τήσασα κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 43); see also  
*ib.* vi. 3.

7. ποιμανεῖ] Clement is quoting  
 from Ps. xlviii (xlix). 14 ὡς πρόβατα  
 ἐν ᾗδῃ ἔθεντο, θάνατος ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς.  
 The reading could not have been  
 foreseen, and the lacuna in A was  
 supplied with κατέπιεν, before our new  
 authorities revealed the true reading.

9. τὰ τε ἄρματα καὶ οἱ ἀναβάται] The  
 expression is borrowed from the  
 Mosaic narrative, where it occurs  
 several times, Exod. xiv. 23, 26, 28,  
 comp. xv. 19, Jer. li (xxviii). 22, Hagg.  
 ii. 22.

12. τὰς ἀσύνετους καρδίας] As Rom.  
 i. 21 ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν  
 καρδία.

LII. 'The Lord of the universe

ρυνθῆναι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσυνέτους καρδίας μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου διὰ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσέως.

5 LII. Ἀπροσδεής, ἀδελφοί, ὁ δεσπότης ὑπάρχει τῶν ἀπάντων, οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς χρήζει εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι αὐτῷ. φησὶν γὰρ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς Δαυεὶδ· Ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἄρᾳ αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ μόσχων νέον κέρατα ἐκφέροντα καὶ ὅπλᾳ· ἰδέτωσαν πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐφρανθήτωσαν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ὁψον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχὰς σου· καὶ ἐπι-

μωσέως C. 16 οὐδὲν] ..δεν A; om. CS. τὸ] A; τοῦ C. The οὐδὲν has obviously been omitted by carelessness before οὐδενὸς, and thus has necessitated the further change of τὸ into τοῦ. 17 αὐτῷ] AC; add. μόνον S. Δαυεὶδ] δαδ AC. See above, § 4. 19 νέον] ναιον A. 19, 20 κέρατα...εὐφρανθήτωσαν] AS; om. C. 21—2 καὶ ἐπικάλεσαι...δοξάσεις με] AS; om. C. 21 ἐπικάλεσαι] επικαλεσε A.

wants nothing. He demands of us only confession. He asks no sacrifice, but the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; for so the Psalmist teaches us.

15. Ἀπροσδεής] *'wants nothing besides'*. Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4. 3 ἀπροσδεὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἀπάντων (with the context), *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* § 17 (p. 47 Tisch.) Θεὸς ἀπροσδεής, *Clem. Hom.* xi. 9 ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἀνενδεής ὢν αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, *Epist. ad Diogn.* 3 ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς...οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων κ.τ.λ., *Athenag. Suppl.* § 13 ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ...ἀνενδεής καὶ ἀπροσδεής, § 29 ἀνενδεὲς...τὸ θεῖον, *Resurr.* § 12 παντὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπροσδεής, *Tatian ad Graec.* 4 ὁ γὰρ πάντων ἀνενδεής οὐ διαβλητέος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὥς ἐνδεής, *Theophil. ad Aut.* ii. 10 ἀνενδεής ὢν. See also *Acts* xvii. 25 with the passages from heathen writers collected there by Wetstein. This was a favourite mode of speak-

ing with the Stoics. The parallel passages quoted above would support the connexion of τῶν ἀπάντων either with ἀπροσδεής or with ὁ δεσπότης. The latter seems more forcible and more natural here, besides that ὁ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων is a common phrase in Clement, §§ 8, 20, 33. It is however connected with ὁ δεσπότης in the Syriac.

18. Ἐξομολογήσομαι κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps.* lxix. 31, 32, καὶ ἄρᾳσει τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ μόσχων νέον κέρατα ἐκφέροντα καὶ ὅπλᾳ· ἰδέτωσαν κ.τ.λ. The introductory words ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ Κυρίῳ are not found in the context, though they express the *sense* of the preceding verse αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ., and occur frequently elsewhere.

20. Θύσον κ.τ.λ.] The first part θύσον...δοξάσεις με occurs in *Ps.* xlix (l). 14, 15 word for word, except that the second σου is omitted in some MSS: the last clause is taken from *Ps.* li. 17 θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον.

κάλεσαί με ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεώς σου, καὶ ἐξελοῦμαι σε, καὶ δοῦνάς σε με· θύσια γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον.

LIII. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ καὶ καλῶς ἐπίστασθε τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ· εἰς ἀνάμνησιν οὖν ταῦτα γράφομεν. Μωϋ- 5 σέως γὰρ ἀναβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ποιήσαντος τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσεράκοντα νύκτας ἐν νηστείᾳ καὶ ταπεινώσει, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός· Μωϋσεῖ, Μωϋσεῖ, κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος ἐντεῖθεν, ὅτι ἠνόμηνεν ὁ λαός σου οὗς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου· παρέβησαν ταχὺ 10

1 σου] A; om. S.

3 ἐπίστασθε] επιστασθαι A.

γὰρ] AC; add.

ἀδελφοί S, omitting ἀγαπητοί l. 20; see above, § 1.

4 καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε]

CS; ..εκυφατε A.

5 γράφομεν] CS. In A only the final stroke ι, being

part of the Ν, is visible (though Tischendorf says 'ante Μωνσεως praecedit punctum, non ι quod Jacobsonus videre sibi visus est').

6 ἀναβαίνοντος] A, not

ἀναβάντος as Jacobson would read; for the ι is distinct and cannot have formed the first stroke of Ν as he supposes; ἀναβάντος C. S has a past tense, but on such a point its authority cannot be urged. As usual C alters the tenses where they do not seem appropriate; see above, I. p. 126.

εἰς] C; ...σ A; ὡς πρὸς (or ὡς

εἰς) S.

7 τεσσεράκοντα] τεσσαράκοντα C in both places. In either case the

word is mutilated in A, so that we cannot determine the form, but the preference of this MS for the forms in ε can leave little doubt.

1. ἐξελοῦμαι] For this future see Buttmann *Gr. Sprachl.* II. p. 100, Winer *Gramm.* § xciv. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 18 (p. 614), after διὰ τὰς παρεμπτώσεις τοῦ ἀντικειμένου (already quoted p. 152), goes on μνησάμενος τὸν Δαυὶδ ψαλεῖ Ἐξομολογήσομαι κ.τ.λ. ....συντετριμμένον, stringing together the same quotations as in this chapter of the Roman Clement.

LIII. 'You are well versed in the Scriptures. I therefore quote them only to remind you. Remember how Moses entreated God for the people, how he would accept no honour for himself, but asked to be blotted out with them, if they might not be forgiven.'

3. ἐπίστασθε κ.τ.λ.] For the form of the sentence see the note on § 47 αἰσχροί, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ λίαν αἰσχροί.

τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς] Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 12 'Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis et nihil vos latet'. So 2 Tim. iii. 15 [τὰ] ἱερὰ γράμματα, the only passage in the New Testament where this epithet is applied to the Scriptures. It occurs above § 43, and in 2 Macc. viii. 23, and is so used both by Philo and by Josephus.

4. ἐγκεκύφατε] See the note on § 40.

6. ποιήσαντος] 'spent,' as several times in the N.T. See the references in Grimm's *Clav. Nov. Test.* s.v. ποιεῖν II. d, p. 527 (ed. Thayer).

8. εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] The first part, as far as μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο, is taken from Deut. ix. 12—14, which however commences somewhat differently καὶ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς με· Ἀνάστηθι, κατὰ βῆθι τὸ τάχος, the remainder following



ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡς ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς χωνεύματα. καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν· Λελάληκα πρὸς σε ἅπαζ καὶ δις λέγων, Ἐώρακα τὸν λαόν τοῦτον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐστὶν σκληροτράχηλος· ἔαδόν με ἐξολεθρεῖσαι αὐτούς, καὶ  
 5 ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο. καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς· Μηθαμῶς, Κύριε· ἄφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τοῦτῳ ἥ καὶ ἐξάλειψον ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων. ὦ μεγάλης ἀγάπης, ὦ τελειότητος ἀνυπερβλήτου·

9 Μωϋσῇ, Μωϋσῇ] ...σημῶνση A; μωσῇ, μωσῇ C (this MS is most capricious, and both before and after this uses the other form μωυσῆς); om. S. 10 ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου] C; ἐκ γῆς.....v A; ἐξ Αἰγύπτου S, with the Hebrew. 11 ἐποίησαν] AC (LXX A with the Hebr.); καὶ ἐποίησαν S. The καὶ appears in B of the LXX. χωνεύματα] AC; χώνευμα (owing to the absence of *ribui*) S. In the LXX A has χωνευτά, B χώνευμα with the Hebr. 14 ἐστίν] def. A; ἐστι CS with Clem. The editors (myself included) following Young had supplied the lacuna in A with λαός from the LXX (ἰδὼν λαὸς σκληροτράχηλός ἐστιν), though Potter (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 19, p. 617) had warned them that Clement of Alexandria supplied the right word (ἐστίν). ἔασον] AC; καὶ ἔασον S. In the LXX B has καὶ νῦν ἔασον. ἐξολεθρεῖσαι] ....εθρευσαι A; ἐξολοθρεῖσαι C; ἐξολεθρεύσω (or -λοθρεύσω) S apparently. 17 εἶπεν] def. A; εἶπε C. τὴν ἁμαρτίαν] AC; *peccatum hoc* S. 19 ὦ μεγάλης] A; μεγάλης (om. ὦ) C.

the LXX very closely (compare also Exod. xxxii. 7, 8). After μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο the parallel narrative in Exod. xxxii is taken up, and the substance of vv. 10, 31, 32 is given in a compressed form. See Barnab. § 4 λέγει γὰρ οὕτως Κύριος, Μωϋσῇ, Μωϋσῇ, κατὰ θητι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἠνόμησεν ὁ λαός σου οὐς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, and again § 14 εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῇ, Μωϋσῇ, κατὰ θητι τὸ τάχος ὅτι ὁ λαός σου ὃν ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἠνόμησεν. The coincidence in the repetition of the name Μωϋσῇ, Μωϋσῇ, is not sufficient to show that the one writer was indebted to the other (as Hilgenfeld seems to think, here and p. xx); for, though the name is not repeated at this place in either of the Mosaic narratives, it may very easily have been inserted independently by

both writers from Exod. iii. 4.

16. θαυμαστὸν] So quoted also by Clem. Alex., but it is ἰσχυρὸν in the LXX. The combination μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν occurs also §§ 26, 50.

πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο] i.e. πλείον τούτου, an attempt to render the Hebrew idiom וְנִמְצָא בִּי, 'greater than it'. See ii. § 2 from Is. liv. 1.

Clem. Alex., *Strom.* iv. 19 (p. 617) αὐτίκα οὐχ ὁ Μωϋσῆς κ.τ.λ., paraphrases the remainder of this chapter from καὶ εἶπεν κ.τ.λ., giving the same quotations as the Roman Clement.

19. ὦ ὦ] According to the rule of the grammarians the interjections should be so accentuated, not ὦ, ὦ; see Chandler *Greek Accentuation* § 904, p. 246 sq. The editors here vary

παρρησιάζεται θεράπων πρὸς κύριον, αἰτεῖται ἄφεσιν τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαλειφθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀξιῶι.

LIV. Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὖσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω· Εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ ἔρις καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι οὐδ' ἐὰν<sup>5</sup> βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνενέτω μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. τοῦτο ὁ ποιή-

1 θεράπων] AS; δεσπότης C.

ρημένος] AC; plenus (impletus) S. See the lower note.

ἐγὼ ἐκχωρῶ (apparently) S.

κλαιὸς A.

10 τόπος] τοπωσ A.

3 ὑμῶν] AS; ἡμῶν C.

See the lower note.

6 βούλησθε] βουλησθαι A.

12 πολιτεῖαν τοῦ Θεοῦ] A; τοῦ Θεοῦ

4 πεπληροφο-

5 ἐκχωρῶ] AC;

9 κλέος]

1. θεράπων] Bryennios adopts the reading of C δεσπότης, i.e. 'as a master'; but this does not represent the fact and cannot be right.

LIV. 'Is any one noble, tender-hearted, loving? Let him declare his willingness to withdraw, that the flock of Christ may be at peace. He will not want a place of retirement. The whole earth will be ready to receive him, for *The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof*. This has been the conduct of the true citizens of God's kingdom in all ages.'

3. Τίς οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This passage, as far as καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων, is quoted in a collection of extracts preserved by an anonymous writer in Syriac; see above, I. p. 183.

Epiphanius also (*Haer.* xxvii. 6, p. 107) quotes a few words, but incorrectly and at second hand (see above, I. p. 408 sq). He had read them in certain ὑπομνηματισμοί, which I have elsewhere (I. p. 327 sq) given reasons for supposing to have been the 'Memoirs' (ὑπομνήματα) of Hegesippus. The passage suggests to Epiphanius a solution of the difficulty attending the lists of the early Roman bishops. He conjectures that Clement, after

being consecrated by S. Peter, may have acted as he here advises others to act, and have refrained from active ministrations (παραιτησάμενος ἡργεῖ) till the deaths of Linus and Cletus. Compare Cic. *pro Mil.* § 93 (to which Fell refers) 'Tranquilla republica cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur; ego cedam atque abibo.' It would seem (from the reference to patriotic kings and rulers in the next chapter) as though Clement had read this passage.

There are several echoes of this passage in John of Ephesus (iv. 13, 48, 60), as pointed out by Bensly. If these be not accidental he probably got them from the ὑπομνηματισμοί which supplied Epiphanius with his quotation, or from the collection which the Syriac writer had before him.

4. πεπληροφορημένος] In the New Testament this verb has only the following senses: (1) 'to fulfil', 2 Tim. iv. 5, 17; (2) in the passive 'to be fully believed' (e.g. Luke i. 1), or 'to be fully persuaded' (e.g. Rom. iv. 21). Here, if the reading be correct, it must be equivalent to πεπληρωμένος, 'filled full'; but of this sense, though natural in itself, the lexicons



σας ἐαυτῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Χριστῷ περιποιήσεται, καὶ  
 οὐ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτόν· τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ  
 πλῆρωμα αὐτῆς. ταῦτα οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμέ-  
 λητον πολιτείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐποίησαν καὶ ποιήσουσιν.

LV. "Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ὑποδείγματα ἐθνῶν ἐνέγκωμεν·  
 πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγούμενοι, λοιμικοῦ τινος ἐνστάν-  
 5 τος καιροῦ, χρησιμοδοτηθέντες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς

πολιτείαν C.

13 ὑποδείγματα] AS (*tribui* however being omitted); ὑπομνή-

ματα C.

ἐνέγκωμεν] AC; add. *vobis* S.

14 πολλοὶ...καιροῦ] C; *multi*

*reges et magnates e principibus populorum, qui quum tempus afflictionis vel famis alicujus instaret populo* S. This is unusually paraphrastic, but perhaps does not represent a various reading. There is however a confusion of *λοιμός* and *λιμός*.

do not furnish any example nor have I succeeded in finding a distinct instance. In the only passage however where it occurs in the LXX, Eccles. viii. 11 ἐπληροφόρηθη καρδία υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν, the corresponding Hebrew is בֵּן אֱלֹהִים, 'the heart was full to do etc.' The word seems to be confined almost exclusively to biblical and ecclesiastical writings.

8. καθεσταμένον] 'duly appointed,' as described in the earlier chapters, § 43, 44 (τοὺς κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων).

10. τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.] A noble application of Ps. xxiv. 1. He retires in God's cause, and there is room for him everywhere on God's earth.

11. πολιτευόμενοι...πολιτείαν] The idea of a spiritual polity to which the several members owe a duty is prominent in the context (e.g. ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους), and is still further developed by the comparison with secular states and statesmen in the following chapter.

12. πολιτείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ] Comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 17 τὴν ἀνεπιληπτον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν.

LV. 'Even heathen nations have set bright examples of this self-denial. Kings and rulers have died for the common weal: statesmen have of their

free will withdrawn into exile to lull factions. Among ourselves many have become slaves to ransom or to feed others. Even women, strengthened by God's grace, have been brave as men. Judith and Esther by their patriotic courage delivered the people from slavery and destruction.'

14. πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς κ.τ.λ.] Such feats of patriotism as were exhibited by Codrus, by Bulis and Sperthias, by M. Curtius; 'Quantus amor patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus.' The *λοιμικός τις καιρὸς* is a type of the sort of crisis which called forth these deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. Origen (*in Joann.* vi. § 36, IV. p. 153) refers to this passage, μεμαρτύρηται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὅτι πολλοὶ τινες, λοιμικῶν ἐνσηψάντων ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι νοσημάτων, ἑαυτοὺς σφάγια ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παραδεδώκασιν· καὶ παραδέχεται ταῦθ' οὕτως γεγρονέναι οὐκ ἀλόγως πιστεύσας ταῖς ἱστορίαις ὁ πιστὸς Κλήμης ὑπὸ Παύλου μαρτυρούμενος. In several other passages also (*c. Cels.* i. 31, I. p. 349; *in Joann.* xxviii. § 14, IV. p. 393; *ad Rom.* iv. § 11, IV. p. 541) he uses similar language, but without mentioning Clement's name.



θάνατον, ἵνα ῥύσωνται διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αἵματος τοῦς πολίτας. πολλοὶ ἐξεχώρησαν ἰδίων πόλεων, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζωσιν ἐπὶ πλείον. ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεσμά, ὅπως ἑτέρους λυτρώσονται. πολλοὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν εἰς δουλείαν, καὶ 5 λαβόντες τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐψώμισαν. πολλὰὶ γυναῖκες ἐνδυναμωθείσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ

5 παρέδωκαν] A and so S (apparently); ἐξέδωκαν C.  
C (see Bryennios *Didache* p. ργ'). S has a singular.  
9 τῆς πόλεως] AC; *urbis sua* S.

δουλείαν] A; *δουλείας*  
8 Ἰουδιθ] *ιουδειθ* A.  
12 δι' ἀγάπην...λαοῦ] AC; *propter amorem*

2. πολλοὶ ἐξεχώρησαν κ.τ.λ.] Like Lycurgus at Sparta, or Scipio Africanus at Rome. Of the latter it is remarked by Fell that 'Clementis nostri fere verbis urbi valedixit, dicens *Exeo, si plus quam tibi [tibi quam] expedit crevi*' (Seneca *Epist.* 86).

3. ἐν ἡμῖν] Gundert (*Zeitschr. f. Luther. Theol.* 1853, p. 649 sq) explains this 'among us Romans,' supposing that Clement is still referring to examples of heathen self-devotion. This view is adopted by Lipsius (p. 155), Hilgenfeld, and others. But, whatever may have been the miseries inflicted on the Roman citizens by the civil wars and by imperial despotism, the mention of slavery and ransom seems to be decisive against this interpretation. Here, as in the parallel passage § 6, ἐν ἡμῖν may refer indeed to Romans but to Christian Romans, of whom a considerable number belonged to the slave class and the lower orders. The ransom of slaves and the support of captives were regarded as a sacred duty by the early Christians generally, and the brethren of Rome especially were in early times honourably distinguished in this respect: see the notes on Ign. *Smyrn.* 6 and on *Rom.* 1.

4. λυτρώσονται] This construction

of ὅπως with a future is possible (see Winer § xii. p. 304), though it does not occur in the New Testament, where ἵνα is several times so used. But we ought perhaps to read λυτρώσονται, though both our Greek MSS have λυτρώσονται.

6. τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν] 'the value of themselves.' The form αὐτῶν (adopted by Hilgenfeld) must certainly be rejected from the New Testament, and probably from Clement also: see above 9, 12, 14, 30, 32.

ἐψώμισαν] The word is used several times in the LXX and generally as a translation of דָּחַק 'to give to eat': comp. also 1 Cor. xiii. 3. Like so many other words (e.g. χορητάζεσθαι, see the note *Philippians* iv. 12), it has in the later language lost the sense of ridicule or meanness, which belonged to it in its origin; and Coleridge's note on its 'half satirical' force in 1 Cor. xiii. 3 (quoted in Stanley's *Corinthians* l.c.) seems to be overstrained. On the other hand, it is especially appropriate of feeding the poor and helpless, the sick man or the child.

πολλὰὶ γυναῖκες κ.τ.λ.] The whole of this passage about Judith and Esther is paraphrased by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 19 (p. 617), immediately after the paragraph relating to Moses

ἐπετελέσαντο πολλὰ ἀνδρεῖα. Ἰουδὶθ ἡ μακαρία, ἐν συγκλεισμῷ οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, ἠτήσατο παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐαθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· παραδοῦσα οὖν ἑαυτὴν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν συγκλεισμῷ, καὶ παρέδωκεν Κύριος Ὁλοφέρνην ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας. οὐχ ἥττονι καὶ ἡ τελεία κατὰ

*civilitatis patrum suorum et propter populum S.*

14 θηλείας] θηλιασ A.

13 συγκλεισμῷ] συγκλισμῷ A.

ἥττονι] ἥττονει A; ἥττων CS.

(already quoted p. 156); and sometimes he gives the very words of the elder Clement, e.g. ἡ τελεία κατὰ πίστιν Ἐσθήρ. But he does not acknowledge his obligation in this passage, though in the preceding chapter he has directly quoted the Roman Clement.

8. Ἰουδὶθ] This passage has a critical value as containing the earliest reference to the Book of Judith, which was apparently unknown to, as it is unmentioned by, Josephus. Volkmar (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856 p. 362 sq. and 1857 p. 441 sq. *Einl. in die Apokr.* I. I. p. 28, and elsewhere), followed by Baur (*Lehrb. der Christl. Dogmeng.* ed. 2, p. 82, and in other places), Hitzig (*Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theol.* 1860, III. p. 240 sq.), and Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden vom Untergang etc.* p. 132 sq. ed. 2, 1866), places the writing of that book after the Jewish war of Trajan, and as a consequence denies the authenticity of the Epistle of Clement. More sober critics however date the Book of Judith about the second century before the Christian era, e.g. Fritzsche *Einl.* p. 127 sq. in the *Kurzgef. Handb. zu den Apokr.*, Ewald *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* IV. pp. 396, 541 sq. Westcott in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* I. p. 1174, besides R. A.

Lipsius (*Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* 1859, II. p. 39 sq.) and Hilgenfeld (*ib.* 1858, I. p. 247 sq. 1861, IV. p. 335 sq.), who both have directly refuted Volkmar's theory; and indeed the date and authenticity of Clement's Epistle are established on much more substantial grounds than the shadowy and fanciful argument by which it is attempted to postdate the Book of Judith. On this book see also an article of Lipsius *Jüdische Quellen zur Judithsage* (*Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* 1867, x. p. 337 sq.). For more on this subject see the introduction, I. p. 353 sq.

12. τοῦ λαοῦ] 'the chosen people' (see the note on § 29), and thus opposed to ἀλλόφυλοι.

14. ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας] Taken from Judith xiii. 15 ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας, xvi. 5 Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἠθέτησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας. The expression ἐν χειρὶ therefore would seem to be the common Aramaism, equivalent to διὰ: see the note on *Galatians* iii. 19. On the other hand the construction παραδοῦναι ἐν χειρὶ (or ἐν χερσίν) is common in the LXX as an equivalent to παραδοῦναι εἰς χεῖρας: e.g. the same expression בִּיד יוֹחָן is translated first καὶ παρέδωκεν ἐν χειρὶ (A) and then καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας in Josh. x. 30, 32.



πίστιν Ἐσθὴρ κινδύνῳ ἑαυτὴν παρέβαλεν, ἵνα τὸ δωδεκάφυλλον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μέλλον ἀπολέσθαι ῥύσῃται· διὰ γὰρ τῆς νηστείας καὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς ἠξίωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, Θεὸν τῶν αἰώνων· ὃς ἰδὼν τὸ ταπεινὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐρύσατο τὸν λαόν, ὧν ἡ χάριν ἐκινδύνευσεν.

LVI. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐντύχωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν τινὶ παραπτώματι ὑπαρχόντων, ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη εἰς τὸ εἶξαι αὐτοὺς μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ

1 τὸ δωδεκάφυλλον] A; δωδεκάφυλλον C; *tribum* S. 3 τῆς ταπεινώσεως]  
A; ταπεινώσεως C. 4 δεσπότην] A; om. C obviously by homœoteleuton. S  
has *spectatorem universi et dominum saeculorum deum*, as if the order had been  
δεσπότην τῶν αἰώνων θεόν. 5 ἐρύσατο] A; ἐρύσατο C. ὧν χάριν  
ἐκινδύνευσεν] AC (but ἐκινδύνευσεν C); *ex iis propter quae erat [populus] in peri-*  
*culo* S, probably only a mistranslation. 7 τῶν...υπαρχόντων] AC; *qui appre-*

1. τὸ δωδεκάφυλλον] So Acts xxvi. 7, *Protev. Jacob.* § 1; see above τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον § 31 with the note.

3. ἠξίωσεν] '*desired, entreated*', with an accusative of the person and without any dependent case or clause expressing the thing asked: as e.g. 1 Mac. xi. 62 καὶ ἠξίωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ Γάζης τὸν Ἰωνάθαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δεξιάς, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 55 πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶσθε. With an infinitive or a final clause added this use of ἀξιῶν τινα is more common. On another more questionable construction of ἀξιῶν see above § 51.

4. παντεπόπτην] So below § 64, *Polyc. Phil.* 7, *Clem. Hom.* iv. 14, 23, v. 27, viii. 19. The word is not found in the LXX or New Testament. In the *Orac. Sibyll.* proem. 4 πανεπόπτης occurs; and in heathen writers πανόπτης is a common epithet of Zeus.

Θεὸν τῶν αἰώνων] '*the God of all the ages*': comp. πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων § 35, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων 1 Tim. i. 17; comp. Ps. cxlv. 13 ἡ βασιλεία σου βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων. The devil on the other hand is the god

(2 Cor. iv. 4) or the ruler (*Ign. Ephes.* 19) of this age or æon (τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου). See also the passage in *Clem. Hom.* xx. 2 sq.

LVI. 'Let us intercede for offenders, that they may submit in meekness and humility. Let us be ever ready to give and to take admonition. The Scriptures teach us that chastisement is an instrument of mercy in the hands of God, that He inflicts it as a fatherly correction, that it is a blessing to be so chastised, that the man who endures patiently shall be restored again, shall be delivered from all perils, shall end his days in peace, and be gathered into the garner like the ripe sheaf, in due season.'

7. ἐν τινὶ παραπτώματι κ.τ.λ.] See Gal. vi. 1, of which this passage is perhaps a reminiscence. The ἡμεῖς and ἡμῖν seem to refer especially to the rulers of the Church and to contrast with the ὑμεῖς, the leaders of the feuds, at the beginning of § 57.

8. ἐπιείκεια] '*a spirit of concession*'. See the notes on § 1 ἐπιεικῆ and § 13 ἐπιείκεια. The context here points to



10 τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἔγ-  
καρπος καὶ τελεία ἢ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους μετ'  
οἰκτιρμῶν μνεία. ἀναλάβωμεν παιδείαν, ἐφ' ἣ οὐδεὶς  
ὀφείλει ἀγανακτεῖν, ἀγαπητοί. ἡ νουθέτησις, ἣν ποιού-  
μεθα εἰς ἀλλήλους, καλὴ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑπεράγαν ὠφέλιμος.  
15 κολλᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὕτως γὰρ  
φησιν ὁ ἅγιος λόγος· Παιδεύων ἐπαίδευσέν με ὁ Κύριος,  
καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκέν με. Ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος

*hensi sunt* S (comp. Gal. vi. 1).

8 ἐπιείκεια] *επιεικία* A.

10 οὕτως] AC.

Bryennios here, and again six lines below, tacitly reads *οὕτω*, and is followed by Hilgenfeld. C however has its usual contraction for *-ως*, not for *-ω*, and therefore agrees with A in both places.

11 ἡ πρὸς...ἁγίους] AC; *sive in deum sive in sanctos* S, as if it had read ἡ...ἡ for καὶ...καὶ.

τὸν] A; om. C.

12 οἰκ-

τιρμῶν μνεία] *οικτιρμῶν μνεία* A.

παιδείαν] *παιδιαν* A.

13 ὀφείλει] *οφίλει*

A. νουθέτησις] *νουθετησις* A.

its derivation and primary meaning, *εἰς τὸ εἶξαι αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.*

10. ἔγκαρπος καὶ τελεία] See the note on § 44, where there is the same combination of epithets.

11. ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. The record of them before God and the Church will redound to their benefit, and they will receive pity. The expression ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μνεία is almost equivalent to the Old Testament phrase *μνημόσυνον ἔναντι Κυρίου*, Exod. xxviii. 23, xxx. 16, Is. xxiii. 18, Ecclus. I. 16, comp. Acts x. 4. See also § 45 ἔγγραφοι ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μνημοσύνῳ αὐτῶν.

τοὺς ἁγίους] 'the Christian brotherhood', as in the Apostolic writers: comp. Ign. Smyrn. 1, *Mart. Polyc.* 20. See 2 Cor. viii. 21. Two other interpretations have been proposed: (1) 'the saints', i.e. the beatified dead, in which case ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους μνεία is supposed to refer to invocation of saints. It is needless to say that this idea would be an anachronism in Clement and for some generations after.

(2) 'the holy angels', a sense which

οἱ ἅγιοι frequently has, e.g. Job xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Ecclus. xlv. 2, Tobit viii. 15, 1 Thess. iii. 13 (passages quoted by Hilgenfeld). This is a possible interpretation (comp. 1 Tim. v. 21 διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων), but the common usage of οἱ ἅγιοι in the Apostolic writings is a safer guide.

12. ἀναλάβωμεν παιδείαν] 'let us receive correction'; comp. Heb. xii. 7 *εἰς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε κ.τ.λ.*

13. ἡ νουθέτησις] On the difference between *νουθεσία* (*νουθέτησις*) and *παιδεία*, see Trench *N.T. Syn.* 1st ser. § xxxii; comp. Ephes. vi. 4. On the forms *νουθεσία*, *νουθέτησις*, see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 512.

16. Παιδεύων κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Ps. cxviii. 18 word for word.

17. Ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Prov. iii. 12 word for word, as SA; but for *παιδεύει* B has *ἐλέγχει*. The Syro-Hexaplar text wavers, giving the equivalent to *παιδεύει* in the text and to *ἐλέγχει* in the margin. In Heb. xii. 6 it is quoted with *παιδεύει* as

παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα γίον ὃν παραδέχεται. Παιδεύσει με γάρ, φησιν, δίκαιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἐλέγξει με, †ἐλεος† δὲ ἁμαρτωλῶν μὴ λιπανάτω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Μακάριος ἄνθρωπος ὃν ἤλεγξεν ὁ Κύριος, νογέτημα δὲ παντοκράτορος μὴ ἀπαναίνογ· αὐτὸς γάρ ἀλγεῖν 5 ποιεῖ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν· ἔπαισεν, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἴδαντο. ἐζάκις ἐξ ἀναγκῶν ἐξελεῖται σε, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ οὐχ ἄψεται σοῦ κακόν· ἐν λιμῷ ῥύσεται σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς σιδήρου λύσει σε· καὶ ἀπὸ μαστιγος γλώσσης σε κρύψει, καὶ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ κακῶν 10 ἐπερχομένων· ἀδίκων καὶ ἀνόμων καταγελάσῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ

2 δίκαιος] AS; κόριος C.      ἔλεος] ελαιος A; ἔλεον (i.e. ελαιον) C and so S. See the lower note.      3 ἁμαρτωλῶν] A; ἁμαρτωλοῦ C, and so S, but the singular depends on the absence of *ribui*.      4 ὃν] A; ὃν ἂν C. There is nothing to represent ἂν in S.      5 ἀπαναλιν] AC; *rejiciat* (or *rejiciamus*) S, and so the Pesh. 8 οὐχ ἄψεται] ουκοψεται A; οὐ μὴ ἄψηται C; *non attrahabit* S. Both readings are found in the MSS of the LXX.      ἐν λιμῷ] AC; add. δὲ S.      12 οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ] A; οὐ φοβηθήσῃ C. Both readings are found in the MSS of the LXX.

here: in Rev. iii. 19 both words are combined, ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ, ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* I. 9 (p. 145) has παιδεύει, but his quotation is perhaps not independent of the Roman Clement. On the other hand Philo *de Conj. Erud. grat.* § 31 (i. p. 544) quotes it with ἐλέγχει. This, which corresponds with the Hebrew, was probably the original reading of the LXX, and all the texts with παιδεύει may perhaps have been derived directly or indirectly from the quotation in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

1. Παιδεύσει κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxli. 5, word for word, if we read ἔλαιον. Our chief MS however has ελαιος, i.e. ἔλεος (for so the scribe generally writes the word; see I. p. 121). On the other hand, the original reading of the LXX was unquestionably ἔλαιον (ἔλαιον is the oil, ἔλαιος the olive-tree and therefore out of place here) as it is in SBA, and apparently in

all existing MSS of the LXX, the Hebrew being יָשָׁן; but ἔλαιος (i.e. ἔλεος) might not unnaturally be substituted by some early transcriber on account of the preceding ἐν ἐλέει. It is therefore not impossible that Clement found this reading in his text of the LXX; see another instance of the same error above, § 18 (note). For the curious confusion of ἔλεος (ἔλαιος) and ἔλαιον (ἔλεον) in the liturgies see Swainson's *Greek Liturgies* pp. xliii, 90, 127, 265, 331; where the answer of the people, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, becomes by expansion ἔλεον (ἔλαιον) εἰρήνης, θυσίαν αἰνεσέως. The symbolism of the olive as denoting peace, and the manifold ritual uses of oil (see Smith-Cheetham *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* p. 1453 sq) would assist in this confusion.

4. Μακάριος κ.τ.λ.] From LXX Job v. 17—26 as read in BS, with slight and unimportant differences. The

θηρίων ἀγρίων οὐ μὲ φοβηθήσ. θῆρες γὰρ ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύ-  
 σουσὶν σοι· εἶτα γνώσῃ, ὅτι εἰρηνεύσει σοὺ ὁ οἶκος· ἢ δὲ  
 δάιτα τῆς σκηνῆς σοὺ οὐ μὲ ἁμάρτη, γνώσῃ δὲ ὅτι πολὺ  
 15 τὸ σπέρμα σοὺ, τὰ δὲ τέκνα σοὺ ὥσπερ τὸ παμβότανον  
 τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐλέγῃ δὲ ἐν τάφῳ ὥσπερ σίτος ὥριμος κατὰ  
 καιρὸν θερίζομενος, ἢ ὥσπερ θημωνιά ἄλωνος καθ' ὥραν  
 συγκομιθεῖσα. βλέπετε, ἀγαπητοί, πόσος ὑπερασπισ-  
 μός ἐστιν τοῖς παιδευομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου· πατὴρ  
 20 γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν παιδεύει εἰς τὸ ἐλεθῆναι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς  
 ὁσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ.

LVII. Ὑμεῖς οὖν, οἱ τὴν καταβολὴν τῆς στάσεως

γάρ] AC; δὲ S. 13 εἰρηνεύσει] AC; εἰρηνεύει S. ἡ δὲ δίατα...ἁμάρτη]  
 AC; om. S. 14 σου] AS; om. C. 15 παμβότανον] LXX; .....τανον A;  
 παμβήτητανον C. 16 ἐλεύσει] AC; but Bryennios tacitly prints ἐλεύσει.  
 18 συγκομισθεῖσα] συ.....σθαισα A; συγκομισθεῖσα C. 20 ἐλεθῆναι] CS;  
 ...ηθῆναι A. Tischendorf justly remarked on the common restoration νουθετηθῆ-  
 ναι; 'id vix recte, quum syllabae non ita dirimi solent [i.e. νουθετ|ηθῆναι]. Re-  
 quiritur potius simile verbum ac πτο|ηθῆναι.' 21 παιδείας] C; π..dias A.

text of A presents considerable variations, chiefly in adding clauses which are found in the Hebrew but wanting in BS. The points in which Clement's quotation agrees with A, as against BS (e.g. οὐχ ἄψεται for οὐ μὴ ἄψεται), are insignificant.

7. ἐξάκισ κ.τ.λ.] For this Hebraism where two successive numbers are given to denote magnitude and increase, see Prov. vi. 16 Hebr. (six, seven, as here); Micah v. 5, Eccles. xi. 2 (seven, eight); Exod. xx. 5, etc. (three, four); Job xxxiii. 29 Hebr. (two, three).

10. κακῶν] The LXX text prefixes ἀπό (SBA). In the Syriac version ἀδικῶν is made dependent on κακῶν 'the evils of the unrighteous'.

12. θῆρες γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] As in the vision of Hermas Vis. iv. 1, 2, where the wild beast is thus pacified.

13. ἡ δὲ δίατα] 'the abode'; see above § 39. The Hebrew is quite

different.

15. τὸ παμβότανον] 'the manifold herbage'. It seems to be a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον till quite a late period. There is nothing in the Hebrew (בשן) to explain the adoption of so unusual a word.

16. ἐν τάφῳ] A Hebraism for εἰς τάφον; see another instance on § 55 παρέδωκεν ἐν χειρὶ.

17. θημωνιά] A word, it would appear, almost confined to the LXX, though θημῶν is as old as Homer, Od. v. 368.

18. ὑπερασπισμός] 'protection', 2 Sam. xxii. 36, Ps. xviii. 35, Lam. iii. 64, Eccles. xxxi (xxxiv). 19. It does not occur in the New Testament. See the note on ὑπερασπιστῆς above, § 45.

20. ἀγαθὸς ὢν] 'of His kindness' (as e.g. Ps. lxxiii. 1), corresponding to ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κ.τ.λ. above.

LVII. 'And do you leaders of the schism submit to the elders, and ask



ποιήσαντες, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ παι-  
 δεύθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν, κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα τῆς  
 καρδίας ὑμῶν· μάθετε ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἀποθέμενοι τὴν  
 ἀλάζονα καὶ ὑπερήφανον τῆς γλώσσης ὑμῶν αὐθά-  
 δειαν· ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ 5  
 Χριστοῦ μικροὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὐρεθῆναι, ἢ καθ'  
 ὑπεροχὴν δοκοῦντας ἐκριφῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ.  
 οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἡ πανάρετος σοφία· Ἰδοὺ προΐεσθαι

4 ἀλάζονα] AC; ἀλαζονείαν S.  
 γίμους] A; add. ὑμᾶς C. S is doubtful.  
 δάξω] AS; διδάξαι C. 10 ὑπηκούσατε] AC; ὑπηκούετε S.  
 C; ..... A; si (ἡν) S. 14 ὑμῶν pri.] AC; ὑμῶν S.  
 A; om. S. 16 θλίψις] A; add. καὶ στενοχωρία C, a

γλώσσης] A; γλώττης C. 6 ἐλλο-  
 8 Ἰδοὺ] AC; add. γὰρ S. 9 δι-  
 13 ἡνίκα ἀν]  
 15 παρῇ] C; .ρη  
 16 θλίψις] A; add. καὶ στενοχωρία C, a

pardon of God on your knees. It is far better that you should be of no account, so that the flock of Christ may have peace. Remember how sternly Wisdom rebukes the disobedient in the Book of Proverbs. She will laugh them to scorn when destruction cometh as a tempest. They mocked at her counsels before, and she will not hear them then.'

1. ὑποτ. τοῖς πρεσβ.] The same expression occurs, I Pet. v. 5.

2. κάμψαντες κ.τ.λ.] Compare the expression in the prayer of Manasses (*Apost. Const.* ii. 22) νῦν κλίνω γόνα καρδίας. So too Greg. Naz. *Carm.* ii. 50, ver. 58 οὐποτέ σοι κάμψω γόνατ' ἐμῆς καρδίας (II. p. 946, Caillau), and similarly Sir C. Hatton to Q. Elizabeth (Froude's *History* XI. p. 166) 'I can use no other means of thankfulness than by bowing the knees of my own heart with all humility' etc. A strong oriental metaphor like 'girding the loins of the mind' (I Pet. i. 13), or 'rendering the calves of the lips' (Hosea xiv. 2).

4. ἀλάζονα καὶ ὑπερήφανον] See Trench *N. T. Syn.* 1st ser. § xxix.

7. δοκοῦντας] 'held in repute'; see the note on *Galatians* ii. 2.

τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ] i.e. τοῦ Χριστοῦ, either a subjective or an objective genitive, 'the hope which He holds out' or 'the hope which reposes in Him'.

8. ἡ πανάρετος σοφία] The Book of Proverbs, besides the title commonly prefixed to the LXX Version, Παροιμίαι or Παροιμίαι Σαλομώντος, is frequently quoted by early Christian writers as ἡ πανάρετος σοφία 'the Wisdom which comprises all virtues' (for πανάρετος comp. § 1); see esp. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22, where speaking of Hegesippus he says, οὐ μόνος δὲ οὗτος ἀλλὰ καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων χορὸς πανάρετον σοφίαν τὰς Σολομώντος παροιμίας ἐκάλουν. Sometimes it bears the name σοφία simply; e.g. in Just. Mart. *Dial.* § 129 (p. 359 A), Melito in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* § 8 (pp. 67, 68), *Paed.* ii. 2 (p. 182 ἡ θεία σοφία), *Strom.* ii. 18 (p. 472), Orig. *Hom. xiv in Gen.* § 2 (II. p. 97), besides others quoted in Cotelier. It is a probable inference from Eusebius (II. cc.) that both Melito and Hegesippus derived the name from Jewish sources, and this is borne out by the fact that the book is called מִכְתָּב,

ὡς ἡμῶς πνοῆς ῥῆσιν, διδάξω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον·  
 10 ἐπειδὴ ἐκάλουν καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκούσατε, καὶ ἐξέτεινον λόγους  
 καὶ οὐ προσείχετε, ἀλλὰ ἀκύρους ἐποιεῖτε τὰς ἐμὰς βοῦ-  
 λὰς τοῖς δὲ ἐμοῖς ἐλέγχοις ῥηθῆναι· τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὡς  
 τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀπωλείᾳ ἐπιγελάσσομαι, καταχαροῦμαι δὲ ἵνα  
 ἂν ἔρχηται ὑμῖν ὁ λευκός καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀφίκηται ὑμῖν ἁφνω  
 15 ὁ ῥύπος, ἢ δὲ καταστροφὴ ὁμοία καταίγιδι παρῇ, ἢ ὅταν  
 ἔρχηται ὑμῖν θλίψις καὶ πολιορκία. ἔσται γάρ, ὅταν ἐπικα-

familiar combination in S. Paul, Rom. ii. 9, viii. 35. S has *afflictio* (אָפּטִיט) *et*  
*angustia* (אָנְגִּיט) *quae a proelio* (אָפּטִיט אָפּטִיט); where *afflictio* represents *θλίψις*  
 and *angustia quae a proelio* is a paraphrase of *πολιορκία*. The alternative that  
*angustia quae a proelio* represents *στενοχωρία καὶ πολιορκία*, treated as a *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*,  
 is not likely. The space in A will not admit *καὶ στενοχωρία*, and these words are  
 wanting also in the LXX. *ἐπικαλέσθητε* ἐπικαλέσθαι A.

'Wisdom', by rabbinical writers (see Fürst *Kanon des Alten Testaments*, 1868, p. 73 sq). The personification of Wisdom in the opening would lead naturally to this designation; e.g. Iren. iv. 20. 3, v. 20. 1, Philo *de Ebr.* 8 (I. p. 362), though Philo himself quotes the book as *παροιμία* *ib.* § 20 (I. p. 369). Whether the epithet *πανάρετος* was first used by Clement and derived from him by later writers, or not, it is impossible to say. At the same time the title *ἡ πανάρετος σοφία* is given, not only to the canonical Book of Wisdom, but also to the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon (Method. *Symp.* i. 3, ii. 7, noted by Hilgenfeld; Epiphan. *de Mens. et Pond.* § 4, II. p. 162 ed. Petau; Greg. Nyss. *c. Eunom.* vii. II. p. 638, Paris 1638; [Athanas.] *Synops.* § 45, II. p. 132 I, *τῆς σοφίας Σολομώντος τῆς λεγομένης πανάρετος*; and others: and its title in the list of books prefixed to A is *σοφία ἡ πανάρετος*), and to the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach (Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. cxxxvii 'quem vocant Panareton, *Dem. Evang.* viii. 2 p. 393 Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σειράχ ὁ τὴν καλούμενην πανάρετον σοφίαν συντάξας,

Hieron. *Prol. in Libr. Sal.*, ix. p. 1293, etc.). Joannes Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* iv. 17 (I. p. 284) says *ἡ πανάρετος, τούτῃστιν ἡ σοφία τοῦ Σολομώντος καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, thus including both these apocryphal books under the term, but excluding Proverbs which he has before mentioned as *παροιμία*; and so Jerome *Praef. in Libr. Salom.* (ix. p. 1293) 'Fertur et *πανάρετος* Jesu filii Sirach liber et alius *ψευδεπίγραφος* qui Sapiencia Salomonis inscribitur'. Moreover the name of 'Wisdom' is occasionally given also to Ecclesiastes (Fürst I. c. p. 91) and to the Song of Songs (Fürst I. c. p. 85, and Cotelier here). And still more generally the third group of the Old Testament writings, the *ἀγιογράφα* or *γραφεία*, is sometimes called *חכמה* 'Wisdom' (Fürst I. c. p. 55), because it comprises Proverbs and the allied books, as it is elsewhere called *ψαλμοὶ* or *ὕμνοι* (see above § 28) from another most important component element.

Ἰδοὺ κ.τ.λ.] A close quotation from the LXX Prov. i. 23—33. The variations are unimportant, and not greater than between one MS and another of the LXX.

λέσχησθέ με, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ἡμῶν· ζητήσουσιν  
 με κακοὶ καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν· ἐμίχσαν γὰρ σοφίαν, τὸν  
 δὲ φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ προείλαντο, οὐδὲ ἔθελον ἐμαῖς  
 προσέχειν βογγαῖς, ἐμκτῆρίζον δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐλέγχους· τοιγαρ-  
 οῦν ἔδονται τῆς ἐλατῶν ὁδοῦ τοὺς καρπούς, καὶ τῆς 5  
 ἐλατῶν ἀσεβείας πλησθῆσονται· ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ ἡδικοῦν νη-  
 πίοις, φονευθήσονται, καὶ ἐξετασμός ἀσεβεῖς ὀλεῖ· ὁ δὲ  
 ἐμοῦ ἀκούων κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πεποιθώς, καὶ ἡσυ-  
 χάσει ἀφύβως ἀπὸ παντός κακοῦ.

1 ζητήσουσιν] ζητήσουσι C; ζητ..... A; ζητοῦσιν (?) S. 3 τοῦ] A; om. C.  
 προείλαντο] προείλα... A (as in the LXX; Tischendorf who formerly read *προείλα*  
 afterwards accepted my reading of A); προείλonton C (see above, i. p. 127); *elege-*  
*runt* S. 7 ἐξετασμός ἀσεβεῖς ὀλεῖ] C; *inquisitio impiorum perdit ipsos* S.  
 8 πεποιθώς] *confidens* S, using the same expression which occurs just below (§ 58)  
 as the rendering of *πεποιθότες*; om. C: see the lower note. 10 παναγίῳ] C;

6. *πλησθήσονται*] Our principal MS (A) fails us at this point. The letters *πλησθησον* occur towards the end of the last line in a page, fol. 167 b. The margin is torn, so that a few letters have disappeared. It resumes again at the beginning of § 64, a leaf having been lost; see the introduction, i. p. 118.

7. *ἐξετασμός*] 'enquiry', 'investigation', i.e. 'trial and judgment', as in Wisd. iv. 6. The Hebrew however is *היָשׁוּב*, 'security', i.e. 'false confidence'; which the LXX translators seem either to have misread or to have connected with *הָשׂוּב*, 'to ask, enquire'. In the earlier part of the verse the LXX departs widely from the Hebrew.

8. *πεποιθώς*] This word does not occur in the great MSS of the LXX (SBA); nor indeed, so far as I know, is the reading *κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' (ν. 1. ἐν) ἐλπίδι πεποιθώς* found in any MS of this version, though *ἀναπαύσεται ἐν εἰρήνῃ πεποιθώς* appears in place of it in no. 248 (Holmes and Parsons), this last being a Hexaplaric reading (see Field's *Hexapla* ad loc.). Clem.

Alex. however clearly so quotes it, *Strom.* ii. 22 (p. 501 sq) ἡ πανάρετος Σοφία λέγει· 'Ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πεποιθώς· ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποκατάστασις ὁμωνύμως ἐλπίς εἴρηται· διὰ [L. διὸ] τοῦ κατασκηνώσει τῇ λέξει παγκάλως προσέθηκε τὸ Πειποιθώς; though elsewhere, *Strom.* ii. 8 (p. 449), iv. 23 (p. 632), he has *ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' εἰρήνης (-νῃ) πεποιθώς*. It is clear that *πεποιθώς* is genuine in the text of our Clement; since he dwells upon it in the beginning of the next chapter, *κατασκηνώσωμεν πεποιθότες κ.τ.λ.* For other examples of this manner of emphasizing the key-word of a quotation see the note on § 46. From the manner in which Clem. Alex. begins his quotation from Prov. i. 33, it may perhaps be inferred that the passage of his elder namesake was in his mind.

LVIII. 'Let us therefore obey, that we may escape these threatened judgments, and dwell in safety. Receive our counsel, and you will never have occasion to regret it. As surely as God liveth, he that performeth all His commandments shall have



10 LVIII. Ὑπακούσωμεν οὖν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ  
ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, φυγόντες τὰς προειρημένας διὰ τῆς  
σοφίας τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἀπειλάς, ἵνα κατασκηνώσωμεν  
15 ἀμεταμέλητα ὑμῖν. ζῇ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ζῇ ὁ Κύριος  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἡ τε πίστις  
καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας ἐν ταπει-  
νοφροσύνῃ μετ' ἐκτενοῦς ἐπιεικείας ἀμεταμελήτως τὰ

S translates as if ἁγίῳ. In § 35 πανάγιος is fully rendered.

11 φυγόντες] C;

φείγοντες (?) S.

13 ὀσιώτατον] C; S renders as if ὅσιον, but the translator's

practice elsewhere in rendering superlatives is so uncertain, that no inference can be drawn as to the reading.

14 ἡμῶν] add. ἀδελφοί [μου] S.

15 καὶ

ζῇ] CS; Basil omits this second ζῇ.

Κύριος] twice in S, at the end of one line and the beginning of the next.

a place among them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto Him for ever.'

10. παναγίῳ] So also above, § 35; see the note there.

11. τῆς σοφίας] Wisdom is represented as the speaker in the passage of Proverbs just quoted. Moreover this name Σοφία was given to the whole book; see above, p. 166.

12. κατασκηνώσωμεν] 'dwell in peace'. As the common LXX rendering of קָנַן, for which purpose it was chosen doubtless in part owing to the similarity of sound (see the note on μωμοσκοπηθέν, § 41), it implies the idea of 'rest, peace'.

15. ἀμεταμέλητα] A somewhat favourite word of Clement, §§ 2, 54. So ἀμεταμελήτως, below. For the plural see Kühner *Gramm.* II. p. 59 sq.

ζῇ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] This passage is quoted by S. Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* 29 (III. p. 61); see above, I. p. 169, where the quotation is given. For the form of adjuration ζῇ ὁ Θεός...ὅτι, 'As surely as God liveth...so surely', comp. ζῇ Κύριος ὅτι...which occurs frequently

in the LXX, e.g. 1 Sam. xx. 3, xxvi. 16, xxix. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 14, 2 Kings v. 20, etc. So too Rom. xiv. 11 ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ. (where S. Paul is quoting loosely from Is. xlv. 23, combining it however with the ζῶ ἐγώ κ.τ.λ. of Is. xlix. 18); comp. 2 Cor. i. 18, and see Fritzsche *Rom.* II. p. 242 sq, III. p. 187. For a similar reference to the Trinity see above, § 46. Here They are described as 'the faith and hope (i.e. the object of faith and hope) of the elect'; for ἡ τε πίστις κ.τ.λ. are obviously in apposition to the preceding words. For ἐλπίς, meaning 'the object of hope', see the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν; comp. 1 Tim. i. 1. On the other hand the sense of πίστις is different in Ign. *Smym.* 10 ἡ τελεία πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (see the note there).

17. τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν] A favourite word with Clement, §§ 1, 2, 6, 46, 49, 52, 59.

18. μετ' ἐκτενοῦς ἐπιεικείας] The phrase occurs again below, § 62. It

ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδομένα δικαιώματα καὶ προστάγματα, οὗτος ἐντεταγμένος καὶ ἐλλόγιμος ἔσται εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LIX. Ἐὰν δέ τινες ἀπειθήσωσιν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 5 δι' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις, γινωσκέτωσαν ὅτι παραπτώσει καὶ κινδύνῳ οὐ μικρᾷ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύσουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀθῶοι

I καὶ προστάγματα] C; om. S.

II ἄθραστον] C; add. *deus* S.

is a sort of oxymoron, or verbal paradox, like 'strenua inertia', 'lene tormentum': for ἐπιείκεια involves the idea of 'concession'; comp. I Thess. iv. 11 φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν. So Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. 79 (I. p. 116), speaking of Julian's persecution, says ἐπιεικῶς ἐβιάζετο. The substantive ἐπιείκεια occurs also §§ 13, 30, 56: the adjective ἐπιεικής, I, 21, 29. The frequency of these words aptly indicates the general spirit of the letter; see the note on § 1, and the introduction, I. p. 97.

2. ἐλλόγιμος] Used here, as in § 57, for those who have a place among the elect of God: see also §§ 44, 62. Comp. Plato *Phileb.* 17 Ε οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον οὐδ' ἐνάριθμον.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν] As above §§ 2, 35, and below § 59, with the note.

3. τῶν σωζομένων] 'of those that are in the way of salvation', as Luke xiii. 23, Acts ii. 47, I Cor. i. 18, 2 Cor. ii. 15. The opposite is οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι, I Cor. i. 18, 2 Cor. ii. 15, iv. 3, 2 Thess. ii. 10. Comp. also *Clem. Hom.* xv. 10, *Apost. Const.* viii. 5, 7, 8. In the *Apost. Const.* viii. 5 (comp. v. 15) the words are τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων as here.

LIX. 'If any disobey our counsels, they will incur the greatest peril; while we shall have absolved ourselves from guilt. And we will pray that the Creator may preserve intact

the number of His elect through Jesus Christ, who called us from darkness to light. Open our eyes, Lord, that we may know Thee, who alone art Holiest of the holy and Highest of the high; who settest up and bringest low; who bestowest riches and poverty, life and death; who art the God of all spirits and of all flesh; whose eye is all-seeing, and whose power is omnipresent; who multiplieth the nations and gatherest together Thine elect in Christ. We beseech Thee, Lord, assist the needy, the oppressed, the feeble. Let all the nations know that Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people, the sheep of Thy pasture.'

5. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] i.e. τοῦ Θεοῦ. In the same way they again claim to be speaking with the voice of God below, § 63 τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος; comp. § 56 μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. See also Ign. *Philad.* 7 τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὄν... ἐλάλουν.....Θεοῦ φωνῇ, where a similar claim is made.

6. παραπτώσει] 'fault', 'transgression'; Jer. xxii. 21. Comp. Justin *Dial.* 141 (p. 371). It does not occur elsewhere in the LXX, nor at all in the N.T., though παράπτωμα is common. Polybius uses it several times: comp. also Sext. *Empir. adv. Math.* i. 210.

ἐσόμεθα ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀμαρτίας· καὶ αἰτησόμεθα, ἐκτενῇ τὴν δέησιν καὶ ἱκεσίαν ποιούμενοι, ὅπως τὸν  
 10 ἀριθμὸν τὸν κατηριθμημένον τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξῃ ἄθραυστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, ἀπὸ ἀγνοσίας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.

13 Χριστοῦ] C; add. *domini nostri S.*  
 a clerical error in transcribing the Syriac suffix.

ἡμᾶς] C; *me S.*; but this is doubtless  
 14 ἀπὸ] C; καὶ ἀπὸ S.

7. ἀθῶοι] As above, § 46. For the whole expression, ἀθῶος εἶναι ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας, comp. Num. v. 31.

9. τὸν ἀριθμὸν κ.τ.λ.] See Rev. vii. 4 sq. The same phrase τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ has occurred already § 2. In one of the prayers in the last book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 22) we have ὁ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων φανεροποιήσας καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου διαφυλάττων, where the expression here is combined with another which occurs below (§ 60); thus clearly showing that the writer borrows directly or indirectly from Clement.

11. ἄθραυστον] The word does not occur in the LXX or N.T. It is however not uncommon in classical writers: e.g. Dion Cass. liii. 24 ἄθραυστον καὶ ὁλόκληρον τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν, which passage illustrates its sense here. Comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 διαφυλάξῃς ἄσειστον.

ὁ δημιουργὸς κ.τ.λ.] The same phrase occurs above § 26; comp. § 33. For δημιουργὸς see the note on § 20.

12. τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς κ.τ.λ.] So again lower down in this chapter, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς σου, and Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου. It is worth observing in connexion with the other coincidences,

that these expressions ὁ ἡγαπημένος (ἀγαπητὸς) παῖς σου, ὁ παῖς σου, occur several times in the prayers in the *Apost. Const.* viii. 5, 14, 39, 40, 41. Comp. also *Epist. ad Diogn.* 8, and *Mart. Polyc.* 14, where it is twice put into the mouth of Polycarp, who was certainly a reader of Clement's Epistle. This designation is taken originally from Is. xlii. 1, quoted in Matt. xii. 18 ἰδοὺ, ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἡρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς μου [εἰς] ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου; where παῖς is 'servant, minister' (עַבֵּד). Comp. Acts iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30. But the higher sense of υἱὸς was soon imported into the ambiguous word παῖς: e.g. *Apost. Const.* viii. 40 τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Epist. ad Diogn.* 8, Iren. iii. 12. 5, 6, etc.; and probably *Mart. Polyc.* 14 ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ. And so Clement seems to have used the word here.

13. ἐκάλεσεν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Pet. ii. 9 τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς. The epithet θυμαστὸν which is wanting here is supplied by § 36 (as read in the Greek MSS) ἀναβάλλει εἰς τὸ θυμαστὸν [αὐτοῦ] φῶς, where however the epithet is omitted in the Syriac and in Clem. Alex.

14. ἀγνοσίας] 'stubborn ignorance', a stronger word than ἀγνοίας: comp.



[Δὸς ἡμῖν, Κύριε], ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεγόνον πάσης κτίσεως ὀνομά σου, ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ γινώσκειν σε, τὸν μόνον ὑψίστον ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, ἄγιον ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύμενον, τὸν ταπεινοῦντα ὑβριν

1 Δὸς ἡμῖν, Κύριε] om. CS; see below.

sanctum S; see below. καρδίας] *cordium* S.

ὑψίστους C; see the lower note.

2 ὀνομά σου] C; *nomen ejus*

3 σε] C; *eum* S. ὑψηλοῖς]

5 διαλύοντα] *dissipantem* S. ἐθνῶν]

1 Pet. ii. 15. It occurs also Job xxxv. 16, Wisd. xiii. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 34. See also *Clem. Hom.* ii. 6, iii. 47, iv. 8, xviii. 13, 18.

εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δόξης] Comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 11 ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα γνώσεως δοὺς ἡμῖν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου. The language of Clement here seems to be inspired by Ephes. i. 5 sq.

1. ἐλπίζειν] Some words have been omitted in the Greek MS, as the first editor has correctly seen. The words supplied in the text, Δὸς ἡμῖν, Κύριε, will suffice. The same omission existed also in the text from which the Syriac Version was made. In consequence of this, σου, σε, σε, σου, ἐπαίδευσας, ἡγιάσας, ἐτιμήσας, are there altered to avoid the abrupt transition from the third person to the second; and at length words are inserted before Ἀξιούμεν to introduce the second person. On the recurrence of lacunæ in our authorities see above, i. p. 145 sq. Hilgenfeld gets over the difficulty in part by substituting ἀνοιξον for ἀνοίξας: while Gebhardt and Harnack deny that the text is either defective or corrupt, and attempt to justify the transition by such passages as Acts i. 4, xxiii. 22, etc. (see Winer § lxiii. p. 725). But the phenomena of our two authorities show that Bryennios was right.

ἀρχεγόνον] i.e. 'Thy Name which was the first *origin* of all creation', πάσης κτίσεως being governed by ἀρχεγόνον. As an active sense

is obviously wanted, it must be accented ἀρχεγόνον, not ἀρχέγονον, as by Bryennios: comp. [Aristot.] *de Mund.* 6 (p. 399 Bekker) διὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχαῖον αἰτίαν, where again we should accentuate ἀρχαιογόνον, for the expression is synonymous with ὁ πάντων ἡγεμών τε καὶ γενέτωρ which follows immediately after. So too perhaps even in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 16 (p. 810) τὴν ἀρχεγόνον ἡμέραν, for just below it is defined as πρώτην τῷ ὄντι φωτὸς γένεσιν: but in Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 5 (p. 56) τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἀρχέγονον σέβοντες it may be doubtful whether the fire is regarded as a *principium principians* (ἀρχεγόνον), or a *principium principiatum* (ἀρχέγονον). In Greg. Naz. *Or.* i. p. 694 we have τὸ ἀρχέγονον σκότος. The word occurs also Iren. i. i. 1 (twice), i. 5. 2, i. 9. 3, in the exposition of the Valentinian system, where likewise the accentuation may be doubtful. It is not found in the LXX or N. T. Editors seem universally to accentuate it ἀρχέγονος (see Chandler's *Greek Accentuation* § 467); but, I think, on insufficient grounds.

2. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κ.τ.λ.] suggested by Ephes. i. 17 sq ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ, πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. See also above § 36 ἠνεώχθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας. Comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 2, *Apost. Const.* vii. 39.

3. γινώσκειν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. John

5 ὑπερφάνων, τὸν διαλλόντα λογισμοῦς ἔθνων, τὸν ποι-  
οῦντα ταπεινοῦς εἰς ὕψος καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοῦς ταπεινοῦντα,  
τὸν πλουτίζοντα καὶ πτωχίζοντα, τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ  
ζῆν ποιοῦντα, μόνον εὐεργέτην πνευμάτων καὶ Θεὸν  
πάσης σαρκός, τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις, τὸν

C; ἀνθρώπων (= ἀνῶν) S.

8 [ζῆν ποιοῦντα] *redimit et vivificat* S.

εὐεργέ-

την] C; εὐρετήν S.

xvii. 3 ἵνα γνωσκόωσιν σε τὸν μόνον  
ἀληθινὸν Θεόν.

τὸν μόνον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii.  
5 ὁ ὧν μόνος ὕψιστος...ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς  
κατοικῶν.

ὑψιστον κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Is.  
lvii. 15 ὁ ὑψιστος ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατ-  
οικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ὑψιστος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀνα-  
πανόμενος. So in the prayer *Apost.*  
*Const.* viii. 11 ὕψιστε ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, ἅγιοι  
ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπανόμενοι, doubtless taken  
from Clement. Similarly the ex-  
pression ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπανόμενος in  
other liturgies, *D. Marc.* pp. 178, 189,  
*D. Jacob.* p. 49 (comp. p. 29), *S.*  
*Chrysost.* p. 94 (ed. Hammond).

I have substituted ὑψηλοῖς, as the  
reading both of the LXX and of the  
*Apost. Const.* Moreover the Syriac  
here translates by the same words,  
ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ, which render ὑψιστος,  
ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, in the Hexaplaric Version  
of Is. lvii. 15: thus using two differ-  
ent words. This however is not de-  
cisive in itself.

4. τὸν ταπεινῶντα κ.τ.λ.] From  
Is. xiii. 11 ὕβριν ὑπερφάνων ταπει-  
νώσω.

5. τὸν διαλλόντα] Probably from  
Ps. xxxiii. 10 διασκεδάξει βουλὰς ἔθνων,  
ἀθετεῖ δὲ λογισμοὺς λαῶν.

τὸν ποιοῦντα κ.τ.λ.] Job v. 11  
τὸν ποιοῦντα ταπεινοὺς εἰς ὕψος καὶ  
ἀπολωλότας ἐξεγείροντα, Is. x. 33 τα-  
πεινωθήσονται οἱ ὑψηλοί, Ezek. xxi. 26  
ἐταπεινώσας τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὕψωσας  
τὸ ταπεινόν, *ib.* xvii. 24 ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ  
ταπεινῶν ξύλον ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑψῶν ξύλον

ταπεινόν. See also Matt. xxiii. 12,  
Luke xiv. 11, xviii. 14.

7. τὸν πλουτίζοντα κ.τ.λ.] From  
1 Sam. ii. 7 Κύριος πτωχίζει καὶ πλου-  
τίζει, ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ. Comp. also  
Luke i. 53. See Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 42  
§ 5 (I. p. 751) ὁ πτωχίζων καὶ πλου-  
τίζων Θεός, ὁ θανατῶν καὶ ζωογονῶν  
κ.τ.λ.

τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xxxii.  
39 ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω,  
1 Sam. ii. 6 Κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ:  
comp. 2 Kings v. 7 ὁ Θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ  
θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι;

8. εὐεργέτην] Comp. Ps. cxv. 7 ἐπί-  
στρεψον, ψυχὴ μου...ὅτι Κύριος εὐερ-  
γέτησέ σε. So too *Liturg. D. Marc.*  
p. 188 ψυχῆς εὐεργέτα.

πνευμάτων κ.τ.λ.] Modified from  
Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. See also  
§ 62 δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ  
κύριος πάσης σαρκός, with the parallels  
in the note. Comp. *Liturg. D. Jacob.*  
p. 45 μνήσθητι, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευ-  
μάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός.

9. τὸν ἐπιβλέποντα κ.τ.λ.] Ecclus.  
xvi. 18, 19, ἄβυσσος καὶ γῆ σαλευθή-  
σονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ αὐτοῦ, ἅμα τὰ  
ὄρη καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ  
ἐπίβλεψαι εἰς αὐτὰ τρόμφ συσσεύονται.  
Comp. *Liturg. S. Basil.* p. 106 ὁ  
καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνον δόξης καὶ ἐπι-  
βλέπων ἀβύσσους. For the unusual  
ἐπιβλέπων ἐν, 'to look into', or  
'at', comp. Eccles. ii. 11, 2 Chron.  
xvi. 9.

τὸν ἐπόπτην κ.τ.λ.] See Ps. xxxii  
(xxxiii). 13, which passage Clement  
may perhaps have had in mind, as

ἐπόπτην ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων, τὸν τῶν κινδυνευόντων βοηθόν, τὸν τῶν ἀπληγισμένων σωτῆρα, τὸν παντὸς πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον, τὸν πληθύνοντα ἔθνη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἐκλεξάμενον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντάς σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδός σου, δι' οἷ ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας, ἡγίασας, ἐτίμησας. ἀξιούμην σε, δέσποτα, βοηθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα ἡμῶν. τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ἡμῶν σῶσον· τοὺς ταπεινοὺς

1 τῶν κινδυνευόντων] *illorum qui affliguntur* S, but it is probably a loose paraphrase. 5 σε] C; *eum* S. 6 σου] C; *ejus* S. ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας, ἡγίασας, ἐτίμησας] *instruxit nos et sanctificavit nos et honoravit nos* S. ἀξιούμην κ.τ.λ.] S prefixes et *dicemus illi cum supplicatione*. 7 σε] so apparently S; om. C. It seems to be required, as Hilg. and Gebh. have seen. δέσποτα]

he has already adopted an earlier verse of the same Psalm in this context. For ἐπόπτης comp. 2 Macc. vii. 35 τοῦ παιτοκράτορος ἐπόπτου Θεοῦ, Esther v. 1 τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην Θεόν.

1. τὸν τῶν κινδυνευόντων κ.τ.λ.] Judith ix. 11 ἐλαττόνων εἰ βοηθός, ἀντιλήπτορ ἀσθενούντων, ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστής, ἀπληγισμένον σωτήρ. For ἀπληγισμένοι comp. Is. xxix. 19, Esth. iv. ad fin. See also *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 181 ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἀπληγισμένων (comp. *Liturg. S. Basil.* p. 122), *Act. S. Theodot.* § 21 (in Ruinart) 'Domine Jesu Christe, spes desperatorum'.

3. πνεύματος κτίστην] Zech. xii. 1 Κύριος...πλάσσων πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ, Is. lviii. 16 πνεῦμα παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ πνοὴν πᾶσαν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα. In Amos iv. 13 we have ἐγὼ ...κτίζων πνεῦμα, where it apparently means 'the wind,' but might easily be understood otherwise.

ἐπίσκοπον] Job x. 12 ἡ δὲ ἐπίσκοπή σου ἐφύλαξέ μου τὸ πνεῦμα, 1 Pet. ii. 25 τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, Wisd. i. 6 ὁ Θεὸς...τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος ἀληθείας. Comp. *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 181 ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκός.

6. ἀξιούμην κ.τ.λ.] See the prayer in the *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 ἔτι ἀξιούμην σε...ᾧπὼς πάντων ἐπικούρος γένῃ, πάντων βοηθός καὶ ἀντιλήπτορ (with the context), which is evidently indebted to this passage of Clement. Comp. Ps. cxviii (cxix). 114 βοηθός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτορ μου εἰ σύ.

8. τοὺς ἐν θλίψει κ.τ.λ.] Compare the prayer in *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 185 λύτρωσαι δεσμίους, ἐξέλου τοὺς ἐν ἀνάγκαις, πεινῶντας χόρτασον, ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας παρακάλεσον, πεπλανημένους ἐπίστρεψον, ἐσκοτισμένους φωταγωγήσον, πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον, σαλευομένους στήριξον, νενοσηκότας ἴασαι..... φρουρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντιλήπτορ κατὰ πάντα γενόμενος, where the coincidences are far too numerous and close to be accidental. See also *Apost. Const.* ii. 6.

10. ἀσεβεῖς] Comp. § 3 ζῆλον ἁδίκων καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνελιφότας. The reference in ἀσεβεῖς is not to unbelievers, but to factious and unworthy members of the Church. For this word Gebhardt (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* i. p. 307, and ad loc.) conjectures ἀσθενεῖς; and this may have been the reading of S. But the occurrence of τοὺς



ἐλέησον· τοὺς πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον· τοῖς δεομένοις  
 ἐπιφάνηθι· τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἰάσαι· τοὺς πλανωμένους τοῦ  
 λαοῦ σου ἐπίστρεψον· χόρτασον τοὺς πεινῶντας· λύ-  
 τρῶσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν· ἐξανάστησον τοὺς ἀσθε-  
 νοῦντας· παρακάλεσον τοὺς ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας· ΓΝΩΤΩ-  
 CΑΝ ΣΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ἔΘΝΗ, ὅτι Cὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ΜΟΝΟΣ, καὶ  
 5 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ παῖς σου, καὶ ἡμεῖς λαὸς σου καὶ  
 πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς σου.

*domine bone S.* 8 τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἐλέησον] om. S, owing to the homeoteleuton.  
 10 ἐπιφάνηθι] C; ἐπιστράφηθι S. ἀσεβεῖς] C; *aegrotos* (ἀσθενεῖς or νοσοῦντας?)  
 S; see the lower note. 14 σε] See Bryennios *Didache* p. ργ'. It is unre-  
 presented in S. 15 ὁ παῖς σου] add. *dilectus* (ὁ ἡγαπημένος) S.

ἀσθενοῦντας just below is a serious difficulty, and on this account I have hesitated about accepting it. It is not sufficient to answer with Harnack, 'ἀσθενοῦντες animo, ἀσθενεῖς corpore imbecilles sunt'; for both words are used indifferently either of physical or of moral weakness. Supposing that ἀσεβεῖς were the original reading, the rendering of S may represent either ἀσθενεῖς (a corruption of ἀσεβεῖς) or νεοσηκός (a substitution of a familiar liturgical form, as appears from *Lit. D. Marc.* p. 185, quoted above). The Syriac word here, ܐܬܝܢܐ, is the same as in the Peshito Luke ix. 2 ἰᾶσαι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς (v. l. ἀσθενοῦντας). Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 6 ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς, which, so far as it goes, is in favour of Gebhardt's emendation.

τοὺς πλανωμένους κ.τ.λ.] Ezek. xxxiv. 16 τὸ πεπλανημένον ἐπιστρέψω (where B has τὸ πλανώμενον ἀποστρέψω).

11. λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους] The reference in this and the neighbouring clauses is doubtless to the victims of the persecution under Domitian; see the note on § 1. The care of the 'prisoners' naturally occupied a large space in the attention of the

early Church in the ages of persecution: comp. Heb. x. 34, xiii. 3, and see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 6. A prayer for those working 'in the mines' is found generally in the early liturgies; comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 10 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μεταλλοῖς καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ φυλακαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ὄντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 181 τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν μεταλλοῖς...κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον, *Lit. D. Jac.* p. 44 μνήσθητι, Κύριε..... Χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς, τῶν ἐν φυλακαῖς, τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις, τῶν ἐν μεταλλοῖς καὶ βασάνοις καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις ὄντων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.

12. ἐξανάστησον κ.τ.λ.] Comp. I Thess. v. 14 παραμυθίσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, quoted by Harnack.

13. γνώτωσαν κ.τ.λ.] I Kings viii. 60 ὅπως γνώσι πάντες οἱ λαοὶ τῆς γῆς ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερος, 2 Kings xix. 19 γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ βασιλεῖαι τῆς γῆς ὅτι σὺ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μόνος (comp. Is. xxvii. 20), Ezek. xxxvi. 23 γνώσονται τὰ ἔθνη ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος κ.τ.λ. Comp. John xvii. 3.

15. ἡμεῖς κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xcix (c).

LX. *Κὺ τὴν ἀέναον τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἐφανεροποίησας· σὺ, Κύριε, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔκτισας, ὁ πιστὸς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς, δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν, θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ κτίζειν καὶ συνετὸς ἐν τῷ τὰ γενόμενα ἐδράσαι, ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τοῖς ὀρωμένοις καὶ πιστὸς ἐν τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπὶ σέ, ἑλεῆμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων, ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ*

- 1 *Σὺ* add. γὰρ S. ἀέναον] ἀένναον C; comp. § 20, where C writes the word in the same way. τοῦ κόσμου] add. *huius* S, as in other passages.  
 5 ὁ σοφὸς] C; σοφὸς (om. δ) S. καὶ] C; om. S. 7 πιστὸς] *mitis* (benignus), probably *christos*, S. 10 καθάρισον] *purifica* S; see below.  
 12 καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀπλόγητι] om. C; restored by Bensly from S, which has *et*

2 *γινώτε ὅτι Κύριος αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ Θεός... ἡμεῖς [δὲ] λαὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς αὐτοῦ*: comp. *ib.* lxxviii (lxxix). 13, xciv (xcv). 7.

LX. 'Thou didst create all things in the beginning. Thou that art faithful and righteous and marvellous in Thy strength, wise and prudent in Thy creative and sustaining energy, beneficent and steadfast to them that put their trust in Thee, merciful and full of compassion, forgive us all our offences. Reckon not every sin against Thy servants: but purify us with Thy truth and direct our steps in holiness. Make Thy face to shine upon us, and protect us with Thy mighty hand and Thine outstretched arm from them that hate us. Give peace to us and to all the inhabitants of the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers when they called upon Thee'.

1. *Σὺ τὴν ἀέναον κ.τ.λ.*] The main part of this sentence is borrowed in *Apost. Const.* viii. 22 (quoted above on § 59 τὸν ἀριθμὸν κ.τ.λ.). Comp. *Wisd.* vii. 17 εἰδέναι σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων.

διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων κ.τ.λ.] i.e.

'didst reveal the inherent constitution of the world by the succession of external events'; comp. *Rom.* i. 20. The word *φανεροποιεῖν* is late and somewhat rare.

3. ὁ πιστὸς κ.τ.λ.] *Deut.* vii. 9 Θεὸς πιστὸς ὁ φυλάσσων διαθήκην... εἰς χιλίας γενεάς.

6. ἐδράσαι] Comp. *Prov.* viii. 25 πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθήναι.

ὁ ἀγαθὸς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'He is beneficent where His operations can be seen, and He is trustworthy where faith takes the place of sight'. The contrast here is between the things which are actually seen and the things which are taken on trust; comp. *Heb.* xi. 1 ἔστιν δὲ πίστις... πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων. For ὀρωμένοις Hilgenfeld has ἐρωμένοις; Harnack and Gebhardt (followed by Lipsius *Jen. Lit.* Jan. 13, 1877) read σωζομένοις, the latter having previously conjectured ὀρισμένοις (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 1. p. 307); Zahn proposes ὁσιουμένοις (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1876, p. 1417). There is no sufficient reason however for questioning the text. The idea, and in part the language, is taken from

τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ πλημελείας. μὴ λογίσῃ πᾶσαν  
 ἁμαρτίαν δούλων σου καὶ παιδισκῶν, ἀλλὰ καθάρισον  
 ἡμᾶς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ κατεΐθῃνον  
 τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ  
 ἀπλότῃτι καρδίας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ καὶ  
 ἐξάρεστα ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 ἡμῶν. ναί, δέσποτα, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐφ'  
 ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, εἰς τὸ σκεπασθῆναι ἡμᾶς τῇ

*in iustitia et in simplicitate.* The omission is due to homœoteleuton. I have not inserted the prepositions, because it is a common practice of S to repeat them, where they are not repeated in the Greek; see I. p. 137. 16 ἐν εἰρήνῃ] *facis* S; but this is probably due to an error of Syriac transcription, since a single letter (7 for 2) would make the difference.

Wisd. xiii. 1, ἐκ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν εἰδέναι τὸν ὄντα οὔτε τοῖς ἔργοις προσχόντες ἐπέγνωσαν τὸν τεχνίτην. The language in the latter part of the sentence is suggested by Ecclus. ii. 10 sq τίς ἐνεπίστευσε Κυρίῳ καὶ κατησχύνθη;...διότι οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἀφίησιν ἁμαρτίας.

7. ἐλεῆμον κ.τ.λ.] A very frequent combination of epithets in the LXX.

10. καθάρισον] This is perhaps the simplest emendation of καθαρεῖς, the reading of the MS, which cannot stand; καθάρισον having been written καθαρείσον, and the two last letters having dropped out. Otherwise we might read καθάρης. Bryennios, Hilgenfeld, and Gebhardt tacitly retain καθαρεῖς. For the expression comp. Num. xiv. 18 καθαρισμῷ οὐ καθαριεῖ τὸν ἔνοχον, quoted by Bryennios.

11. τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας] See John xvii. 17 ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κ.τ.λ.; comp. xv. 3.

κατεύθυνον κ.τ.λ.] Ps. xxxix (xl). 3 κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματά μου, cxviii (cxix). 133 τὰ διαβήματά μου κατεύθυνον κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου. The phrase κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματα occurs also

Ps. xxxvi (xxxvii). 23, Prov. xx. 24. The word διαβήματα, 'steps', is rare, except in the LXX and writers influenced by it.

12. ἐν ὁσιότητι κ.τ.λ.] 1 Kings ix. 4 σὺ ἐὰν πορευθῇς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, καθὼς ἐπορεύθη Δαυεὶδ, ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας.

13. ποιεῖν κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xiii. 18 ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου: comp. *ib.* vi. 18, xii. 25, 28, xxi. 9.

15. ἐπίφανον] Ps. lxvi (lxvii). 1 ἐπιφάναι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς: comp. *ib.* xxx (xxxi). 18, lxxix (lxxx). 3, 7, 19, cxviii (cxix). 135. So also *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 179, *Apost. Const.* viii. 18, 37.

16. εἰς ἀγαθὰ] See Jer. xxi. 10 ἐστήρικα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν...οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθὰ; comp. Amos ix. 4, Jer. xxiv. 6. For εἰς ἀγαθὰ see also Gen. i. 20, Deut. xxx. 9, etc. Comp. *Liturg. D. Jacob.* p. 44 μνήσθητι...πάντων εἰς ἀγαθόν.

σκεπασθῆναι] For this connexion of σκεπάζειν comp. Is. li. 16 ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς χειρός μου σκεπάσω σε (comp. Wisd. v. 17, xix. 8), Deut. xxxiii. 27 σκεπάσει σε...ὑπὸ ἰσχύϊν βραχιόνων ἀνείνων: and for the anti-



χειρί σου τῇ κραταίᾳ καὶ ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ· καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως. δὲς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν γῆν, καθὼς ἔδωκας τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, ἐπικαλοῦμενων σε 5 αὐτῶν ὁσίως ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, [ὥστε σωῆσθαι ἡμᾶς] ὑπηκόους γινομένους τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ παναρέτῳ

6 ὁσίως] S; om. C. This use of the adverb is characteristic of Clement; otherwise I should have hesitated to introduce it on such authority. ὥστε σωῆσθαι ἡμᾶς] om. CS; see below. S renders *et in veritate oboedientes fuerunt nomini tuo* etc., thus connecting ἐν ἀληθείᾳ with the following clause. 7 παντοκράτορι καὶ παναρέτῳ] The words are transposed in S, but this does not imply

thetical χειρὶ κραταίᾳ, βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ, Exod. vi. 1, Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, vii. 19, ix. 26, xi. 2, xxvi. 8, Jer. xxxix (xxxii). 21, Ezek. xx. 33, 34.

3. τῶν μισούντων κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Justin. *Apol.* i. 14 (p. 61) τοὺς ἀδίκως μισούντας πείθειν πειρώμενοι, quoted by Harnack.

5. ἐπικαλοῦμένων κ.τ.λ.] Ps. cxliv (cxlv). 8 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλοῦμένοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. For ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ comp. 1 Tim. ii. 7.

7. ὑπηκόους κ.τ.λ.] This might be a loose accusative, referring to the datives ἡμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσιν κ.τ.λ.; comp. Ephes. i. 17, 18 δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας.....πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κ.τ.λ., Acts xxvi. 3 ἐπὶ σοῦ μέλλων σήμερον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, μάλιστα γνώστην ὄντα σε κ.τ.λ., and see Winer § xxxiii. p. 290, § lxiii. pp. 709 sq, 716, Kühner II. p. 667 sq. But a double transition, πατράσιν, ἐπικαλοῦμένων, γενομένους, would be very harsh; and for reasons which are stated in the introduction (I. p. 145 sq), I cannot doubt that some words have dropped out, such as I have inserted. Bryennios supplies καὶ σώσον ἡμᾶς; Gebhardt reads ὑπηκόοις γενομένοις; and Hilgenfeld alters the whole sentence. Lipsius

(*Jen. Lit.* Jan. 13, 1877) would insert ἐπικαλοῦμέναν σε ῥῦσαι τοὺς before ἐν πίστει κ.τ.λ.

παντοκράτορι] So Hermas *Vis.* iii. 3 τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος. At first it had occurred to me to read παντοκρατορικῷ, as it occurred to Gebhardt, and as Hilgenfeld actually reads; comp. § 8 τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ. The expression παντοκρατορικὸν ὄνομα occurs in Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iv. 30 (p. 225). The omission of -κῷ before καὶ would be easily explained, especially as the archetypal MS is shown to have been mutilated in this neighbourhood. But the parallel passage from Hermas quite justifies the reading of the MS. In the LXX παντοκράτωρ seems to be always applied directly to God either as an epithet of Θεὸς or Κύριος, or independently; and so in Clement himself, inscr., 2, 32. But the sense of τὸ ὄνομα, as almost an equivalent to ὁ Θεός (see [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 13, and the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3), explains the exceptional usage here and in Hermas.

παναρέτῳ κ.τ.λ.] For this expression comp. § 45, and for the word παναρέτος the note on § 1.

8. τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν κ.τ.λ.] The

ὀνόματί σου, τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

LXI. Κύ, δέσποτα, ἔδωκας τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ ἀνεκδιηγῆτου κράτους σου, εἰς τὸ γινώσκοντας ἡμᾶς τὴν ὑπὸ σου αὐτοῖς δεδομένην δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν ἐναντιουμένους τῷ θελήματί σου· οἷς δός,

any different Greek text: see above, I. p. 137. Also *παναρέτω* is translated as if ἐντίμῳ, *ἡριμῳ* (see § 3). But a single letter would make the difference, *ἡριμῳ* *excellenti*. Elsewhere *בכח מיתר* is the translation of *πανάρετος* (see §§ 1, 2, 45, 57); and the translator might here consider himself excused from the repetition of *παν*- which occurs in both words. See also on *παναγίῳ* above, § 58. 8 τοῖς

τε] C; καὶ τοῖς S.

10 ἔδωκας] add. *illis* S.

14 δός] *precamur ut des* S.

punctuation, which I have adopted, was suggested to me by Hort. It accords with the preceding words *εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμῶν*; it disposes of the superfluous *αὐτοῖς* (see however § 21, note); and it throws *Σὺ* into its proper position of prominence; e.g. § 60 *Σὺ τὴν δέξαον κ.τ.λ.* and § 61 just below, *Σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα κ.τ.λ.* See Athenag. *Suppl.* I *εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους καὶ δικαιοῦτά τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν*; comp. Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 11, who quotes Prov. xxiv. 21 *τίμα, υἱέ, Θεὸν καὶ βασιλεία κ.τ.λ.* The previous editors have all connected the words *τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν κ.τ.λ.* with the following sentence, as apparently does C.

LXI. 'To our earthly rulers, O Lord, Thou hast given the power, that we may render them due obedience in entire submission to Thy will. Therefore grant them health, peace, stability. For Thou, O Sovereign of heaven and King of Eternity, givest honour and authority to the sons of men upon earth. So guide their counsels, that they may administer well the power thus entrusted to them, and may obtain

Thy favour. O Thou, who alone art able to do this and far more than this, we praise Thee through our High-priest Jesus Christ, through whom be glory unto Thee for ever'.

10. *τῆς βασιλείας*] 'of the sovereignty', i.e. 'of the secular power'. For the genitive comp. Dan. xi. 20 *πράσσω δόξαν βασιλείας*, *ib.* 21 *ἔδωκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν δόξαν βασιλείας*. The *βασιλεία* is the secular as contrasted with the spiritual power; and, as such, it is frequently opposed to *ἱερωσύνη*, e.g. *Apost. Const.* ii. 34 *ὅσῳ ψυχῇ σώματος κρείττων, τοσούτῳ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας* (comp. vi. 2), *Test. Duod. Patr.* Jud. 21.

13. *ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.*] See I Pet. ii. 13, 15 *ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον...ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ*; comp. Rom. xiii. 2 *ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν*.

14. *δός κ.τ.λ.*] In accordance with the Apostolic injunctions, Rom. xiii. 1 sq, Tit. iii. 1, 1 Pet. ii. 13 sq: comp. Wisd. vi. 1 sq. See also Polyc. *Phil.* 12. For other passages in early Christian writers relating to prayers for temporal rulers, see

Κύριε, ὑγίειαν, εἰρήνην, ὁμόνοιαν, εὐστάθειαν, εἰς τὸ  
 διέπειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίαν  
 ἀπροσκόπως. σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεὺ  
 τῶν αἰώνων, δίδως τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν καὶ  
 τιμὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπαρχόντων· σύ, 5  
 Κύριε, διεύθυνον τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ καλὸν καὶ  
 εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅπως διέποντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ  
 πραύτητι εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτοῖς δεδομένην ἐξου-  
 σίαν ἱλεώ σου τυγχάνωσιν. ὁ μόνος δυνατὸς ποιῆσαι  
 ταῦτα καὶ περισσότερα ἀγαθὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν, σοὶ ἐξομο- 10

9 ἱλεώ σου τυγχάνωσιν] *tranquille compotes fiant auxilii quod (est) a te* S, obviously a paraphrase. 13 γενεάν] C; γενεὰς S. 16 καὶ] S; om. C. The clause is translated in S 'et de iis (rebus) scilicet (ΤΙ) quae in ea (religione), quae maxime utiles sunt illis qui volunt dirigere vitam (conversationem) excellentiae et pietatis et iuste, as if the translator had read τῶν ὀφελιμωτάτων δὴ (?) ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνάρπτον...διευθύνειν. At all events he must have had a text which a corrector had emended by striking out or altering εἰς, so as to govern βλον by διευθύνειν:

Bingham *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5, Harnack *Christl. Gemeindegottesd.* p. 218 sq (Justin Martyr), p. 378 sq (Tertullian). The Apologists naturally lay stress on the practice, as an answer to the charge of sedition.

1. εὐστάθειαν] 'stability', 'tranquillity', comp. § 65. The word may mean either 'firmness, steadiness' as a moral quality, or 'stability' as a material result. The latter seems to be intended here: comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 6 οὐκ ἔωντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν, Wisd. vi. 26 βασιλεὺς φρόνιμος εὐστάθεια δῆμου.

3. ἀπροσκόπως] 'without stumbling', 'without any jar or collision'; as § 20 τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν ἀπροσκόπως ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

βασιλεὺ τῶν αἰώνων] The phrase occurs only 1 Tim. i. 17 in the N.T., and as a v.l. in Rev. xv. 3; but it is found in the LXX, Tobit xiii. 6, 10; see also *Liturg. D. Jac.* p. 40. Comp. § 35 πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων, § 55

Θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων. Here the Eternal King is tacitly contrasted with the temporary kings, the βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων with the βασιλεῖς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (comp. Ign. *Rom.* 6).

6. διεύθυνον] As above § 20. Otherwise it is not a common word, and does not apparently occur at all in the LXX or N.T.

10. μεθ' ἡμῶν] As Luke i. 72 ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, *ib.* x. 37, and so probably Acts xiv. 27, xv. 4; comp. Ps. cxviii (cxix). 65 χρηστότητα ἐποίησας μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου. It is the Hebraism עַם עַמּוֹ.

11. ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 36.

12. ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 20. It is a favourite form of doxology in Clement.

13. εἰς γενεὰν γενεῶν] i.e. 'the generation which comprises all the generations'; as Ps. ci (cii). 24 ἐν γενεᾷ γενεῶν τὰ ἔτη σου: comp. Ephes. iii. 21 τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων. This is



λογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν  
ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι ἡ δόξα καὶ  
ἡ μεγαλωσύνη καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεὰν γενεῶν καὶ εἰς  
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

5 LXII. Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἡμῶν,  
καὶ τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον τοῖς θέλουσιν  
εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως διευθύνειν [τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν],  
ικανῶς ἐπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. περὶ γὰρ  
πίστεως καὶ μετανοίας καὶ γνησίας ἀγάπης καὶ ἐγ-

see above, I. pp. 144, 145. In the Syriac we should probably read ܡܬܘܨܝܬܐ for ܡܬܘܨܝܬܐ, i.e. *in pietate* (=εὐσεβῶς) for *et pietatis*. 17 τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν] om. CS: see below. 19 ἐγκρατείας] ܐܬܝܢܝܢ ܠܥ super *continentia* (as if

ὑπὲρ ἐγκρατείας) S, for another preposition (ܠܡܐ de) has been used before for *per*. Perhaps however the insertion of a different preposition is a mere rhetorical device of the translator; or ܠܥ may be an accidental repetition of the first syllable of the following word, as the Syriac forms of the letters would suggest. We cannot safely infer a different Greek text.

a rare mode of expression, the commoner forms being εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν or εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν, which are quite different in meaning.

LXII. 'Enough has been said by us however concerning the things pertaining to our religion and necessary for a virtuous life. For we have left no point untouched concerning faith and repentance and the like, reminding you that ye ought in all righteousness to pay your thanksgiving to God, living in harmony and peace and love; like as our fathers behaved with all humility towards God and towards all men. And we have done this with the more pleasure, because we knew that we were speaking to faithful men, who had made a diligent study of God's oracles'.

15. τῶν ἀνηκόντων] With a dative as in § 35; see the note on Ign. *Philad.* I. It has a different construction, ἀνήκειν εἰς, § 45. See the

note there.

τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἡμῶν] Comp. § 45 τῶν θρησκευόντων τὴν μεγαλοπρεπὴ καὶ ἔνδοξον θρησκείαν τοῦ ὑψίστου. This passage explains the force of the words here: 'that befit men who serve the one true God'.

16. ἐνάρετον] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* I.

17. διευθύνειν] The MS is obviously defective here; and we must supply some such words as τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν (see § 48), or τὰ διαβήματα (§ 60), or perhaps with Bryennios τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν (§ 61). See the introduction, I. p. 145 sq.

18. ἱκανῶς ἐπεστείλαμεν] Bryennios has called attention to the similarity of language used by Irenæus, when describing this epistle, iii. 3. 3 ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος, στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις.

κρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ὑπομονῆς πάντα τόπον ἐψηλαφήσαμεν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ ὁσίως εὐαρεστεῖν, ὁμονοοῦντας ἀμνησικάκως ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ἐκτενοῦς ἐπιεικείας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ προδεδηλωμένοι πατέρες ἡμῶν εὐηρέστησαν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ Θεὸν καὶ κτίσ-

1 τόπον] add. *scripturae* S.

same confusion above, § 41. The reading of S was anticipated by Hilg. and Gebh. 5 καθὼς καὶ] καθὼς (om. καὶ) S.

7 Θεὸν καὶ κτίστην] *universi creatorem deum* (θεὸν παγκτίστην?) S; comp. § 19.

8 πρὸς] S; om. C. The authority of S in such a case is valueless in itself (see I. p. 137), but the preposition seems to be required here.

9 ἡδίων] ἡ δι' ὧν S, which translates the clause, *et haec tanto sint (erunt) per ea quae monuimus*. The translator has had a corrupt text and has translated it word for word, regardless of sense.

ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἤδειμεν

1. πάντα τόπον κ.τ.λ.] 'we have handled every topic'; Bryennios adds by way of explanation, *μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν*, thus taking πάντα τόπον to mean 'every passage'; and so it is rendered in the Syriac Version, 'place of Scripture'. In this sense τόπος occurs above in the expression ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ, §§ 8, 29, 46. But this meaning does not seem at all natural here, where the word is used absolutely. For τόπος 'a topic, argument', comp. e.g. Epict. *Diss.* i. 7. 4 ἐπίσκεψίν τινα ποιητέον τῶν τόπων τούτων, ii. 17. 31 ὅταν τούτων ἐκπονήσῃ...τὸν τόπον, and see other references in Schweighäuser's index to Epictetus, s.v. For ψηλαφᾶν comp. e.g. Polyb. viii. 18. 4 πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἐψηλάφα.

4. εὐαρεστεῖν] Doubtless the correct reading, as it explains the subsequent εὐηρέστησαν. For another example of the confusion of εὐαρεστεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν, in the authorities, see § 41.

ἀμνησικάκως] See § 2 ἀμνησικάκοι (with the note). This word involves an appeal to the sufferers from the

schisms, who are bidden to harbour no grudge.

5. μετὰ ἐκτενοῦς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 58, where the same expression occurs.

6. οἱ προδεδηλωμένοι κ.τ.λ.] See §§ 17, 18, 19; comp. also § 30 ἐδόθη [ἡ μαρτυρία] τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῖς δίκαιοις, and § 31 ἀνατυλίξωμεν τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γεγόμενα· τίνος χάριν ὑπολογίσθῃ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ; κ.τ.λ. For this use of πατέρες in speaking of Jewish worthies, see the note on § 4.

10. ἐλλογιμωτάτοις] See the note on § 58 ἐλλόγιμος.

ἐγκεκυφῶσιν] Comp. § 53 καλῶς ἐπίστασθε τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ ἐγκεκύφατε εἰς τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, with the note. For the word ἐγκύπτειν see the note on § 40.

LXIII. 'We ought therefore to regard so many great examples, and to bow the neck in submission; that laying aside all strife we may reach our destined goal. Ye will make us happy indeed, if ye obey and cease from your dissensions in accordance with our exhortation to

την καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ταῦτα τοσούτῳ ἡδίων ὑπεμνήσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἡδαιμεν γράφειν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν πιστοῖς καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτοις καὶ ἐγκυφόσιν εἰς τὰ λόγια τῆς παιδείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

LXIII. Θεμιτὸν οὖν ἐστὶν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τοσοῦτοις ὑποδείγμασιν προσελθόντας ὑποθεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς τόπον ἀναπληρώσαντας

γράφειν] *quia scilicet manifeste est iis; oportuit enim* (μὲν) *ut scriberemus* S, i.e. ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἦ· δεῖ (or ἔδει) μὲν γὰρ γράφειν κ.τ.λ. Again a corrupt reading, or rather a false division of the words, has been translated almost *verbatim*. For the facility with which γὰρ might be omitted or inserted before γράφω, see Ign. Rom. 7. 10 ἐλλογιμωτάτοις] *doctis* S.

13 ὑποθεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον] *inclinemus collum*

*nostrum et subjiciamus nos* S.

14 ἀναπληρώσαντας...ἡμῶν] *implentes inclinemur illis qui sunt duces animarum nostrarum* S; ἀναπληρῶσαι C, omitting all the other words: see the lower note.

peace. And we have sent to you faithful men who have lived among us unblameably from youth to old age, to be witnesses between us and you. This we have done, to show you how great is our anxiety that peace may be speedily restored among you'.

12. Θεμιτὸν] The use of this word seems to be extremely rare, except with a negative, οὐ θεμιτὸν (e.g. Tobit ii. 13) or ἀθέμιτον (see below).

τοῖς τοιούτοις κ.τ.λ.] § 46 Τοιούτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασιν κολληθῆναι καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ κ.τ.λ. For τοιούτοις καὶ τοσοῦτοις comp. § 19.

13. προσελθόντας] 'having acceded to, attended to, assented to, studied', as in § 33; comp. 1 Tim. vi. 3 εἴ τις ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖ καὶ μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγοις. So we find προσέρχεσθαι ἀρετῇ 'to apply oneself to virtue', Philo *de Migr. Abr.* 16 (I. p. 449); προσέρχεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις 'to study the laws', Diod. i. 95; προσέρχεσθαι τῇ σοφίᾳ, τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ, 'to become a follower of wisdom, of philosophy', Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* i. 2 (p. 2), iii. 18 (p. 50), comp. LXX

Ecclus. vi. 26 ὁ προσελθὼν αὐτῇ (i.e. τῇ σοφίᾳ); προσέρχεσθαι φόβῳ Κυρίου 'to give heed to the fear of the Lord', LXX Ecclus. i. 30; προσέρχεσθαι μηδενὶ τῶν εἰρημένων Philo *de Gig.* 9 (I. p. 267); προσέρχεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 48. These senses are derived ultimately from the idea of 'approaching a person as a disciple'; e.g. Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 47 ὧν περ ἐνεκεν καὶ Σωκράτει προσῆλθον.

ὑποθεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον] 'submit your neck', i.e. 'to the yoke'; comp. Ecclus. li. 26 τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν (comp. *ib.* vi. 24, 25), Epictet. *Diss.* iv. 1. 77 παρέδωκας σαντὸν δοῦλον, ὑπέθηκας τὸν τράχηλον. So too Acts xv. 10 ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον. The expression is used in a different sense in Rom. xvi. 4 ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν, where it means 'laid their neck on the block', not 'pledged their lives', as Wetstein and others take it.

14. τόπον ἀναπληρώσαντας] 'to occupy the place', 'fulfil the function'; comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 16 ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, where the



προσκληθῆναι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀρχηγοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν  
 ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἡσυχάσαντες τῆς ματαίας στάσεως ἐπὶ τὸν  
 προκείμενόν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σκοπὸν δίχα παντὸς μώμου  
 καταντήσωμεν. χαρὰν γὰρ καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἡμῖν παρέ-  
 ξετε, ἐὰν ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις 5  
 διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐκκόψητε τὴν ἀθέμιτον τοῦ  
 ζήλους ὑμῶν ὀργὴν κατὰ τὴν ἔντευξιν ἣν ἐποίησάμεθα  
 περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Ἐπέμ-

2 ἡσυχάσαντες] *quiescentes et tranquilli* S.

3 μώμου] *add. et scandalo* S.

4 ἀγαλλίασιν] *add. magnam* S.

5 γεγραμμένοις] *add. vobis* S.

7 ἔντευξιν]

choice of this elaborate expression is probably a studied paradox to bring out the honourable character of a private station; *τόπος* denoting official position or dignity (see above, § 40, and the note on Ign. *Polyc.* I), while *ιδιότης* implies the opposite of this. So too here the object may be to enhance the important *function* of obedience. See *Clem. Hom.* iii. 60 τὸν ἐμὸν ἀναπληροῦντα τόπον, and comp. Joseph. *B. J.* v. 2. 5 στρατιώτου τάξιν ἀποπληροῦντα.

I. προσκληθῆναι κ.τ.λ.] These words are wanting in the Greek MS, and I have restored them by retranslation from the Syriac: see the critical note. The true *partisan-ship* is here tacitly contrasted with the false; the rightful *leaders* with the wrongful. The language is explained by what has gone before; § 14 μυσεροῦ ζήλους ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολουθεῖν, § 51 ἐκεῖνοι οὔτινες ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς στάσεως καὶ διχοστασίας ἐγενήθησαν, § 47 διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιήσθαι... προσεκλίθητε γὰρ κ.τ.λ., § 50 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ εὐρεθῶμεν δίχα προσκλίσεως ἀνθρωπίνης ἁμωμοι (comp. § 21 μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις). The command to choose the right *partisan-ships* here has a parallel in § 45 φιλόνοικοι ἔσθε...περὶ τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν (see the note). The

Syriac is נחנך להנח דאיתיהון נחנך נחנך נחנך. For נחנך I cannot think of any word so probable as προσκληθῆναι, since נחן is a common translation of κλίνειν, and in § 21 προσκλίσεις is rendered נחנינותא דאפא; though προσκλίνεσθαι, πρόσκλις, are rendered otherwise, but variously, in §§ 47, 50, Acts v. 36, 1 Tim. v. 21. On the other hand מדרבנא 'ductores' might be variously rendered. It most commonly represents ὁ ἡγούμενος (§§ 1, 32, 37 in a double rendering, 55, Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24); but elsewhere ἡγεμών, καθηγητής, ὁδηγός, etc., even βουλευτής. I have given ἀρχηγός, because it brings out the contrast which Clement seems to have had in his mind. In §§ 14, 51, however, ἀρχηγός is rendered otherwise, נשיא, נשיא, and so commonly.

2. στάσεως] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* i. 4 τῶν τοιούτων λογισμῶν ἡσυχάζειν. This construction follows the analogy of verbs denoting cessation, etc. (see Kühner II. p. 341 sq). It is unnecessary therefore to read ἡσυχασάσης, as Gebhardt suggests.

3. σκοπὸν] Comp. § 6 ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον καταντήσωμεν, and § 19 ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδοχόμενον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπόν, which explains the idea in the writer's mind here. The expression

ψαμεν δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς καὶ σώφρονας, ἀπὸ νεότητος ἀναστραφέντας ἕως γήρους ἀμέμπτως ἐν ἡμῖν, οἵτινες καὶ μάρτυρες ἔσονται μεταξὺ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποιήσαμεν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι πᾶσα ἡμῖν φροντίς καὶ γέγονεν καὶ ἔστιν εἰς τὸ ἐν τάχει ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύσαι.

LXIV. Λοιπὸν ὁ παντεπόπτης Θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ Κύριος πάσης σαρκός, ὁ ἐκλεξά-

*supplicationem et exhortationem* S.  
*tives* καὶ] S; οἵτινες (om. καὶ) C.

9 δὲ καὶ] S; δὲ (om. καὶ) C. II οἵ-  
 15 Λοιπὸν] C; ..ιπον A; λοιπὸν δὲ S.

itself is perhaps suggested by Heb. xii. 1 *τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα*. For σκοπόν comp. Phil. iii. 14. μῶμον] 'fault, defect': see the note on *μωμοσκοπηθέν* § 41. In the Old Testament it is always a translation of מִמָּוֶה 'a blemish'.

4. *χαρὰν* κ.τ.λ.] As in Luke i. 14 (comp. Matt. v. 12, Rev. xix. 7); see also *Mart. Polyc.* 18. This combination of words *χαρὰ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις* does not occur in the LXX.

6. *διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*] See the note on § 59 *τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις*. Harnack takes these words with *ἐκκόψητε*, but this does not seem so natural.

*ἀθέμιτον*] Acts x. 28, 1 Pet. iv. 3; and so too 2 Macc. vi. 5, vii. 1, x. 34.

7. *ζήλους*] See the note on § 4.  
*ἐντευξιν*] This should probably be explained of the 'appeal' to the Corinthians themselves; see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 19. It might however refer to the foregoing 'prayer' to God for concord; comp. e.g. 1 Tim. ii. 1, iv. 5, Herm. *Mand.* x. 2.

9. *ἄνδρας*] Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, whose names are given below, § 65. For the light which this notice throws on the early history of the Roman Church see the introduction, I. p. 27 sq; and for its bearing on the date, see I. p. 349.

10. *γήρους*] So Luke i. 36 *γήρει* (the correct reading), and in several passages in the LXX, e.g. Ps. xci (xcii). 14 *γήρει*, 1 Kings xiv. 4 *γήρους*, Eccus. viii. 6, etc., with more or less agreement in the principal MSS; so also *Clem. Hom.* iii. 43. On this form see *Winer Gramm.* § ix. p. 73 sq, *Steph. Thes. s. v.*, ed. Hase. Our MS has also *γήρει* above in § 10, where A reads *γήρα*.

LXIV. 'Finally, may the God of all spirits and all flesh, who hath chosen us in Christ Jesus, grant us all graces through Christ, our High-priest, through whom be glory and honour to Him. Amen.'

15. *Λοιπὸν*] For *λοιπὸν* or *τὸ λοιπόν*, with which S. Paul frequently ushers in the close of his epistles, see *Philippians* iii. 1. The happy conjecture of Vansittart which I adopted in my first edition is confirmed by our new authorities.

*παντεπόπτης*] See the note on § 55.  
*Θεὸς...τῶν πνευμάτων κ.τ.λ.*] Num. xxvii. 16 *Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός* (comp. xvi. 22): see also Heb. xii. 9 *τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων*, Rev. xxii. 6 *Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν*.

16. *ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος*] See Luke ix. 35 *ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος* (the correct reading, though there are vv. 11.

μενος τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ  
εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, δῶν πάση ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένη τὸ  
μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πίστιν, φόβον,  
εἰρήνην, ὑπομονήν, μακροθυμίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, ἀγνείαν  
καὶ σωφροσύνην, εἰς εὐαρέστησιν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ 5

1 ἡμᾶς] AS; ἡμεῖς C. 3 μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον] AC; *sanctum et decens*  
(in) *magnitudine et gloriosum* S; see above, I. p. 137. φόβον, εἰρήνην, ὑπο-  
μονήν] AC; *et timorem et concordiam et amorem et patientiam* S. 4 μακροθυ-  
μίαν] A; καὶ μακροθυμίαν CS. ἐγκράτειαν, ἀγνείαν] AC (but αγνίαν A); καὶ  
ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀγνείαν S. 5 καὶ σωφροσύνην] AS; σωφροσύνην (om. καὶ) C.  
ὀνόματι] AC; add. *sancto* S. 6 ἀρχιερέως] AC; add. *magni* S. 7 δόξα]

ἐκλεκτός and ἀγαπητός). So too Luke  
xxiii. 35 ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ-  
λεκτός: comp. I Pet. ii. 4 sq. Harnack  
refers to *Hermes Sim.* v. 2 ἐκλεξά-  
μενος δούλον τινα πιστὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον  
ἐντιμον, where the servant entrusted  
with the vineyard represents Christ.  
It is clear from Enoch xl. 5, xlv. 3, 4,  
li. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 1, that ὁ ἐκλεκτός was  
a recognized designation of the  
Messiah.

1. ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ] Ephes. i. 4 καθ-  
ὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ (i.e. ἐν  
Χριστῷ).

2. εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον] Deut. xiv.  
4 καὶ σὲ ἐξελέξατο Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου  
γενέσθαι σε λαὸν αὐτῷ περιούσιον;  
comp. *ib.* vii. 6, xxvi. 18, Exod. xix. 5,  
Ps. cxxxiv. 4, Tit. ii. 14 καθάρισιν  
ἐαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον. In the LXX  
λαὸς περιούσιος is a translation of  
לְנֶדְבָה, the expression doubtless  
present to S. Peter's mind when he  
spoke of λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (I Pet.  
ii. 9). In Mal. iii. 17 לְנֶדְבָה is trans-  
lated εἰς περιποίησιν in the LXX, and  
περιούσιος by Aquila. As לְנֶדְבָה is  
'peculium', 'opes', (נָדַב 'acquisivit'),  
περιούσιος would seem to mean 'ac-  
quired over and above', and hence  
'specially acquired' with a meaning  
similar to the classical *ἐξαιρέτος*. It  
was rendered at once literally and  
effectively in the Latin Bible by  
'peculiaris'. See my *Revision of the*

*English New Testament* p. 195 sq  
(ed. 2).

ἐπικεκλημένη] 'which hath in-  
voked his name'; comp. Acts ii. 21,  
ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16, etc. So it is trans-  
lated actively in the Syriac. Or is it  
rather, as the perfect tense suggests,  
'which is called by his name'? This  
latter makes better sense, especially  
in connexion with λαὸς περιούσιος;  
but with this meaning the common  
constructions in biblical Greek would  
be ἐφ' ἣν (or ἐφ' ἧ) ἐπικέκληται τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (e.g. Acts xv. 17, James  
ii. 7, and freq. in the LXX, or τῇ ἐπι-  
κεκλημένῃ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ (Is. xliii. 7).

4. ἀγνείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην] So too  
*Ign. Ephes.* 10; comp. Tit. ii. 5  
σώφρονας, ἀγνάς.

5. εὐαρέστησιν] The word occurs  
*Test. xii Patr.* Is. 4.

6. ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτον] See  
the note on § 36 above, where the  
expression is expanded.

7. δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη] See the  
note on § 20, where also these two  
words occur together in a doxology:  
comp. also § 59, where nearly the  
same combination of words as here  
is repeated. In Rev. v. 13 we have  
ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

LXV. 'We have sent Claudius  
Ephebus and Valerius Bito to you.  
Let them return to us quickly accom-



διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·  
δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος, τιμή, καὶ  
νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

LXV. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφ' ἡμῶν Κλαύδιον  
Ἐφρηβον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Βίτωνα σὺν καὶ Φορτουνάτῳ ἐν

AC; *pāsa dōxa* S, which omits the following words καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος, τιμή,  
καὶ νῦν καὶ. καὶ] om. C. τιμή] A; καὶ τιμή C. 8 πάντας] AC;

om. S. 10 καὶ Οὐαλέριον] AC; *Valerium* (om. καὶ) or *et Alerium* S; but this  
is doubtless owing to the accidental omission of a 1 before Οὐαλέριον by a Syrian  
scribe. Βίτωνα] AC; om. S. The punctuation of both C and S is faulty

here, in separating names which belong to the same person. σὺν καὶ] AC;  
σὺν (om. καὶ) S. Φορτουνάτῳ] A; Φουρτουνάτῳ C; *Fortunato* S.

panied by Fortunatus, and bear glad tidings of harmony and peace restored among you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all. Through Him be glory to God for ever.'

9. Κλαύδιον κ.τ.λ.] These two names, Claudius and Valerius, suggest some connexion with the imperial household; as the fifth Cæsar with his two predecessors belonged to the Claudian gens and his empress Messalina to the Valerian. Hence it happens that during and after the reign of Claudius we not unfrequently find the names Claudius (Claudia) and Valerius (Valeria) in conjunction, referring to slaves or retainers of the Cæsars. It is not impossible therefore that these two delegates of the Roman Church were among the members of 'Cæsar's household' mentioned in Phil. iv. 22, and fairly probable that they are in some way connected with the palace; see the dissertation in *Philippians* p. 169 sq. On this subject see also the introduction, I. p. 27 sq. Of the two cognomina Ephebus is not so uncommon. On the other hand Bito is rare in Latin, though commoner in Greek (comp. Pape-Benseler *Wörterb. d. Griech. Eigennamen* s.v. Βίτων). For instances in Latin of

this and allied names see above, I. p. 28. In Muratori, 1367 no. 12, it occurs as a woman's name, LONGINVS. BITONI. VXORI. AMENTO.

10. σὺν καὶ Φορτουνάτῳ] For the position of καὶ comp. Phil. iv. 3 μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος (quoted by Laurent p. 425). Hilgenfeld adds 'from the *Assumption of Moses*' Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15 (p. 806) σὺν καὶ τῷ Χαλέβ. The clever emendation of Davies σὺν Γαῖῳ Φορτουνάτῳ is therefore unnecessary; and moreover the testimony of A is now reinforced by one other Greek MS. The form of expression seems to separate Fortunatus from Ephebus and Bito: and, if so, he was perhaps not a Roman who accompanied the letter, but a Corinthian from whom Clement was expecting a visit. In this case there is no improbability in identifying him with the Fortunatus of I Cor. xvi. 17; for Fortunatus seems to be mentioned by S. Paul (A.D. 57) as a younger member of the household of Stephanas, and might well be alive less than forty years after, when Clement wrote. It must be remembered however, that Fortunatus is a very common name. See above, I. p. 29, note 3, p. 62, note 1.

ἐν εἰρήνῃ κ.τ.λ.] I Cor. xvi. 11 προπέμψατε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

εἰρήνη μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐν τάχει ἀναπέμψατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως θάττον τὴν εὐκταίαν καὶ ἐπιποθήτην ἡμῖν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀπαγγέλλωσιν· εἰς τὸ τάχιον καὶ ἡμᾶς χαρῆναι περὶ τῆς εὐσταθείας ὑμῶν.

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν 5 καὶ μετὰ πάντων πανταχῇ τῶν κεκλημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ· δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

1 ἀναπέμψατε] ανεπεμψατε A. 2 ἐπιποθήτην] A; ἐπιπόθητον C. εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν] AC; ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην S. 3 ἀπαγγέλλωσιν] A (the first λ being supplied above the line but *prima manu*); ἀπαγγέλωσιν C. τάχιον] ταχειῶ A. 4 εὐσταθείας] ευσταθιας A. 7 καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ] AS; δι' αὐτοῦ (om. καὶ) C. τιμὴ ... ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων] AC; om. S. As the general tendency of S is rather to add than to omit, the omissions in this neighbourhood (more especially in the proper names) suggest that the translator's copy of the Greek was blurred or mutilated in this part. It must be observed however that the omissions of S, here and above § 64, reduce the doxology to Clement's normal type; comp. e.g. §§ 32, 38, 43, 45, 50. 8 εἰς] AS; καὶ εἰς C.

For the subscriptions in our authorities see above, I. pp. 117, 122, 131.

2. θάττον] This form is doubly strange here, as it does not occur in the New Testament, and Clement uses the usual τάχιον two lines below. Θάττον however is found in *Mart. Ign.* 3, 5, *Mart. Polyc.* 13, in which latter passage θάττον and τάχιον occur in consecutive sentences as here. Both our MSS agree in reading θάττον here, and τάχιον just below.

εὐκταίαν] The word does not occur in the LXX or New Testament, though common in classical Greek.

ἐπιποθήτην] As an adjective of three terminations; comp. Barnab. § 1 ἡ ἐπιποθήτη ὄψις ὑμῶν, where Hilgenfeld unnecessarily reads ἐπιπόθητος. The feminine does not occur in the LXX or New Testament. For similar instances of adjectives of three terminations in the New Testament see A. Buttmann p. 22 sq; and on the whole subject refer to

Lobeck *Paral.* p. 455 sq, especially p. 473 sq.

4. εὐσταθείας] 'tranquillity'; comp. *Wisd.* vi. 26, 2 Macc. xiv. 6. On εὐσταθεῖν see the notes to *Ign. Polyc.* 4.

6. καὶ μετὰ πάντων κ.τ.λ.] For a benediction similarly extended see 1 Cor. i. 2 σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.

8. θρόνος αἰώνιος] This doxology is imitated in *Mart. Polyc.* 21 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. Here θρόνος αἰώνιος seems to be thrown in as an after thought, the ascription having ended with καὶ μεγαλωσύνη; and the idea of αἰώνιος is prolonged by the thrice repeated αἰώνων, αἰῶνας, αἰώνων.

For the obligations of the beginning and end of this same document to the Epistle of Clement see *Ignat. and Polyc.* I. p. 610 sq, ed. I (p. 626 sq, ed. 2).

THE SO-CALLED  
SECOND EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT  
TO  
THE CORINTHIANS.





## AN ANCIENT HOMILY.

### I.

WE have seen that the table of contents prefixed to our leading MS (A) ascribes to Clement the Second Epistle equally with the First. On the other hand it ought to be noticed that there is no heading  $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\rho\iota\nu\theta\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \beta$ , as the corresponding title of the First would lead us to expect. If we could feel sure that this phenomenon was not due to the mutilation of the MS (see above, I. p. 117), the fact would be significant. Though the scribe held the Second Epistle to be not only a letter of Clement, but also (as we may perhaps infer) a letter to the Corinthians; yet the absence of such a title might have been transmitted from an earlier copy, where the work was anonymous and not intended to be ascribed to this father. But the alternative supposition that the title has disappeared by mutilation is at least not improbable (see below, p. 199). In the later Greek MS (C) the second Epistle is entitled 'Of Clement to the Corinthians', like the first (see above, I. p. 122).

On the other hand the Syriac Version makes a distinction between the two (see I. p. 131 sq). The First Epistle is described as 'The Catholic Epistle of Clement the disciple of Peter the Apostle to the Church of the Corinthians'; where not only is the epistle not numbered, but a distinguishing epithet is prefixed. In the case of the Second however, though the scribe makes no difference in the authorship and designation of the two, the title is given more simply 'Of the same (Clement) the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.' This distinction may be accidental; but a probable explanation is, that in some Greek MS, from which the Syriac Version was ultimately derived, the First Epistle stood alone, the Second not having yet been attached to it.

While the First Epistle is universally attributed to Clement, the balance of external testimony is strongly opposed to his being regarded

as the author of the Second. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who throws serious doubts on its genuineness (*H.E.* iii. 37). After describing the First he adds, 'I should mention also that there is said to be a Second Epistle of Clement (ιστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή) : but we do not know that this is recognised like the former (οὐ μὲν ἔθ' ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα) ; for we do not find the older writers making any use of it (ὅτι μηδὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν). Then after summarily rejecting other pretended Clementine writings, because 'they are never once mentioned by the ancients' and 'do not preserve the stamp of Apostolic orthodoxy intact', he concludes by referring again to the First Epistle, which he calls 'the acknowledged writing of Clement (ἡ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογούμενη γραφή).' And in other passages, where he has occasion to speak of it, he uses similar expressions, 'the Epistle of Clement', 'the acknowledged Epistle of Clement' (*H. E.* iii. 16, iv. 22, 23, vi. 13). The statement of Eusebius is more than borne out by facts. Not only is a Second Epistle of Clement not mentioned by early writers ; but it is a reasonable inference from the language of Hegesippus and Dionysius of Corinth<sup>1</sup> (as reported by Eusebius), and of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria (as read in their extant writings), that they cannot have known or at least accepted any such epistle<sup>2</sup>. Rufinus and Jerome use still more decisive language. The former professedly translates Eusebius, 'Dicitur esse et alia Clementis epistola cujus nos notitiam non accepimus'; the latter tacitly paraphrases him, 'Fertur et secunda ejus nomine epistola quae a veteribus reprobat' (*de Vir.* III. 15). These writers are not independent witnesses, but the strength, which they consciously or unconsciously add to the language of the Greek original, has at least a negative value ; for they could not have so written, if any Second Epistle

<sup>1</sup> Hegesippus, *H. E.* iii. 16, iv. 22 : Dionysius, *H. E.* iv. 23. The words of the latter are τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάρουμεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν ἔχομεν ἀεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοθευεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν. He is writing in the name of the Corinthians to the Romans, acknowledging a letter which they had received from the brethren in Rome written apparently by their bishop Soter ; and he declares that his Church will preserve and read from time to time this second letter from the Romans, as they do the former which

was written by Clement. Thus he seems to know of only one letter of Clement to the Corinthians. The passage however has been strangely misinterpreted, as though τὴν προτέραν meant the former of Clement's two epistles—a meaning which the context does not at all favour and which the grammar excludes, for then we should require τὴν προτέραν τῶν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσων.

<sup>2</sup> The passages from these, and later fathers, to whom I shall have occasion to refer, are given in full above, i. p. 153 sq.



of Clement which might be accepted as genuine had fallen within the range of their knowledge.

Early in the 9th century Georgius Syncellus still speaks of 'the *one genuine* letter to the Corinthians' (*Chronog.* A.D. 78, I. p. 651, ed. Dind.); and later in the same century Photius (*Bibl.* 113) writes, 'The so-called Second Epistle (of Clement) to the same persons (the Corinthians) is rejected as spurious (ὡς νόθος ἀποδοκιμάζεται).'

Meanwhile however this epistle had been gradually gaining recognition as a genuine work of Clement. The first distinct mention of it as such is in the MS A, which belongs probably to the fifth century; but the notice of Eusebius implies that even in his day some persons were disposed to accept it. At a later period its language and teaching made it especially welcome to the Monophysites and from the close of the 5th century it is frequently quoted as genuine. Thus citations are found in TIMOTHEUS of ALEXANDRIA (I. p. 180 sq) in the middle of the 5th century and in SEVERUS of ANTIOCH (I. p. 182 sq) during the early decades of the 6th, besides certain anonymous Syriac collections (I. p. 183 sq), which may date from this latter period or subsequently. The doubtful reference in the PSEUDO-JUSTIN has been discussed above (I. p. 178 sq). To the 6th century also may perhaps be ascribed the APOSTOLICAL CANONS, where (can. 85) 'Two Epistles of Clement' are included among the books of the New Testament (see above, I. p. 187). About the opening of the 7th century again it is quoted by DOROTHEUS the ARCHIMANDRITE (see I. p. 190); in the 8th century by JOANNES DAMASCENUS (see I. p. 193), if indeed the passage has not been interpolated<sup>1</sup>; and in the 11th by NICON of RHÆTHUS (see the notes, § 3). If in the *Stichometria* attached to the Chronography of NICEPHORUS (†A.D. 828) it is placed with the First Epistle among the apocrypha, this classification does not question its genuineness but merely denies its canonicity.

But what is the external authority for considering it an *Epistle to the Corinthians*? We have seen that it is called an *Epistle* from the first; but the designation *to the Corinthians* is neither so early nor so universal. It was not so designated by Eusebius or Jerome or Timotheus. But in SEVERUS of ANTIOCH (c. A.D. 520) for the first time a quotation is distinctly given as 'from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians'. The Syriac MS itself which contains the extract from Severus 'can hardly,' in Cureton's opinion, 'have been transcribed later than the commencement of the 8th century and might have been

<sup>1</sup> See the investigation above, I. p. 373 sq.

written about the end of the 6th.' In other Syriac extracts also which perhaps belong to the 6th century, it is quoted in this way. In the copy used by Photius again it appears to have been so entitled (*Bibl.* 126 βιβλιδάριον ἐν ᾧ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους β' ἐνεφέροντο, compared with *Bibl.* 113 ἡ λεγομένη δευτέρα πρὸς τοὺς αὐτούς); and John Damascene twice cites it as 'the Second Epistle to the Corinthians'.

Passing from the external to the internal evidence, we have to seek an answer to these several questions; (1) Is it truly designated an Epistle? (2) Was it addressed to the Corinthians? (3) What indications of date does it give? (4) Who was the author, Clement or another?

## 2.

Having considered the external testimony, we are now in a position to interrogate the internal evidence.

The questions suggested by the common attribute, 'The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,' are threefold; (1) Was it an epistle? If not, what is the nature of the document? (2) Was it addressed to the Corinthians or to some other Church? (3) Was it written by Clement or by some one else? In order to answer this last question we have to enquire what indications we find of date and authorship?

(i) The answer to our first question is ready to hand. If the First Epistle of Clement is the earliest foreshadowing of a Christian liturgy, the so-called Second Epistle is the first example of a Christian *homily*.

The newly recovered ending has set this point at rest for ever. The work is plainly not a letter, but a homily, a sermon<sup>1</sup>. The speaker addresses his hearers more than once towards the close as 'brothers and sisters' (§§ 19, 20). Elsewhere he appeals to them in language which is quite explicit on the point at issue. 'Let us not think,' he says, 'to give heed and believe now only, while we are being admonished

<sup>1</sup> Grabe (*Spic. Patr.* i. p. 268, 300) supposed it to be a homily forged in Clement's name. He referred to Anastasius (*Quaest.* 96), who quotes from the sacred and apostolic doctor Clement in his first discourse (λόγος) concerning 'providence and righteous judgment,' as showing that such homilies were forged

in Clement's name. The event has shown his conjecture to be right as to the character of the document. In all other respects he is in error. The Clement of Anastasius is not the Roman, but the Alexandrian; and our homily bears no traces of a forgery or of pretending to be Clement's.

by the presbyters; but likewise when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, etc.' (§ 17). And again a little later he speaks still more definitely; 'After the God of truth, I read to you an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written (i.e. to the scriptures which have just been read), so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth in the midst of you' (§ 19). These words remind us of the language in which Justin, who wrote within a few years of the probable date of this homily, describes the simple services of the Christians in his time. 'On the day called Sunday,' he says, 'all remaining in their several cities and districts, they come together in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles [i.e. the Gospels, as he explains himself elsewhere] or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time admits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president (ὁ προεστώς) in a discourse (διὰ λόγου) gives instruction and invites (his hearers) to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise in a body and offer up our prayers' (*Apol.* i. 67, quoted in the notes on § 19). Here then is one of these exhortations, which is delivered after the 'God of truth' has been first heard in the scriptures<sup>1</sup>; and, this being so, the preacher was doubtless, as Justin describes him, ὁ προεστώς, the leading minister of the Church, i.e. the bishop or one of the presbyters, as the case might be. A different view indeed has been taken by Harnack. He supposes that the homily was delivered by a layman<sup>2</sup>, drawing his inference from the mention of the presbyters (in § 17 just quoted) as persons whom the preacher and his hearers alike were bound to listen to. But this language can only be regarded, I think, as an example of a very common rhetorical figure, by which the speaker places himself on a level with his audience, and of which several instances are furnished by the genuine Epistle of Clement, who again and again identifies himself with the factious brethren at Corinth (see the note on § 17). On very rare occasions indeed we read of laymen preaching in the early Church; but such concessions were only made to persons who had an exceptionally brilliant reputation, like Origen<sup>3</sup>. As a rule, this function belonged to

<sup>1</sup> Exception has been taken to this expression μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. Zahn (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* p. 1418) and Donaldson (*Theol. Rev.* January, 1877, p. 46) propose λόγον for Θεὸν, while Gebhardt suggests τόνων or τόνου (ΤΟΝΩΝ or ΤΟΝΟΥ for ΤΟΝΩΝ). But it is difficult to see why our preacher should not have used this phrase, when he elsewhere in-

troduces an evangelical quotation with λέγει ὁ Θεός, § 13; see the note on the passage. We do not even know whether the lesson to which he here refers was taken from the Old or the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> See p. lxxii, note 11, p. 138 (ed. 2). So also Hilgenfeld, p. 106 (ed. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The objections raised in his case



the chief ecclesiastical officer in the congregation. A presbyter did not preach when the bishop was present; a deacon was for the most part regarded as incompetent to preach on any occasion<sup>1</sup>.

The question therefore respecting the class of writings to which this document belongs is settled beyond dispute. The homiletic character of the work was suggested long ago by Grabe and others; and in my own edition I had regarded the opinion that it was a sermon or treatise rather than a letter as *prima facie* probable, though so long as the end was wanting this view could not be regarded as certain<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand the theory propounded by Hilgenfeld, that we had here the letter of Soter bishop of Rome to the Corinthians, mentioned by Dionysius of Corinth about A.D. 170, was eagerly accepted by subsequent critics and editors. In a courteous review of my edition which appeared in the *Academy* (July 9, 1870) Lipsius espoused this theory as probable. And still later, on the very eve of the discovery of Bryennios, Harnack in the excellent edition of the *Patres Apostolici* of which he is coeditor had confidently adopted Hilgenfeld's opinion; 'Nullus dubito quin Hilgenfeldius verum invenerit,' 'mireris...neminem ante Hilgenfeldium verum invenisse' (prol. pp. xci, xcii, ed. 1). This view was highly

show that the practice was rare. Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Cæsarea (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 19), writing to Demetrius of Alexandria, defend themselves for according this privilege to Origen, as follows: προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδὲ ποτε ἠκούσθη οὐδὲ νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. ὅπου γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὥσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Ἐδελπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσου καὶ ἐν Συννάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι.

<sup>1</sup> See Bingham *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 2, 4, Augusti *Christl. Archäol.* vi. p. 315 sq, Probst *Lehre u. Gebet* pp. 18 sq, 222.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. pp. 177, 178. I call attention to this, because my view has been misrepresented. Thus Lipsius (*Academy*, July 9, 1870) wrote of me, 'He holds

strongly with Hilgenfeld that the document is really a letter, not a homily.' So far from holding this view strongly, I have stated that we find in the document 'nothing which would lead to this inference,' and again that it 'bears no traces of the epistolary form, though it may possibly have been a letter'; but I did not consider that in the existing condition of the work certainty on this point was attainable, and I therefore suspended judgment. When my able reviewer goes on to say of me 'He also agrees with Hilgenfeld in the opinion, that the epistle was composed during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius,' he imputes to me a view directly opposed to that which I have expressed (p. 177, ed. 1).

I think also that the reader would gather from the manner in which I am mentioned by Harnack (p. lxvi, note 2, p. lxxv) as 'refuting' Grabe, that I had maintained the document to be an epistle and not a homily; though probably this was not intended.

plausible and attractive; but it was open to one objection which I pointed out as fatal to it. It did not satisfy the primary conditions of the letter mentioned by Dionysius of Corinth, which was written in the name of the whole Roman Church, whereas our author speaks in the singular throughout<sup>1</sup>.

(ii) As regards the audience addressed by the preacher Corinth has highest claims. If the homily were delivered in that city, we have an explanation of two facts which are not so easily explained on any other hypothesis.

*First.* The allusion to the athletic games, and presumably to the Isthmian festival, is couched in language which is quite natural if addressed to Corinthians, but not so if spoken elsewhere. When the preacher refers to the crowds that 'land' to take part in the games (εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέονσιν, § 7) without any mention of the port, we are naturally led to suppose that the homily was delivered in the neighbourhood of the place where these combatants landed. Otherwise we should expect εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, or εἰς Κόρινθον, or some explanatory addition of the kind<sup>2</sup>.

*Secondly.* This hypothesis alone satisfactorily explains the dissemination and reputed authorship of the document. It was early attached to the Epistle of Clement in the MSS and came ultimately to be attributed to the same author. How did this happen? The First Epistle was read from time to time in the Church of Corinth, as we know. This homily was first preached, if my view be correct, to these same Corinthians; it was not an *extempore* address, but was delivered from a manuscript<sup>3</sup>; it was considered of sufficient value to be carefully pre-

<sup>1</sup> Wocher (*der Brief des Clemens etc.* p. 204) suggested that the author was Dionysius himself. This theory had the advantage of connecting it with Clement's genuine letter (though not very directly); and it explained the local colouring. But it has nothing else to commend it.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Plat. *Euthyd.* 297 C *νῶστί μοι δοκεῖν, καταπεπλευκότες*, where the word is used absolutely, we naturally understand the place in which the speaker is at the time.

<sup>3</sup> § 19 *μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῶν ἐντενξὼν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σώσῃτε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν.* It is

possible however, that the homily was originally delivered *extempore* and taken down by short-hand writers (*ταχυγράφοι*, *notarii*), and that the references to the reader were introduced afterwards when it was read in the Church as a homily. The employment of short-hand writers was frequent. We read of discourses of Origen taken down in this way (Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 36): and Origen himself on one occasion (*Comm. in Ioann.* vi. praef., iv. p. 101) excuses himself for not having gone on with his work by the fact that the 'customary short-hand writers' were not there, *καὶ οἱ συνήθεις δὲ ταχυγράφοι μὴ παρόντες τοῦ ἔχειν τῶν ὑπαγορεύσεων*

served; and (as we may venture to suppose) it was read publicly to the Christian congregation at Corinth from time to time, like the genuine Epistle of Clement. The fact that these Corinthians took for public reading not only the Epistle of Clement, which might be thought to have acquired a peculiar sanctity by its venerable age, but also the much later letter of the Romans under bishop Soter, shows the practice of this church in reference to uncanonical documents. In this way it would be bound up with the Epistle of Clement for convenience. In such a volume as is here supposed, the Epistle of Clement would be numbered and entitled thus:

Α

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ

with or without the addition ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ; while the homily which stood next in the volume might have had the heading

Β

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ

with or without the addition ΛΟΓΟΣ or ΟΜΙΛΙΑ, just as Orations of Dion Chrysostom bear the titles ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ; the author of the sermon however not being named. In the course of transcription the enumeration Α, Β, would easily be displaced, so that the two works would seem to be of the same kind and by the same author<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact, indications are not wanting in our existing authorities, that after this homily had been attached to S. Clement's Epistle it remained anonymous in the common document which contained both works. In the Alexandrian MS there is no heading at all to the so-called Second Epistle (see above, i. p. 117). This fact however cannot

ἐκώλουν; comp. Photius *Bibl.* 121. At a later date this became a common mode of preserving pulpit oratory: see Bing-ham *Ant.* xiv. 4. 11. It was not uncommon for sermons and lectures to be taken down surreptitiously: see Gaudent. *Praef.* p. 220 (*Patrol. Lat.* xx. p. 831 Migne) 'notariis, ut comperi, latenter ap-positis' (with the note). On stenography among the ancients see Ducange *Glos-sarium* iv. p. 642 sq (ed. Henschel) s. v. *Nota*, together with the references collected in Mayor's *Bibl. Clue to Lat. Lit.* p. 175 sq. See also *Contemporary Re-view* October 1875, p. 841 note. This

alternative is suggested by Harnack *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* i. p. 268. The hypothesis would at all events have the merit of explaining the incoherence and looseness of expression which we find in this work; but in the absence of evidence it is safer to assume that the sermon was committed to writing by the preacher himself.

<sup>1</sup> This opinion was arrived at independently of the remarks of Zahn (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* Nov. 8, 1876, p. 1430 sq), and I am the more glad to find that he accounts for the common heading of this sermon in a similar way. See also i. p. 371, note 1.



be pressed, for it seems not unlikely that the title has been cut off<sup>1</sup>. But in the case of the Syriac version the testimony is free from suspicion. Here the genuine letter is called in the heading not 'The First Epistle of Clement' but 'The Catholic Epistle of Clement,' as if it were the only known letter written by this father (see above, p. 191). In both cases however the scribes themselves have in some other part of their respective mss designated our work the Second Epistle of Clement; and this fact renders the survival of the older form only the more significant.

For these reasons I adhere to Corinth as the place of writing. On the other hand Harnack has with much ability maintained the Roman origin of this document<sup>2</sup>; and it is due to his arguments to consider them.

The *external evidence* seems to him to point in this direction. He remarks on the fact that this writing appears to have been very little known in the East during the earliest ages. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, and Eusebius himself, as Harnack argues from his language, only knew it from hearsay<sup>3</sup>. It is very far from certain however, that this is the correct inference from the historian's words, *ιστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή· οὐ μὲν ἔθ' ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν* (*H. E.* iii. 38). The hearsay implied in *λέγεται* may refer equally well to the authorship as to the contents of the

<sup>1</sup> This possibility was overlooked by me in my first edition pp. 22, 174. My attention was directed to it by a remark of Harnack (*Z. f. K.* i. p. 275, note 1), who however incorrectly states that in A the First Epistle has 'page-headings over the columns.' There is only one such page-heading, which stands over the first column as the title to the work. Having omitted to inspect the MS myself with this view, I requested Mr E. M. Thompson of the British Museum to look at it and to give me his opinion. His report is to this effect:

The title to the First Epistle has small ornamental flourishes beneath. Between the bottom of these and the text there is a space of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch. Over the first column of the Second Epistle (where the title should be, if there were any) the top of the leaf is cut obliquely so

that the space left between the top of the leaf and the text varies from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch. Thus the space is quite consistent with the supposition that the title has been cut away. Moreover there is a single spot at the top of the page, which may have been the end of an ornamental flourish under the title, though this is doubtful.

The photograph for the most part represents these facts fairly well.

<sup>2</sup> In two careful and valuable articles in the *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* i. p. 264 sq. p. 329 sq. as well as in the prolegomena to the 2nd ed. of the *Patres Apostolici* Pt. i, p. lxiv sq. He stated this view first in a review of the edition of Bryennios in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* Feb. 19, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> *Z. f. K.* i. p. 269 sq; Prol. p. lxiv, note 2.

book. In other words, Eusebius does not throw any doubt on the existence of such a work, but on its genuineness; and the language which follows suggests that the historian was himself acquainted with it. If the testimony of Eusebius be set aside, the earliest reference to its contents is found in the *Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos* § 74, falsely ascribed to Justin Martyr<sup>1</sup>. This work is supposed to have been written at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and, as Harnack says, unless all appearances are deceptive, to have emanated from the Syro-Antiochene Church<sup>2</sup>. Our next direct witness in point of date is probably the Alexandrian MS, about the middle of the fifth century. From that time forward the testimonies are neither few nor indistinct<sup>3</sup>.

This evidence is somewhat slight; but it cannot be alleged against the Eastern origin of the work. Such as it is, it *all emanates from the East*. Neither early nor late do we hear a single voice from the West testifying to the existence of this Clementine writing, except such as are mere echoes of some Greek witness. External testimony therefore, though it may not be worth much, is directly opposed to Harnack's theory.

From the *internal character* of the work again Harnack draws the same inference. He remarks on the close resemblances to the Shepherd of Hermas, and thence infers that it must have emanated 'ex eadem communione ac societate<sup>4</sup>.' Thus he makes it a product of the Church of Rome.

If these resemblances had referred to any peculiarities of the Roman Church generally, or of the Shepherd of Hermas in particular, the argument would have been strong. But this is not the case. The most striking perhaps is the doctrine of the heavenly Church (§ 14). But the passage, which is quoted in my notes, from Anastasius shows that this distinction of the celestial and the terrestrial Church, so far from being peculiar, was a common characteristic of the earliest Christian writers. And the statement of Anastasius is borne out by extant remains, as will appear from parallel passages also cited there. Again the pre-incarnate Son is spoken of in both documents as 'Spirit'; but here also, though such language was repugnant to the dogmatic precision of a later age, the writers of the second century and of the

<sup>1</sup> See I. p. 178 sq. and the notes on § 16.

<sup>2</sup> See the article by Gass in Illgen's *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.* 1842, IV. p. 143 sq., quoted by Harnack *Z. f. K.* I. p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> The references in my notes seem to show that it was known to a very early writer, the author of *Apost. Const.* i—vi.

<sup>4</sup> Prol. p. lxx sq: comp. *Z. f. K.* I. pp. 340, 344 sq, 363.

earlier part of the third constantly use it without misgiving (see the note on § 9). Again both writings speak of baptism as 'the seal,' and the exhortation to purity of life takes the form of an injunction to 'guard the seal.' But in this case likewise we have an image which is common in Christian writers of the second century (see the note on § 7). Nor are other coincidences wanting, though less striking than these.

On the other hand the two writings present marked contrasts on points of special prominence. There is a wide divergence for instance between the rigid, almost Encratite, view of the relations between the sexes which our Clementine author enunciates<sup>1</sup>, and the reasonable position of Hermas, which led the fierce Tertullian to denounce him as 'pastor moechorum'.<sup>2</sup> And again the difference of language regarding the relations of the two covenants is equally great. I cannot indeed regard the author of the Shepherd as a Judaizer, any more than I could regard our Clementine writer as a Marcionite: but the tendency of the one is to see in the Church a development of the Synagogue, whereas the other delights to set them in sharp contrast. And altogether it may be said that the points of difference in the two documents are more fundamental than the points of coincidence.

(iii) The third question, relating to the *date* and authorship, receives some illustration from the newly discovered ending, though not so much as might have been hoped. Generally speaking the notices in this portion confirm the view which was indicated in my first edition, that it belongs to the first half of the second century, nor do they contain anything that is adverse to this view. Harnack, as the result of a

<sup>1</sup> § 12 τοῦτο λέγει ἵνα ἀδελφὸς κ.τ.λ. On the other hand Hermas (*Mand.* iv. 1) writes 'Ἐντέλλομαι σοι, φησί, φυλάσσειν τὴν ἀγνείαν· καὶ μὴ ἀναβαινέτω σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ περὶ πορνείας τινὸς ἢ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ· τῆς δὲ σῆς μνημονεύων πάντοτε γυναικὸς οὐδέποτε ἀμαρτήσεις. In this same section the husband is enjoined to take back into his society the wife who has been unfaithful, and just below (§ 4) second marriages are permitted to Christians, though the greater honour is assigned to those who remain in widowhood. On the other hand Harnack (*Z. f. K.* i. p. 348) quotes *Viss.* ii. 2 τῇ συμβίῳ σου

τῇ μελλούσῃ σου ἀδελφῇ, as showing that Hermas looked upon the single life as the ideal state, and he concludes that neither writer 'thought of stopping marriage among Christians for the present.' It is not clear what the words in *Viss.* ii. 2 may mean; nor again is it certain that our Clementine preacher intended to enforce an absolute rule or to do more than give counsels of perfection. But the fact remains that the direct language of the one is in favour of latitude, of the other in favour of restraint.

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. *de Pudic.* 10 'scriptura Pastoris quæ sola moechos amat...adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum,' *ib.* 20 'illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum.'



thorough examination of the whole epistle, sets the limits of date as A.D. 130—160; and, if it emanated from Rome (as he supposes to have been the case), he thinks that it must have been written within the first two decades of this period, i.e. within A.D. 130—150<sup>1</sup>.

This view is reasonable. If it were necessary to mention any limits of date, where so much uncertainty exists, I should name A.D. 120—140; but, as there is nothing in the work which militates against a still earlier date, so again it is impossible to affirm confidently that it might not have been written a few years later. The two main points in which the recently recovered portion strengthens the existing data for determining the age of the document are these.

*First.* We are furnished with additional information respecting the relations of the author to the Canon of the New Testament. He distinguishes between the Old and New Testament: the former he styles 'the Books,' 'the Bible' (τὰ βιβλία), while the latter (or a part of it) is designated 'the Apostles' (§ 14). This distinction separates him by a broad line from the age of the Muratorian writer, of Irenæus, and of Clement of Alexandria, i.e. from the last quarter of the second century. The fact also that he uses at least one apocryphal Gospel, which we can hardly be wrong in identifying with the Gospel of the Egyptians (see the notes on § 12), apparently as an authoritative document, points in the same direction. The writers just mentioned are all explicit in the acceptance of our four Canonical Gospels alone, as the traditional inheritance of the Church. This argument would be very strong in favour of an early date, if we could be quite sure that our homily was written by a member of the Catholic Church, and not by some sectarian or half-sectarian writer. On this point there is perhaps room for misgiving, though the former seems the more probable supposition. The general acceptance of this homily and its attribution to Clement certainly point to a Catholic origin; and in its Christology also it is Catholic as opposed to Gnostic or Ebionite, but its Encratite tendencies (not to mention other phenomena) might suggest the opposite conclusion.

On the other hand our preacher quotes as 'scripture' (§ 6) a saying which appears in our Canonical Gospels. But this same passage is quoted in the same way in the Epistle of Barnabas, which can hardly have been written many years after A.D. 120 at the very latest, and may have been written much earlier; and even Polycarp (§ 12), if the Latin text may be trusted, cites Ephes. iv. 26 as 'scripture.' Stronger in the same

<sup>1</sup> *Z. f. K.* i. p. 363; comp. Prol. to be of Roman origin, he places it not p. lxxiii sq (ed. 2), where, supposing it later than A.D. 135—140 (145).

direction is the fact that in the newly recovered portion our anonymous author introduces a saying of our Lord in the Gospels with the words 'God saith' (§ 13), having immediately before referred to 'the Oracles of God' in this same connexion, and that he elsewhere describes the reading of the Scriptures as the voice of 'the God of truth' speaking to the congregation (§ 19). As regards this latter passage however we do not know whether the scriptural lessons which had preceded the delivery of this homily were taken from the Old or from the New Testament.

*Secondly.* The relations of the preacher to Gnosticism furnish an indication of date though not very precise. He attacks a certain type of this heresy, but it is still in an incipient form. The doctrinal point on which he especially dwells is the denial of the resurrection of the body, or (as he states it) the 'resurrection of this flesh' (§§ 8, 9, 14, 16). As the practical consequence of this denial, the false teachers (§ 10 *κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες*) were led to antinomian inferences. They inculcated an indifference (*ἀδιαφορία*) with regard to fleshly lusts, and they permitted their disciples to deny their faith in times of persecution. This antinomian teaching is denounced by the preacher. But his polemic against Gnosticism does not go beyond this. There is no attack, direct or indirect, on the peculiar tenets of Valentinus and the Valentinians, of Marcion, or even of Basilides. And not only so, but he even uses language with regard to the heavenly Church which closely resembles the teaching of Valentinus respecting the æon Ecclesia (see the note on § 14), and which he would almost certainly have avoided, if he had written after this heresiarch began to promulgate his doctrine<sup>1</sup>. In like manner the language in which he sets the Church against the Synagogue would probably have been more guarded, if it had been uttered after Marcion had published his Antitheses in which the direct antagonism of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations was maintained. As it is a reasonable inference from the near approaches to Valentinian language in the Ignatian Epistles that they were written in the pre-Valentinian epoch<sup>2</sup>, seeing that the writer is a determined opponent of Gnosticism, and would not have compromised himself by such language after it had been abused, so also the same inference may be drawn here.

These considerations seem to point to a date not later than A.D. 140: and altogether the topics in this homily suggest a very primitive, though not apostolic, age of the Church. Whether we regard the exposition of doctrine or the polemic against false teachers or the state of the Christian

<sup>1</sup> This argument drawn from the relation of the writer to Gnosticism is justly insisted upon by Harnack *Prol.* p. lxxii,

*Z. f. K.* i. pp. 359, 360.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ignat. and Polyc.* i. p. 374, ed. 1; p. 385, ed. 2.

society or the relation to the Scriptural Canon, we cannot but feel that we are confronted with a state of things separated by a wide interval from the epoch of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. At the same time other arguments have been alleged in favour of an early date, which will not bear the stress that has been laid upon them. Thus it is said that the preacher betrays no knowledge of the writings of S. John, or possibly even of S. Paul<sup>1</sup>. As regards S. John, I have called attention to an indication that our author was not unacquainted with the Fourth Gospel (see the note on § 17), though the inference is not certain. As regards S. Paul, I cannot see any probable explanation of his appeal to 'the Apostles' as supporting his doctrine respecting the heavenly Church, except that which supposes him to be referring to S. Paul, and more especially to the Epistle to the Ephesians—not to mention echoes of this Apostle's language elsewhere in this homily<sup>2</sup>. But even if it be granted that he shows no knowledge of the writings of either Apostle, does it follow that he had none? What numbers of sermons and tracts, published in the name of authors living in this nineteenth century, must on these grounds be relegated to the first or second! And again, if he says nothing about episcopacy<sup>3</sup>, does it follow that he knew nothing about it, and therefore must have written before this institution existed? This argument again would, I imagine, remove to a remote antiquity a large portion, probably not less than half, of the theological literature of our own age.

But, while criticism suggests probable or approximate results with regard to the locality and the date, it leaves us altogether in the dark as respects the *authorship*; for the opinions maintained by the three editors who have discussed this question since the recent discovery of the lost ending, must, I venture to think, be discarded. All three alike agree in the retention of Clement as the author, but understand different persons bearing this name.

(1) In the first place Bryennios (p. *ρϑ'*) maintains that the homily is the work of none other than the famous Clement whose name it bears, the bishop of Rome<sup>4</sup>. This view however has nothing to recom-

<sup>1</sup> Harnack *Prol.* p. lxxiii, *Z. f. K.* 1. p. 361 sq. He regards it as uncertain, though probable, that our author had read S. Paul's Epistles. At the same time he considers it strange that S. Paul's name is not mentioned. As most of our author's quotations (even when

taken from the Old Testament) are anonymous, this fact can hardly surprise us.

<sup>2</sup> See the notes on § 14.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack *Prol.* p. lxxii, *Z. f. K.* 1. p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> This had been the view of Cotelier, Bull, Galland, Lumper, and others; who



mend it, and has found no favour with others. Indeed all the arguments which, even when we possessed it only in a mutilated form, were sufficient to deter us from ascribing it to the author of the genuine epistle or indeed to any contemporary, are considerably strengthened, now that we have it complete.

(i) The writer delights to identify himself and his hearers with Gentile Christianity. He speaks of a time when he and they worshipped stocks and stones, gold and silver and bronze (§ 1). He and they are prefigured by the prophet's image of the barren woman who bore many more children than she that had the husband, or, as he explains it, than the Jewish people 'who seem to have God' (§ 2). On the other hand the genuine Clement never uses such language. On the contrary he looks upon himself as a descendant of the patriarchs, as an heir of the glories of the Israelite race; and (what is more important) he is thoroughly imbued with the feelings of an Israelite, has an intimate knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures (though not in the original tongue), and is even conversant with the apocryphal literature of the race and with the traditional legends and interpretations. In short his language and tone of thought proclaim him a Jew, though a Hellenist. (ii) On the difference in style I do not lay great stress; because, where there is much play for fancy, there is much room also for self-deception, and criticism is apt to become hypercritical. Yet I think it will be felt by all that the language of this Second Epistle is more Hellenic and less Judaic, though at the same time more awkward and less natural, than the First. (iii) The argument from the theology is stronger than the argument from the style, but not very strong. There is a more decided dogmatic tone in the Second Epistle than in the First. More especially the pre-existence and divinity of Christ are stated with a distinctness (§§ 1, 9) which is wanting in the First, and in a form which perhaps the writer of the First would have hesitated to adopt. (iv) The position of the writer with respect to the Scriptures is changed. In the First Epistle Clement draws his admonitions and his examples chiefly from the Old Testament. The direct references to the evangelical history are very few in comparison. On the other hand in the Second Epistle the allusions to and quotations from gospel narratives (whether canonical or apocryphal) very decidedly preponderate. This seems to indicate a somewhat later date, when gospel narratives were more generally circulated and when appeal could

wrote without the light which the discovery of the lost ending has thrown on

the question, and still regarded it as an epistle.

safely be made to a *written* Christian literature. This last argument more especially has received a large accession of strength by the recovery of the lost ending, and would be conclusive in itself. The gulf which separates our preacher from the genuine Clement in their respective relations to the New Testament Scriptures (see above, p. 202) has been widened by the additional evidence.

(2) On the other hand Hilgenfeld (p. xlix, ed. 2) surmises that the author was not the Roman Clement but the Alexandrian. He argues that our preacher was not a presbyter, but a catechist<sup>1</sup>. He points to the passage (§ 19) in which (as he reads it) the duty of studying 'philosophy' is inculcated<sup>2</sup>. And, as Dodwell had done before him<sup>3</sup>, he imagines that he sees resemblances in this sermon to the style and thought of the Alexandrian Clement. He therefore suggests that this was an early production of the Alexandrian father.

The inference however with regard to the preacher's office is highly precarious, as we have seen already (p. 195); nor does it materially affect the question. The mention of 'philosophy' again disappears, when the passage is correctly read. The Syriac Version shows clearly that *φιλοπονείν* is the true reading, and that *φιλοσοφείν*, as a much commoner word, was written down first from mere inadvertence by the scribe of C and afterwards corrected by him<sup>4</sup>. Nor again is it possible to see any closer resemblance to the Alexandrian Clement in the diction and thoughts, than will often appear between one early Christian writer and another; while on the other hand the difference is most marked. The wide learning, the extensive vocabulary, the speculative power, the vigorous and epigrammatic expression, of the Alexandrian Clement are all wanting to this sermon, which is confused in thought and slipshod in expression, and is only redeemed from common-place by its moral earnestness and by some peculiarities of doctrinal exposition. Where there is want of arrangement in the Alexandrian Clement, it is due to his wealth of learning and of thought.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xlix, 106. He explains § 17 *εἰ γὰρ ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν... ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδῶ-  
λων ἀποσπᾶν καὶ κατηχεῖν* as referring to the official position of the preacher; but compare e.g. 1 Cor. xiv. 19, Gal. vi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xlix, 84, 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Dissert. in Iren.* i. § xxix p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the note on this word *φιλοπονείν* § 19 with that on *μεταλήψεται*

§ 14. In both cases the scribe has corrected the word which he first wrote down, and in both the correction is supported by the Syriac Version. Hilgenfeld has consistently adopted the scribe's first writing in both cases. On p. 84 he has incorrectly given *φιλοποιεῖν* as the correction in C. It should be *φιλοπονεῖν*.

In our author on the other hand the confusion is the result of intellectual poverty. Nor again is the difference between the two writers less wide as regards their relation to the Canon of the New Testament. It is true that both alike quote the Gospel of the Egyptians, and (as it so happens) the same passage from this Gospel. But this very fact enables us to realize the gulf which separates the two. Our author uses this apocryphal work as authoritative, and apparently as his chief evangelical narrative; Clement on the other hand depreciates its value on the ground that it is not one of the four traditionally received by the Church. Our author interprets the passage in question as favouring ascetic views respecting the relation of the sexes: Clement on the other hand refutes this interpretation, and explains it in a mystical sense<sup>1</sup>.

(3) Lastly; Harnack is disposed to assign this homily neither to the Roman bishop nor to the Alexandrian father, but to a third person bearing the name of Clement, intermediate in date between the two.

In the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4) the writer relates how he was directed in a vision to send a copy of his book to 'Clement,' and it is added, 'Clement shall send it to the cities abroad, for he is charged with this business' (πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις· ἐκεῖνός γάρ ἐπιτέτραπται). As Hermas is stated to have written this work during the episcopate of his brother Pius (c. A.D. 140—155), it is urged that the Clement here mentioned cannot have been the same with the illustrious bishop of Rome (see above, i. p. 359 sq.). Thus the notice in the Shepherd gives us another Roman Clement, who flourished about the time when our homily must have been written. Here, argues Harnack, we have an explanation of the phenomena of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement. If we suppose that towards the end of the third century a homily known to have emanated from the early Church of Rome and bearing the name of Clement was carried to the East, it would not unnaturally be attributed to the famous bishop, and thus, being attached

<sup>1</sup> *Strom.* iii. 13, p. 553 (quoted below, p. 236 sq.). Julius Cassianus, like our preacher, had interpreted the passage as discountenancing marriage; and Clement of Alexandria controverts him, substituting another interpretation. While the passage was still mutilated, the opinion was tenable that it was doubtful whether our author's explanation was more closely allied to the interpretation of Cassianus or to that of Clement of Alexandria, though I inclined to the latter supposition.

The discovery of the conclusion of the passage however decides in favour of the former.

It is in reference to this very passage from the Gospel of the Egyptians, that Clement of Alexandria urges in answer to Cassianus, ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους. Thus he is diametrically opposed to our preacher on the one point where we are able to compare their opinions.



to his genuine epistle, might easily before the close of the fourth century be furnished with the incorrect title *Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴ β'.*

This view has much more to recommend it, than the two which have been considered already. But the foundation on which it rests is inadequate. The existence of this second Roman Clement is unsupported; and as I have shown above (i. p. 359 sq), the reference in *Hermas* must be explained in another way<sup>1</sup>.

As all these hypotheses fail us, we must be content to remain still in ignorance of the author; nor is it likely now that the veil will ever be withdrawn. The homily itself, as a literary work, is almost worthless. As the earliest example of its kind however, and as the product of an important age of which we possess only the scantiest remains, it has the highest value. Nor will its intellectual poverty blind us to its true grandeur, as an example of the lofty moral earnestness and the triumphant faith which subdued a reluctant world and laid it prostrate at the foot of the Cross.

## 3.

The following is an analysis of the fragment :

‘My brethren, we must look on Christ as God. We must not think mean things of Him who has been so merciful to us, who has given us life and all things (§ 1). In *us* is fulfilled the saying that the barren woman hath many children. The Gentile Church was once unfruitful, but now has a numerous offspring. *We* are those sinners whom Christ came especially to save (§ 2). Therefore we owe all recompense to Him. And the return which He asks is that we should confess Him in our *deeds*. The worship, not of the lips only, but of the heart, must be yielded to Him (§ 3). He has denounced those who, while they obey Him not, yet call Him Lord. He has declared that, though they be gathered into His bosom, He will reject them (§ 4). Let us therefore remember that we are sojourners here, and let us not fear to quit this world. Rather let us call to mind His warning, and fear not those who kill the body, but Him who can destroy body and soul together. All

<sup>1</sup> Hagemann (*Ueber den zweiten Brief des Clemens, etc.* in the *Theolog. Quartalschr.* XLIII. p. 509 sq, 1861) supposed that this is the letter mentioned by *Hermas* (*Vis.* ii. 4). He regarded it as part of

the fiction, being the letter of recommendation written in the name of the great Roman Clement. So far he anticipated the theory of Harnack.

things earthly we must hold foreign to us (§ 5). On this there must be no wavering. We cannot serve two masters. This world and the other are deadly foes. It must be our choice to do Christ's will. Even Noah, Job, and Daniel, could not have rescued their own children from destruction. How shall we then, if we keep not the baptismal seal intact, present ourselves in God's kingdom? (§ 6). The lists are open; the struggle approaches. Let us crowd thither to take our part. Let us fight to win the immortal chaplet. But, so doing, we must observe the laws of the contest, if we would escape chastisement. A horrible fate awaits those who break the seal (§ 7). Now is the time for repentance. Now we can be moulded like clay in the hands of the potter. After death it will be too late. If we keep not small things, how shall we be trusted with great? If we guard not the seal intact, how shall we inherit eternal life? (§ 8).'

'Deny not, that men shall rise in their bodies. As Christ came in the flesh, so also shall we be judged in the flesh. Let us give ourselves to God betimes. He reads our very inmost thoughts. To those who do His will Christ has given the name of brothers (§ 9). This will let us ever obey. If we fear men and choose present comfort, we shall purchase brief pleasure at the price of eternal joy. They who lead others astray herein are doubly guilty (§ 10). We must not falter. The prophetic word denounces the double-minded; it foretells how the course of things is maturing to its consummation, as the vine grows and ripens. God is faithful; and, as He has promised, so will He give joys unspeakable to the righteous (§ 11). The signs, which shall herald the approach of His kingdom, Christ has foretold. *The two shall be one* in universal peace. *The outside shall be as the inside* in strict sincerity. *The male shall be as the female* in the cessation of all sexual longings (§ 12).'

'Let us repent forthwith, that we may be forgiven, and God's name may not be blasphemed by our inconsistency. When God's oracles say one thing and we do another, they regard them as an idle tale—when God's precepts tell us to love our enemies and we hate one another (§ 13). Fulfilling God's command, we shall be members of the eternal, spiritual Church, which is Christ's body. This is the meaning of the words *Male and female created He them*. The Church, like Christ, was spiritual, and became flesh. This flesh we must keep pure, that we may attain to the spiritual, the immortal (§ 14).'

'Whosoever obeys this precept of chastity saves both himself and the preacher. This is the only return which speaker and hearer alike can make to their Creator. God promises an immediate answer. We

must close with it and escape condemnation (§ 15). Therefore let us repent, while there is time, and obtain the mercy of Jesus. The Day cometh as a heated furnace. Heaven and earth shall melt away. Almsgiving and love are best ; for they cover a multitude of sins (§ 16). We are commanded to convert others ; how much more to save our own souls. Let us not forget the preacher's lesson, when we go to our homes. Let us meet more frequently together. The Lord will come and gather all nations, rewarding them after their works. The worm of the unbeliever shall never die, but the righteous shall give glory to Him, seeing His judgments on the wicked and His faithfulness to His servants (§ 17). Let us be found among His thankful servants. In the midst of temptations, I strive after righteousness (§ 18). Give heed to these exhortations from the Scriptures. Set an example to the young by your obedience. Be not offended by exhortation ; nor deterred by present suffering. It is the price of future glory (§ 19). This life is only the arena ; the crown shall be awarded hereafter. Else, it were a matter of mere traffic.'

'To the one invisible God, who manifested truth and life to us through the Saviour, be glory for ever (§ 20).'



## [ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Β.]

I. Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μικρὰ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτη-

[ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Β.] The authorities for this title will be found on I. pp. 117, 122, 131 sq.

1 ἡμᾶς] S; ὑμᾶς C.

3 ἡμᾶς] S; ὑμᾶς C.

I. 'My brethren, we must think of Christ as God, as judge of all men. It is no light crime to have mean views of Him by whom we were called and who suffered for us. What worthy recompense can we pay to Him, who has given us light and life, who has rescued us from the worship of stocks and stones, has scattered the dark cloud that hung over us, has brought back our straying footsteps, and thus has called us into being?'

1. Ἀδελφοί κ.τ.λ.] The opening of the epistle, as far as παθεῖν ἕνεκα ἡμῶν, is quoted by Timotheus of Alexandria (A.D. 457) as 'from the beginning of the Third Epistle,' immediately after a quotation 'from the First Epistle on Virginity' (see above, I. p. 181); and by Severus of Antioch (c. A.D. 513—518) as 'from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians' (see I. p. 183). It is also found in more than one anonymous Syriac collection of excerpts (see I. p. 185).

Photius (*Bibl.* 126) remarks on the opening of this epistle, contrasting

it with the First as respects its Christology, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα καὶ αὐτὴ νοουθεσίαν καὶ παραίνεσιν κρείττονος εἰσάγει βίου καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ Θεὸν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύσσει: see the notes on §§ 2, 36, 58, of the First Epistle, and the remarks in I. p. 398 sq.

2. κριτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] The expression occurs in Acts x. 42 (in a speech of S. Peter): comp. 2 Tim. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 5. See also Barnab. § 7, Polyc. *Phil.* 2.

3. μικρὰ φρονεῖν] 'to have mean views.' The Ebionites, whom the writer of this epistle attacks, were said to have earned the title of 'poor' by their mean and beggarly conception of the Person of Christ; see esp. Origen *de Princ.* iv. 22 (I. p. 183) οἱ πτωχοὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ Ἑβριῶναι τῆς πτωχείας τῆς διανοίας ἐπώνυμοι, ἐβριῶν [ἡβριῶν] γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρὰ Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται, c. *Cels.* ii. 1 (I. p. 385), in *Matth.* t. xvi. § 12 (III. p. 734) τῷ Ἑβριῶναιφ καὶ πτωχεύοντι περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν, and again in *Gen.* iii. *Hom.* § 5 (II. p. 68); Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 27 Ἑβριῶναιους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπε-

ρίας ἡμῶν· ἐν τῷ γὰρ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μικρὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομεν λαβεῖν. Καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες ὡς περὶ μικρῶν [ἁμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς] ἁμαρτάνομεν, οὐκ εἰδότες πόθεν ἐκλήθημεν καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος καὶ εἰς ὃν τόπον, καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς παθεῖν ἕνεκα ἡμῶν. 5 τίνα οὖν ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ δώσομεν ἀντιμισθίαν; ἢ τίνα καρπὸν ἄξιον οὗ ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν; πόσα δὲ αὐτῷ

2 λαβεῖν] A; ἀπολαβεῖν C. The reading of S is uncertain, for  $\lambda\beta\rho$  (the word used here) occurs elsewhere indifferently as a rendering of both λαμβάνειν and ἀπολαμβάνειν, e.g. below §§ 8, 9, 11. ὡς περὶ] CS Sever Timoth; ὡς περ A. 3 ἁμαρτάνουσιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς] S; om. AC: see the lower note. 7 καρπὸν] AC; add. offeremus illi S. This however does not perhaps imply any additional words

φήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας, *Ecccl. Theol.* i. 14 οἱ πρωτοκλήρυκες Ἐβιωναίους ὠνόμαζον Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ πτωχοὺς τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποκαλοῦντες τοὺς ἕνα μὲν Θεὸν λέγοντας εἰδέναι καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα μὴ ἀρνούμενους τὴν δὲ τοῦ νιῶυ θεότητα μὴ εἰδότας, with other passages collected in Schliemann *Clement.* p. 471 sq. Origen's language perhaps does not necessarily imply that he gives this as a serious account of the term, but only that they were fitly called 'poor.' Eusebius however, mistaking his drift, supposes this name to have been a term of reproach imposed upon these heretics by the orthodox; instead of being, as doubtless it was and as perhaps Origen knew it to be, self-assumed in allusion to their voluntary poverty. The idea of a heresiarch named Ebion, which is found first in Tertullian (*de Praescr.* 33, and elsewhere), is now generally allowed to be a mistake.

2. οἱ ἀκούοντες] 'we who hear,' according to the text of the Greek MSS. For the article compare Clem. Rom. § 6 αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι, and see below § 19 μὴ ἀγανακτῶμεν οἱ ἄσσοφοι; but the expression is awk-

ward and misplaced. Young suggested καίτοι which others have adopted, but this is not the particle required. The Syriac quotations of Timotheus and Severus have 'and when we hear,' as though the article were absent from their text; but, allowance being made for the license of translation, no stress can be laid on this fact. Photius (*Bibl.* 126) remarks on the looseness and inconsequence of expression in this Second Epistle (or rather in the two epistles, but he must be referring especially to the Second), τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς νοήματα ἐρριμμένα πως καὶ οὐ συνεχῇ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ὑπῆρχε φυλάττοντα. Several instances of this will be noted below, and this passage, if the Greek text be correct, furnishes another illustration; but the Syriac comes to the rescue by inserting the words which I have placed in brackets and removes the difficulty.

6. ἀντιμισθίαν] The word occurs Rom. i. 27, 2 Cor. vi. 13, Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 9. Though apparently not common, it is a favourite word with our author; see just below and §§ 9, 11. The sentiment is taken from Ps. cxvi. 12 τί ἀναποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ.; 8. ὅσια] 'mercies, kindnesses,' as it

ὀφείλομεν ὅσια; τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο, ὡς πατὴρ  
 υἱοὺς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσεν, ἀπολλυμένους ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν.  
 ποῖον οὖν αἶνον αὐτῷ δώσωμεν ἢ μισθὸν ἀντιμισθίας ὧν  
 ἐλάβομεν; πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ, προσκυνοῦντες λίθους  
 καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ἔργα  
 ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὅλος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἦν εἰ μὴ  
 θάνατος. ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης

in the Greek text.

δὲ] A; γὰρ S; om. C.

8 ὀφείλομεν] οφίλομεν A.

10 ποῖον οὖν] C; ποιουν A; ποῖον S: see above, I. p. 144.

αὐτῷ δώσωμεν]

A; δώσωμεν αὐτῷ C.

11 πηροὶ] A; caeci S; πονηροὶ C.

12 καὶ χρυσόν]

A; χρυσὸν (om. καὶ) CS.

ἔργα] AC; ἔργον S.

13 ἄλλο οὐδὲν] A;

οὐδὲν ἄλλο C; and so apparently S.

14 ἀμαύρωσιν] AC; tantam obscu-

ritatem S.

is used in the LXX Is. lv. 3 (quoted in Acts xiii. 34 δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά) for דִּיּדָן: see Wolf *Cur. Philol.* p. 1197. In a parallel passage 2 Chron. vi. 42 the LXX has τὰ ἐλέη. In this case ὀφείλομεν will have a pregnant sense, 'we have received and should repay.' Perhaps however it is simpler to take ὅσια as 'religious duties' (e.g. Eur. *Suppl.* 368 ὅσια περὶ θεοῦ). The distinction between ὅσια 'what is due to God' and δίκαια 'what is due to men' is as old as Plato (*Gorg.* p. 507 B) and runs through Greek literature: comp. Trench *N. T. Syn.* 2nd ser. § xxxviii, and Steph. *Thes.* s. vv. δίκαιος and ὁσιος. See also below, §§ 5, 6.

ὡς πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] The reference is perhaps to Hosea ii. 1 καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρέθη αὐτοῖς Οὐ λαὸς μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, more especially as applied by S. Paul Rom. ix. 26. See also the quotation in 2 Cor. vi. 18 καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας (a combination of 2 Sam. vii. 14 and Is. xliii. 6), and 1 Joh. iii. 1 ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθῶμεν.

10. δώσωμεν] 'can we give?' The reading of C disposes of the grammatical difficulty presented by a future conjunctive, δώσωμεν; see Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 89 and is perhaps correct. Of all such future conjunctives however δώσω is perhaps the best supported; see *ib.* § xiv. p. 95.

11. πηροὶ ὄντες κ.τ.λ.] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 10 τοῖς μὴ πεπηρωμένοις πρὸς ἀρετήν, Ptolemæus *ad Flor.* (in Epiphan. *Haer.* xxxiii. 3, p. 217) μὴ μόνον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος πεπηρωμένον. In the New Testament πηροῦν, πήρωσις, occur occasionally as various readings for παροῦν, πάρωσις, but are not well supported: see Fritzsche *Rom.* II. p. 451 sq.

προσκυνοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] The writer of this epistle therefore is plainly a Gentile Christian: comp. § 2 ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν, and the introduction p. 205.

13. ὁ βίος] Their βίος was not ζωὴ but θάνατος: see the note on Ign. *Rom.* 7. Comp. 1 Tim. v. 6 ζῶσα τέθηγκεν. See also the passage of S. Augustine quoted by Harnack, *Conf.* i. 6 'in istam dico vitam mortalem an mortem vitalem nescio.'



ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὀράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι ἐκείνο ὃ περικείμεθα νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει. ἠλέησεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἔσωσεν, θεασάμενος ἐν ἡμῖν πολλὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀπώλειαν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὄντας καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς.

II. Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα· ῥᾶζον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμοις μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχογῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ὃ εἶπεν εὐφράνθητι 10

2 τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει] A; τῇ θελήσει αὐτοῦ C; *voluntate nostra* S, as if αὐτῶν.  
 4 πολλὴν πλάνην] AC; *hunc omnem* (= *tantum* = τοσαύτην) *errorem multum* S. ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας] C; ἐλπιδανεχοντες A. S evidently read as C, though it translates by a finite verb, *et quod ne una quidem spes salutis sit nobis*. 6 γὰρ] AC; δὲ S. ἐκ μὴ] A; ἐκ τοῦ μὴ C. 8 εὐφράνθητι] AC; add.

I. ἀνεβλέψαμεν] Comp. § 9. ἀποθέμενοι κ.τ.λ.] The language here, though not the thought, is coloured by Heb. xii. 1 τοσούτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα κ.τ.λ. For the construction περικεῖσθαι τι 'to be enveloped in or surrounded by a thing,' see Acts xxviii. 20, Heb. v. 2.

5. ἔχοντας] sc. ἡμᾶς. If this reading be correct it is perhaps governed by θεασάμενος rather than by ἔσωσε, 'and this though we had no hope.' But ἔχοντας may be the right reading after all: in which case a word or words may have fallen out from the text; or this may be one of the awkward expressions to which allusion has been already made (on οἱ ἀκούοντες).

ἐκάλεσεν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Rom. iv. 17 καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα, Philo *de Creat. Princ.* 7 (II. p. 367) τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι: comp. Hermas *Vis.* I. 1 κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα, *Mand.* I ποιήσας ἐκ

τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 32 τῷ τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησαμένῳ.

II. 'For what is the meaning of the scripture, *Rejoice thou barren that bearest not?* It has been fulfilled in us—the Gentile Church, which is even now more numerous than the Jewish. In like manner also it is written elsewhere, *I came not to call just men but sinners*. Such sinners were we.'

8. Εὐφράνθητι κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Is. liv. 1, word for word. See the notes on *Galatians* iv. 27. The same application is also made in Justin *Apol.* i. 53, p. 88 C. Philo also allegorizes this text (*quod Omn. Prob. lib.* 2, II. p. 449), but in a wholly different way.

II. ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν] i.e. the Gentile Church, called ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν below. Our author's application seems so far to differ from S. Paul's, that he makes the contrast between Gentile and Judaic Christendom, whereas in the Apostle it is between the new and

στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτοῦσα, ἡμᾶς εἶπεν· στεῖρα γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῇ τέκνα. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ΒΟΗΘΟΝ ἢ ΟΥΚ ὠδίνοῦσα, τοῦτο λέγει· τὰς προσευχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπλῶς ἀναφέρειν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μὴ, ὡς αἱ ὠδίνουσαι, ἐγκακῶμεν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμοις μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχογῆς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ ἔρημος ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν, νυνὶ δὲ πιστεῦσαντες πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν Θεόν. καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἦλθον κα-

γάρ, λέγει, S. ῥῆξον] AC; καὶ ῥῆξον S. 12 ἡμῶν] AC; om. S.

13 τὰς προσευχὰς] AC; τὰ πρὸς τὰς προσευχὰς (or τὰ πρὸς εὐχὰς, as suggested by Bensly) S. See above, I. p. 141. 14 αἱ ὠδίνουσαι] AC; ἡ ὠδίνουσα S.

15 ἐγκακῶμεν] A; ἐκκακῶμεν C. 17 τοῦ] A; om. C. 19 δὲ] AS; om. C.

the old dispensation. Justin uses the text in the same way as our Pseudo-Clement.

14. μὴ, ὡς κ.τ.λ.] If the order of the words be correct they can only mean 'let us not grow weary, as women in travail grow weary'; but it is strange that the writer should have confused his application of the text by this fanciful account of ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, of which the natural explanation is so obvious. For ἐγκακῶμεν Cotelier and other editors would substitute ἐκκακῶμεν; but this is a mistake, as authority is against ἐκκακεῖν and for ἐγκακεῖν: see the note on *Galatians* vi. 9.

17. ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ] For the preposition after ἔρημος comp. Jer. xxxiii (xl). 10 (ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν), xxxiv (xli). 22 (ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων), xlv (li). 2 (ἀπὸ ἐνοίκων). The word involves a secondary idea of *severance*, and so takes ἀπό.

18. πλείονες] Writing about this same time, Justin Martyr gives a similar account of the greater numbers of the Gentile Christians: *Απολ.* i. 53 (p. 88 B) πλείονάς τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους

τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων Χριστιανούς εἰδότες.

τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν Θεόν] Hilgenfeld quotes from the *Praedicatio Petri* in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5 (p. 760) μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκειν, οὐκ ἐπίσταται (comp. Orig. in *Joann.* xiii. § 17, IV. p. 226).

19. ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ] Thus the Gospel, treated as a written document, is regarded as Scripture like the Old Testament. Comp. Barnab. § 4, and possibly 1 Tim. v. 18. See above, the introduction p. 202.

οὐκ ἦλθον κ.τ.λ.] The quotation agrees exactly with S. Mark ii. 17, but might also be taken from S. Matthew ix. 13 οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον κ.τ.λ. On the other hand in S. Luke (v. 32) the form is different, οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. Comp. also Barnab. § 5 οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς (where the words εἰς μετάνοιαν, added in the late MSS, are wanting in B), and Justin *Απολ.* i. p. 62 C οὐκ ἦλθον κ. δ. ἀ. ἀμ. εἰς μετάνοιαν.

λέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοῦς. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους σῶζειν· ἐκεῖνο γάρ ἐστιν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, οὐ τὰ ἐστῶτα στηρίζειν ἀλλὰ τὰ πίπτοντα. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠθέλησεν σῶσαι τὰ ἀπολλύμενα, καὶ ἔσωσεν πολλούς, ἐλθὼν καὶ καλέσας 5 ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἀπολλυμένους.

III. Τοσοῦτον οὖν ἔλεος ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἔγνωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας· τίς ἢ 10 γνῶσις ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι δι' οὗ ἔγνωμεν αὐτόν; λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογῆσαντά με [ἐνώ-

4 οὕτως] οὕτω C.

Χριστὸς] AS; Κύριος C.

7 οὖν] AC; om. S.

ἔλεος] ελαιοσ A.

9 καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς] AS; om. C.

ἀλλὰ]

AC; S translates as if it had read *ἐπειτα δὲ ὅτι*; see above, I. p. 142. 10 τίς]

AC; τίς δὲ S.

11 γνῶσις] γνωσεις A.

ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν] AS; τῆς ἀλη-

θείας C: see above, I. p. 127.

ἢ] AC; om. S.

ἀρνεῖσθαι] add. αὐτόν C.

The testimony of S cannot be alleged in such a case.

12 αὐτόν] AS; om. C.

ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων] AC; om. S.

13 αὐτόν] AC. S adds *etiam*

4. σῶσαι κ.τ.λ.] Luke xix. 10 ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός (compare the interpolation in Matt. xviii. 11), 1 Tim. i. 15 'I. X. ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι.

III. 'Seeing then that He has been so merciful and has brought us to know God, wherein does this knowledge consist but in not denying Him by whom we were brought? If we confess Him, He will confess us before the Father. This we must do, not with lips only but in our lives.'

8. τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς] Wisd. xv. 17 *θυητὸς δὲ ὧν νεκρὸν ἐργάζεται χερσὶν ἀνόμοις· κρείττων γάρ ἐστι τῶν σεβασμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔζησεν ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐδέποτε.*

12. λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός κ.τ.λ.] Nicon (see above on the First Epistle §§ 14, 15) quotes this passage from the

Second Epistle; καὶ ὁ Κύριος λέγει Τὸν ὁμολογῆσαντα... τοῦ πατρός μου· ἐν τίνι δέ... τῶν ἐντολῶν. Cotelier (on Clem. Rom. § 14) mentions the fact, but does not give the quotation in full.

Τὸν ὁμολογῆσαντα κ.τ.λ.] A free quotation of Matt. x. 32 (comp. Luke xii. 8).

ἐνώπιον κ.τ.λ.] The omission in S is probably correct, the words having been inserted by scribes from a well-known evangelical passage, Luke xii. 9. For a similar instance, where S preserves the true reading, see Clem. Rom. 46. Our preacher is in the habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton.

14. ἐὰν οὖν] 'if after all, if only.' For similar instances of the use of οὖν see Hartung *Partikel*. II. 11.



πΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ], ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς  
 μοῦ. οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ μισθὸς ἡμῶν, ἐὰν οὖν ὁμο-  
 15 λογήσωμεν δι' οὗ ἐσώθημεν. ἐν τίνι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμολο-  
 γοῦμεν; ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἃ λέγει καὶ μὴ παρακούειν αὐτοῦ  
 τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸν τιμᾶν ἀλλὰ  
 ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ Ἑσαΐα· Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ  
 20 καρδιά αὐτῶν πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

IV. Μὴ μόνον οὖν αὐτὸν καλῶμεν Κύριον, οὐ  
 γὰρ τοῦτο σώσει ἡμᾶς. λέγει γάρ· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων  
 μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.  
 ὥστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτὸν ὁμολογῶμεν,

ego (ἐγώ) as in Matt. x. 32.

14 μου] AC; om. S.

ὁ μισθὸς ἡμῶν]

AC; *merces magna* S.

οὖν] A; om. CS.

17 αὐτὸν τιμᾶν] AC; *debe-*

*mus invocare* (vocare) eum S, as if ὀφείλομεν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (καλεῖν).

18 τῆς]

A; om. C.

διανοίας] AC; *δυνάμει* S.

δὲ] γάρ AS; om. C.

19 ὃ]

ὃ (i.e. ον) A.

20 αὐτῶν] AS; αὐτοῦ C.

ἄπεστιν] A; ἄπεστιν (or ἐστιν)

S; ἀπέστην C.

21 οὖν] AS (?); om. C.

22 σώσει] AC; σώξει S.

24 αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν A.

ὁμολογῶμεν] A; ὁμολογήσωμεν C.

18. ἐξ ὅλης κ.τ.λ.] A reference ultimately to Deut. vi. 5; but as both words *διανοίας* and *καρδίας* do not seem to occur in that passage in any one text of the LXX, we must suppose that the writer had in his mind the saying rather as it is quoted in the Gospels, esp. Mark xii. 30 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου (comp. Matt. xxii. 37, Luke x. 27).

19. Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος κ.τ.λ.] From Is. xxix. 13, modified by the form in which it is quoted in the Gospels; see the note on the genuine Epistle of Clement § 15, where again it is quoted in almost exactly the same form as here.

IV. 'It is not enough to call Him Lord. We must confess Him by our works, by love and purity and guile-

lessness. We must not fear men but God. For Christ Himself has warned us that, though we be His most familiar friends, yet if we do not His commandments, He will reject us.'

22. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. vii. 21 οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλειαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (comp. Luke vi. 46 quoted below). Justin (*Apol.* i. 16, p. 64 A) gives the exact words of S. Matthew (except οὐχὶ for οὐ). *Clem. Hom.* viii. 7 has τί με λέγεις Κύριε, Κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖς ἃ λέγω; which closely resembles Luke vi. 46 τί δέ με καλεῖτε, Κύριε, Κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω; comp. *Clem. Hom.* viii. 5 οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν διδασκάλους καὶ κυρίους αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἢ σωτηρίᾳ γίνεται.

ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν ἑαυτούς, ἐν τῷ μὴ μοιχᾶσθαι μηδὲ καταλαλεῖν ἀλλήλων μηδὲ ζηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι, ἐλεήμονας, ἀγαθοὺς· καὶ συμπάσχειν ἀλλήλοις ὀφείλομεν, καὶ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογῶμεν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις· καὶ οὐ δὲ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεόν. διὰ τοῦτο, ταῦτα ὑμῶν πρᾶσσόντων, εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Ἐὰν ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ σὺνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολὰς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ

1 ἀγαπᾶν AC; add. τοὺς πλησίον ἡμῶν ὡς S: see above.

οφίλομεν A.

7 ὑμῶν] A; ἡμῶν CS.

4 ὀφείλομεν]

8 Κύριος] AC; ἰησοῦς S.

ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου] AC; *in uno sinu* S.

9 ποιῆτε] A; ποιήσητε C.

12 παρ-

1. μηδὲ καταλαλεῖν κ.τ.λ.] James iv. 11 μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων. See also *Hermas Mand.* 2 πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει, with the whole section.

3. ἀγαθοὺς] 'kindly, beneficent,' as Tit. ii. 5, 1 Pet. ii. 18; and so probably 1 Thess. iii. 6.

5. οὐ δὲ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Acts iv. 19, v. 29.

8. Ἐὰν ἦτε κ.τ.λ.] Not found in the canonical Gospels, and perhaps taken from the Gospel of the Egyptians, which is quoted below; see §§ 5, 8, 12. The image and expressions are derived from Is. xl. 11 τῷ βραχίονι αὐτοῦ συνάξει ἄρνας καὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ βαστάσει. The latter clause, though absent in BSA, is found in several MSS (see Holmes and Parsons), in other Greek Versions, and in the original; and must be supposed to have been known to the writer of the Gospel in question. For the expression *συνάγει ἐν κόλπῳ*, 'to gather in the lap,' see LXX Prov. xxx. 4 (xxiv. 27). The image is carried out in the language of the next chapter, *ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια* κ.τ.λ.

10. ὑπάγετε κ.τ.λ.] The parallel passage in S. Luke xiii. 27 runs καὶ ερεῖ,

Λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα [ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀδικίας. This is much closer than Matt. vii. 23. The denunciation is taken from Ps. vi. 9 ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ανομίαν. Compare the quotations in Justin *Apol.* i. 16 (p. 64 B) καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ανομίας, *Dial.* 76 (p. 301 D) καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· Ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. See Westcott *Canon* p. 125 sq (2nd ed.).

V. 'We must break loose from the ties of this world. The Lord has warned us, that here we shall be as lambs among wolves; that we have cause to fear the perdition of our souls rather than the murder of our bodies. Our life here is brief and transitory; our life in heaven is eternal rest. Therefore should we look upon ourselves as aliens to the world.'

12. τὴν παροικίαν] 'our sojourning in,' i.e. 'our dalliance with': see the note on *παροικοῦντες* in the opening of the First Epistle.

15. Ἔσεσθε κ.τ.λ.] This is a close parallel to Luke x. 3 ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων (comp. Matt. x. 16). As however Peter is not men-

ἡμῖν ὑπαγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

V. "Οθεν, ἀδελφοί, καταλείψαντες τὴν παροικίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος Ἐσσεθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράζωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβεῖσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτένον-

οικίαν] AC; παροικίαν S.

19 φοβεῖσθε] φοβεῖσθαι A.

ἀποκτένοντας]

A; ἀποκτέντας C.

tioned in the context, and as the continuation of the quotation is not found in the canonical Gospels, the whole passage was probably taken from some apocryphal source, perhaps the Gospel of the Egyptians: see the note on §§ 4, 8, 12. As the same metaphor of the lambs occurs in the apocryphal quotation just above (§ 4), they were probably taken from the same context. Photius (*Bibl.* 126) remarks on the number of apocryphal quotations in this Second Epistle, πλὴν ὅτι ῥητά τινα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρεισάγει, ὧν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη ἀπῆλλακτο παντελῶς. (For apocryphal quotations in the First, which however are chiefly from the Old Testament and therefore not so prominent, see the notes §§ 8, 13, 17, 23, 29, 46.)

19. καὶ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.] The apocryphal citation again runs parallel to the canonical Gospels, Matt. x. 28 καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυνάμενων ἀποκτείνει· φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον [καὶ] ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γένει, Luke xii. 4, 5 μὴ φοβήθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἔχόντων περισσώτερον

τι ποιῆσαι· ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθήτε. φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γένναν· ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε. The saying is quoted also in *Clem. Hom.* xvii. 4 μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτενόντος τὸ σῶμα τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ μὴ δυνάμενον τι ποιῆσαι· φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν γένναν τοῦ πυρὸς βαλεῖν, and in *Justin Apol.* i. 19 (p. 66 B) μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυνάμενος τι ποιῆσαι, εἶπε, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γένναν ἐμβαλεῖν. The points of coincidence in the quotations of the Clementine Homilies and Justin with our pseudo-Clement are worthy of notice, but they seem to be accidental. The expression εἰς τὴν γένναν τοῦ πυρὸς (in the quotation of the Homilies) might have come from Matt. xviii. 9 (interpolated in the parallel passage Mark ix. 47). For the amount of variation which may arise accidentally, see a parallel instance given by Westcott *Canon* p. 116; and it is instructive to observe the variations in two quotations of this very saying in *Clem. Alex. Exc. Theod.* p. 972 φοβήθητε



ΤΑΣ ἸΜΑΔΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ἸΜῖΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΪΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΦΟΒΕΪΣΘΕ  
 ΤὸΝ ΜΕΤΑ Τὸ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΪΝ ἸΜΑΔΣ ἔΧΟΝΤΑ ἘΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ, ΤΟΥ ΒΑΛΕΪΝ ΕἰΣ ΓΕΕΝΝΑΝ ΠΥΡΟΣ. Καὶ γινώσκετε,  
 ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆς  
 σαρκὸς ταύτης μικρά ἐστίν καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος· ἡ δὲ 5  
 ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστίν,  
 καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς  
 αἰωνίου. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ποιήσαντας ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτῶν,  
 εἰ μὴ τὸ ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀναστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τὰ  
 κοσμικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἀλλότρια ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν 10

1 φοβεῖσθε] φοβεῖσθαι A.

3 πυρός] AC; om. S.

6 ἐπαγγελία]

επαγγελεια A.

Χριστοῦ] C; Κυρίου S.

ἐστίν] AC; om. (apparently)

S. 7 ἀνάπαυσις] A; ἡ ἀνάπαυσις C.

8 τί...ἐπιτυχεῖν] AC; *quid*

*igitur est id quod facit ut attingatis* S. The translator seems to have had ποιήσαν for ποιήσαντας in his text, and to have wrested the grammar to make sense of it.

11 γὰρ τῷ] A; τῷ γὰρ C.

ἐπιθυμεῖν] ἐπιθυμεῖ A.

ταῦτα] AS;

αὐτὰ C.

13 λέγει δὲ] AC; λέγει γὰρ καὶ S.

14 ἐὰν] C; add. οὖν

γούν, λέγει, τὸν μετὰ θάνατον δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν βαλεῖν, and p. 981 ὁ σωτὴρ λέγει φοβεῖσθαι δεῖν τὸν δυνάμενον ταύτην τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τὸ ψυχικὸν ἐν γέεννῃ ἀπολέσαι: comp. also Iren. iii. 18. 5 'Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere; timete autem magis eum qui habet potestatem et corpus et animam mittere in gehennam.'

ἀποκτείνοντας] The passages quoted in the last note show that the substitution of ἀποκτείνοντας is quite unnecessary. For the form ἀποκτενεῖν see Winer § xv. p. 95 (note), A. Buttman p. 54.

4. ἡ ἐπιδημία] 'sojourn': comp. παρεπίδημοι Heb. xi. 13, 1 Pet. i. 1, ii. 11. See the note on παροιμία above, which contains the same idea.

7. καὶ ἀνάπαυσις] 'namely, rest.' For this use of καὶ see the notes on Galatians vi. 16.

8. τί οὖν κ.τ.λ.] 'What then is it

possible for us to do that we may obtain them, but to walk holily and righteously.' Thus τῷ, which some would substitute for τό, interferes with the construction. For ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως, implying duties to God and to man respectively, see the note on ὅσια § 1: comp. § 6 ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια.

VI. 'Our Lord has told us that no man can serve two masters. There is a direct antagonism between the world present and the world to come. We cannot keep the friendship of both. Let us then, if we would deliver ourselves from eternal misery, obey the command of Christ and follow after the heavenly life. Even Noah, Job, and Daniel, it is written, could not by their righteous deeds rescue their own children. How then shall we enter the kingdom of God, if we keep not our baptismal vows?'

13. Οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] Luke xvi. 13 οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυοὶ κυρίους δουλεῖν...οὐ δύνασθε Θεῷ δουλεῖν

αὐτῶν; ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἡμᾶς κτήσασθαι ταῦτα ἀποπίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.

VI. Λέγει δὲ ὁ Κύριος· Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύνатаι δγσι κγρίοις δόγλεγειν. ἐὰν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ Θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾶ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν. τί γάρ τὸ ὄφελος, εἰάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ; ἔστιν δὲ οὗτος ὁ αἰὼν καὶ ὁ μέλλων δύο ἐχθροί· οὗτος λέγει μοιχείαν καὶ φθορὰν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τούτοις ἀποτάσσεται. οὐ δυνάμεθα οὖν τῶν δύο φίλοι εἶναι· δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτῳ ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ χρᾶσθαι. οἴώμεθα ὅτι βέλτιόν

S. 16 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον] τὸν κόσμον (om. ὅλον) C; *omnem hunc mundum* S, but the insertion of *hunc* probably does not imply any different reading from A: see above, i. p. 141, and comp. below § 19.

17 ζημιωθῇ] AC; *perdat* (perhaps ἀπολέσῃ) S.

18 καὶ φθορὰν] AC; om. S.

19 τοῖσι S. See conversely below on p. 222 l. 8.

21 χρᾶσθαι] A; οἴώμεθα] οἴομεθα ACS. S also adds δὲ ἀδελφοί.

καὶ μαμωνᾶ. The words are the same in Matt. vi. 24, excepting the omission of οἰκέτης.

15. τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος κ.τ.λ.] See Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 36, Luke ix. 25. The quotation here may have been derived from either S. Matthew or S. Mark, though it differs slightly from both. The divergence from S. Luke is greater. The saying is quoted also by Justin *Apol.* i. 15; but Justin's quotation, while combining different features of the three canonical Gospels, does not reproduce the special peculiarity (τί τὸ ὄφελος;) of our pseudo-Clement.

17. ἔστιν δὲ οὗτος ὁ αἰὼν κ.τ.λ.] See the notes on *Galatians* i. 4. Compare also *Clem. Hom.* viii. 21, xx. 2.

18. φθορὰν] Either (1) *corruptness, profligacy* generally, as in 2 Pet. i. 4, ii. 12, 19; or (2) in a more special sense, as Plut. *Cass.* i τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπολυσάμενος, *Mor.* p. 89 B κριθῆναι φθορᾶς. The connexion with

μοιχεία here points to this latter sense; comp. Barnab. 10 οὐ μὴ γένη μοίχος οὐδὲ φθορεύς, Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 11 (II. p. 310 M) ἀδελφὸν μὲν καὶ συγγενὲς ἀδίκημα μοιχείας φθορά, Epictet. *Diss.* ii. 22. 28 ἀκρατεῖς καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ φθορεῖς, Iren. *Haer.* i. 28. 1, *Clem. Hom.* iv. 16, 24.

20. τούτῳ ἀποταξαμένους] '*bidding farewell to this.*' *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 5 οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, Ign. *Philad.* 11 ἀποταξάμενος τῷ βίῳ. The word is fairly common in the New Testament; see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 23.

χρᾶσθαι] '*consort with as a friend,*' according to a common sense of the word. The editors have substituted χρῆσθαι for the reading of the older MS; but there is sufficient authority for χρᾶσθαι in later writers: see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 61, Buttman *Ausf. Sprachl.* § 105 (i. p. 487), Veitch *Irregular Verbs* s. v. χρᾶσθαι. For the form in a comp. συγχεῖσθαι Ign. *Magn.* 3, παραχεῖσθαι *Apost. Const.* vi. 10.

ἐστιν τὰ ἐνθάδε μισῆσαι, ὅτι μικρὰ καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνια καὶ φθαρτά· ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀγαπῆσαι, τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀφθαρτα. ποιῶντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπαισιν· εἰ δὲ μῆγε, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ῥύσεται ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως, ἐὰν παρακούσωμεν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ. 5 λέγει δὲ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, ὅτι Ἐὰν ἀναστῇ Νῶε καὶ Ἰώβ καὶ Δανιήλ, οὗ ῥύσονται τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ. εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκαιοι οὐ

2 ἀγαθὰ καὶ] ἀγαθὰ τὰ AC; om. S. Here probably the reading of C is to be preferred: for (1) It is more forcible in itself: (2) It explains the omission in S. 3 γὰρ] AS; om. C. ἀνάπαισιν] AC; add. *quae illis* S, as if it had read τὴν ἐκεῖ, but this may be only a translator's gloss. 4 ἡμᾶς] AC; om. S. 6 δὲ] AC; γὰρ S. ἐν τῷ] AC; τοῦ S. 8 αἰχμαλωσίᾳ] C; αἰχμαλωσίᾳ A. οἱ τοιοῦτοι] AC; οὗτοι S: see conversely above on p. 221 l. 19. δίκαιοι] AC; om. S. οὐ δύνανται] here, A; after δικαιοσύνας in C; but S has appa-

4. αἰωνίου κολάσεως] The expression occurs Matt. xxv. 46.

6. ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ] Abridged from Ezek. xiv. 14—20, being taken especially from ver. 14 ἐὰν ᾧσιν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς Νῶε καὶ Δανιήλ καὶ Ἰώβ, and ver. 18 οὐ μὴ ῥύσονται υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας. The words ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ are the writer's own addition and should not be treated as part of the quotation. It is worth noticing also that the order of the three names, which has given rise to so much speculation among modern critics, is changed by the pseudo-Clement, and a chronological sequence is produced. The same order of the names appears in *Apost. Const.* ii. 14. Chrysostom also makes the same change in two passages quoted by Cotelier, *Hom. xliii in Gen.* (IV. p. 436) and *Expt. in Ps. xlviii* (v. p. 210).

9. δικαιοσύνας] The plural, as in Deut. ix. 4 (v. l.), 6, 1 Sam. xxvi. 23, Ezek. iii. 20, xxxiii. 13, Eccus. xlv. 10.

11. τὸ βασιλεῖον] 'the kingdom,'

as in *Test. xii Patr.* Jud. 17, 22, 23, *Orac. Sib.* iii. 159, Gaius (Hippolytus?) in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28, Hippol. *Fragm.* 59, 103, 105 (pp. 162, 181, 182, Lagarde), Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 17, Epiphan. *Haer.* li. 9 (p. 432). Thus there is ample authority for this sense of βασιλεῖον. Galland, desirous of retaining the more usual meaning 'a palace,' supposes the writer to refer to the parable of the marriage feast given by the king, Matt. xxii. 11, 12. If so, we might suppose that he explained the wedding garment of baptism, which is mentioned just before. But the reference seems improbable. This more usual meaning of βασιλεῖον would have a parallel in S. Anselm *Cur Deus homo* ii. 16 'ut nullus palatium ejus ingrediatur.'

12. παράκλητος] 'advocate,' as it should always be translated in the New Testament. This is one coincidence of language in our pseudo-Clement with S. John: see esp. 1 Joh. ii. 1 παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. So above § 3 τὸν πατέρα τῆς



δύνανται ταῖς ἐαυτῶν δικαιοσύναις ῥύσασθαι τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν· ἡμεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἄγνόν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ποία πεποιθήσει εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασιλείον τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἢ τίς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ εὐρεθῶμεν ἔργα ἔχοντες ὅσια καὶ δίκαια;

VII. Ὡστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἀγωνισώμεθα, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγών, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοί, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες

rently the same order as A.

10 αὐτῶν] A; om. CS.

9 ῥύσασθαι τὰ τέκνα] A; τὰ τέκνα ῥύσασθαι C. βάπτισμα] AC; add. *quod acceperimus* S.

A; om. CS.

μου] A; om. C.

As S always adds the possessive pronoun where the vocative ἀδελφοί stands alone in the Greek, its testimony is of no value here: see above § 6.

16 καταπλέουσιν] AC; *certant* (= ἀγωνίζονται) S, but

it probably does not represent a different reading in the Greek. Lower down S translates *καταπλέωμεν descendamus in certamen*.

ἀληθείας, and see on this subject Westcott *Canon* p. 157 sq.

13. ὅσια καὶ δίκαια] See the notes on §§ 1, 5.

VII. 'Therefore let us prepare for the struggle. In the Isthmian games many enter the lists, but not many are crowned. In this our immortal race we should all strive to win. In the earthly contests he who breaks the rules is scourged. What then shall befall those who in their heavenly course swerve from the right path? Their worm, it is written, dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.'

15. ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγών] 'The contest is at hand,' as Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 3. 2 'Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν: comp. Clem. Rom. 7 ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐπικείται. The reading ἀγὼν for δῖων is doubtless correct, and this is not the only instance of the confusion of the two words: see Hase and Dindorf *Steph. Thes.* p. 593 s.v. ἀγὼν, and to the references there given add Æsch. *Agam.* 495, and see 4 Macc. ix. 23, xi. 19. For ἐν χερσίν, 'at hand,' see Plut. *Vit. Cleom.*

22 οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δυστυχίαν, *Vit. Brut.* 36 ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων πράξεις, etc.: compare ὑπὸ χεῖρα, *Hermas Vis.* iii. 10 (with the note).

ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς κ.τ.λ.] An echo of 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25 πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον and ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον. Comp. Lucian *Anachars.* 13 εἰπέ μοι, πάντες αὐτὰ λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἀγωνισταί; Σ. οὐδαμῶς ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων ὁ κρατήσας αὐτῶν (a passage of which the context presents several coincidences with S. Paul; see Clark's *Peloponnesus* p. 50), Seneca *Ep.* lxxviii. § 16 'Athletæ quantum plagarum ore, quantum toto corpore excipiunt? ferunt tamen omne tormentum gloriæ cupiditate; nec tantum, quia pugnant, ista patiuntur, sed ut pugnent... nos quoque evincamus omnia, quorum præmium non corona nec palma est etc.'

16. καταπλέουσιν] 'resort'; comp. Plut. *Mor.* p. 81 Ε καταπλεῖν γὰρ ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπὶ σχολὴν Ἀθήναζε.

στεφανοῦνται, εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα πάντες στεφανωθῶμεν. ὥστε θέωμεν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν, ἀγῶνα τὸν ἄφθαρτον, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν καταπλεύσωμεν καὶ ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα καὶ στεφανωθῶμεν· καὶ 5

1 εἰ μὴ] AC; (θιμη A) add. *solum* S.  
*curramus*); θῶμεν AC. See the lower note.  
 S. 5 καὶ pri.] AC; om. S.

3 θέωμεν] conj. (so too S distinctly  
 4 εἰς αὐτὸν] AC; *in certamen*  
 ἀγωνισώμεθα] AS; ἀγνισώμεθα C.

Compounds of πλεῖν are sometimes used metaphorically, as ἐκπλεῖν (Herod. iii. 155 ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν), ἀποπλεῖν (Aristoph. *Fr.* II. p. 907 Μεινεκε ἀποπλευστέ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν νυμφίον), διαπλεῖν (Plato *Phaed.* 85 D διαπλεύσαι τὸν βίον). But καταπλεῖν can hardly be so explained here; and we must therefore suppose that the allusion is to the ἀλιερκῆς Ἴσθμου δειράς (Pind. *Isthm.* i. 10), which would naturally be approached by sea. Livy (xxxiii. 32) describes the Isthmian games as ‘propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis, humano generi concilium.’ In these later days of Greece they seem to have surpassed even the Olympian in importance, or at least in popularity: comp. Aristid. *Isthm.* p. 45 ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν πανηγύρεων τῇδε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτῃ κ.τ.λ. (see Krause *Hellen.* II. 2. p. 205 sq). If this homily was addressed to the Corinthians (see above, p. 197), there would be singular propriety in this image, as in S. Paul’s contrast of the perishable and imperishable crown likewise addressed to them, or again in the lessons which Diogenes the Cynic is reported to have taught in this city during the Isthmian games, maintaining the superiority of a moral over an athletic victory (Dion Chrysost. *Orat.* viii, ix).

1. κοπιάσαντες] A word used especially of training for the contest :

see the notes on Ign. *Polyc.* 6 and *Philippians* ii. 16. For the connexion here comp. 1 Tim. iv. 10 καὶ κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα (the correct reading).

3. θέωμεν] For the accusative after this verb see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 511: comp. also Cic. *Off.* iii. 10 ‘stadium currit’ (from Chrysippus). The reading of the Greek MSS, θῶμεν, can hardly stand. It is explained as referring to the ἀγωνοθεσία; but in this case the ἀγωνοθέτης should be God Himself (see Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3); and moreover θῶμεν τὴν ὁδὸν is in itself an awkward expression. Gebhardt, having read θέωμεν in first edition, has returned to θῶμεν in his second, being apparently persuaded by Bryennios. But the argument of Bryennios appears to me to be based on a misconception. He urges that we cannot read θέωμεν on account of the words immediately following, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν καταπλεύσωμεν, and he argues ὁ δὲ ἄρτι ἀγωνιζόμενος χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχει εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καταλθεῖν, as if the reading θέωμεν involved a hysteron-proteron. But in fact this clause introduces an entirely new proposition, of which the stress lies on πολλοί; ‘let us not only take part in this race (θέωμεν τὴν ὁδόν), but let us go there *in great numbers* and contend (πολλοὶ καταπλεύσωμεν καὶ ἀγωνισώμεθα).’ On the other hand it has not been shown that θείναι τὴν ὁδὸν or τὸν ἀγῶνα can be said of the com-



εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα πάντες στεφανωθῆναι, κὰν ἐγγὺς τοῦ στεφάνου γενώμεθα. εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅτι ὁ τὸν φθαρτὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἐὰν εὐρεθῇ φθείρων, μαστιγωθείς αἵρεται καὶ ἔξω βάλλεται τοῦ σταδίου. τί δοκεῖτε; ὁ τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀγῶνα φθείρας, τί

7 εἰδέναι] A; add. δὲ CS.      δ] here A; before ἀγωνιζόμενος, C.      10 δοκεῖτε]  
δοκεῖται A.      φθείρας] A; φθείρων C, so apparently S.

batants themselves. Bryennios indeed explains it *θῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ προθώμεθα*, but this explanation stands self-condemned by the necessity of using either the reflexive pronoun (*ἑαυτοῖς*) or the middle voice (*προθώμεθα*) to bring out the sense. The construction which we have here occurs from time to time with *θέειν*, but is more common with *τρέχειν*, because the verb itself is more common; e.g. Heb. xii. 1 *τρέχουμεν τὸν προκειμένον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα* (see Bleek's note). Polybius (i. 87. 1, xviii. 35. 6) has the proverb *τρέχειν τὴν ἐσχάτην*.

5. καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα κ.τ.λ.] This seems to point to some public recognition of those who came next after the victor. In the Olympian chariot races there were second, third, and fourth prizes; but in the foot races the notices of any inferior prize or honourable mention are vague and uncertain: see Krause *Hellen.* II. 1. p. 170 sq. This passage is quoted loosely by Dorotheus *Doctr.* xxiii *ὡς λέγει καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κλήμης*, *Κὰν μὴ στεφανῶται τις, ἀλλὰ σπουδάσει μὴ μακρὰν εὐρεθῆναι τῶν στεφανουμένων*.

6. κὰν ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.] See Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21. 8 *ἄθλα μέγιστα προθεῖς ἐν οἷς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικῶντες ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ τρίτοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου μετελάμβανον*. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 14.

8. φθείρων] 'vitiating.' The word is used of violating the conditions of the contest, e.g. by making a false

start or cutting off a corner or tripping up an adversary or taking any underhand advantage: comp. Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxi. 7 *παραφθείρας ἀγῶνα ὁ ἀθλητὴς μαστιγθεὶς ἐκβάλλεται τοῦ ἀγῶνος* (quoted by Cotelier). The word is specially chosen here for the sake of the neighbouring *φθαρτὸν ἀφθαρσίας*. See Chrysippus in Cic. *Off.* iii. 10 'Qui stadium currit, eniti et contendere debet, quam maxime possit, ut vincat; supplantare eum quicum certet aut manu depellere nullo modo debet: sic in vita etc.', Lucian *Cal. non tem. cred.* 12 *ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς δρομεὺς...τῷ πλησίον οὐδὲν κακουργεῖ...ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἐκείνος καὶ ἀναθλος ἀνταγωνιστὴς...ἐπὶ τὴν κακοτεχνίαν ἐτράπετο κ.τ.λ.* The turn given to the image in *φθείρων* was perhaps suggested by 2 Tim. ii. 5 *οὐ στεφανοῦται ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ* (comp. Epictet. *Diss.* iii. 10. 8 *δὸς μοι ἀπόδειξιν εἰ νομίμως ἤθλησας*).

9. *μαστιγωθείς*] i.e. by the *ραβδοῦχοι* or, as they are sometimes called (e.g. Lucian *Hermot.* 40), *μαστιγοφόροι*. Pollux (iii. 153) furnishes also a third name, *μαστιγονόμοι*. Compare Herod. viii. 59 *ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξιςτάμενοι ραπίζονται*, Thucyd. v. 50 *ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπὸ τῶν ραβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν*, Lucian *adv. Indoct.* 9, *Piscat.* 33. On these police see Krause *Hellen.* II. 1. pp. 112 sq, 139, 142, 144, II. 2. p. 46 sq. See Schweighaeuser on Epictet. *Diss.* iii. 15. 5 (p. 689). *αἵρεται*] 'is removed.'



παθείται; τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελεετήσκει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί.

VIII. Ὡς οὖν ἐσμὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσωμεν· πηλὸς γάρ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου. ὃν 5 τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς, ἐὰν ποιῇ σκευὸς καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῇ ἢ συντριβῇ, πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσσει· ἐὰν δὲ προφθάσῃ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἕως ἐσμὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σαρκί 10

1 παθείται] A; πέισεται C.

2 τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν] AS; τὸ πῦρ (om. αὐτῶν) C.

6 ποιῇ] A; ποιήσῃ C, but the present tense is wanted here; see below. καὶ]

here, A; before διαστραφῇ, CS thus altering the sense. ἐν] A; om. C; S is doubtful.

7 ἢ] AS; om. C.

8 ἀναπλάσσει] A; ἀναπλάσει C.

τοῦ πυρὸς] AC; om. S, but see the next note.

9 βαλεῖν] AC; add. *et comburat id et pereat* (*perdatur*) S.

It is not probable however that any corresponding

1. τὴν σφραγίδα] By a comparison with § 6 ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα, it appears that baptism is here meant by the seal. So again § 8 τηρήσατε τὴν σφραγίδα ἄσπιλον. Comp. *Hermas Sim.* viii. 6 εὐληφότες τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγίη κ.τ.λ., *Sim.* ix. 16 ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα... ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν κ.τ.λ., also *Sim.* viii. 2, ix. 17, 31, *Clem. Hom.* xvi. 19 τὸ σῶμα σφραγίδι μεγίστῃ διατετυπωμένον (with the context), *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 25 μόνον δὸς μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, Hippol. *Antichr.* 42 (p. 119, Lagarde), Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents* p. 44. So of Abercius it is said (*Ign. and Polyc.* I. p. 496) λαμπρῶν σφραγίδων ἔχοντα. Suicer s.v. quotes Clem. Alex. *Quis div. salv.* 39 (p. 957), *Strom.* ii. 3 (p. 434), and later writers. Barnabas § 9 speaks of circumcision as a σφραγὶς after S. Paul, Rom. iv. 11. But it may be questioned whether S. Paul (σφραγισάμενος 2 Cor. i. 22, comp. Ephes. iv. 30) or S.

John (Rev. ix. 4 τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων) used the image with any direct reference to baptism.

2. ὁ σκώληξ κ.τ.λ.] An accurate quotation from the LXX of the last verse of Isaiah (lxvi. 24) ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. The denunciation is uttered against τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παραβεβηκότων, and the context does not contain any reference to the broken seal.

VIII. 'We are as clay in the hands of the potter. At present, if we are crushed or broken, He can mould us again; but when we have been once thrown into the furnace, nothing will avail us. Therefore let us repent in time. After death repentance is too late. Let us keep the flesh pure now, that we may inherit eternal life hereafter. This is our Lord's meaning, when He says, *If ye kept not that which is small, who shall give you that which is great?*'

4. 'Ὡς οὖν' 'While then.' For this sense of ὥς see § 9 ὥς ἔχομεν καιρόν, with the note.

ἀ ἐπράξαμεν πονηρὰ μετανοήσωμεν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρ-  
 δίας, ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἕως ἔχομεν και-  
 ρὸν μετανοίας· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ  
 κόσμου, οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἢ με-  
 5 τανοεῖν ἔτι. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιήσαντες τὸ θέλημα  
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰς  
 ἐντολὰς τοῦ Κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώ-  
 νιον. λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ  
 μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήκατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω

words stood in the Greek text.

οὕτω C.

11 &] C; *si quid* S.

*dum* S; ὡς ἔτι C.

ἔχομεν καιρὸν] A; καιρὸν ἔχομεν C.

AS; om. C.

τοῦ κόσμου] AC; τῆς σαρκὸς S.

AC; add. *super nostris peccatis* S.

16 σάρκα] C; σαρκαν A; add. ἡμῶν S.

βοηθήσει] A; βοηθεῖ CS.

οὕτως] A;

τῆς] A; om. C.

12 ἕως] A;

13 μετανοίας]

14 ἐξομολογήσασθαι]

15 ποιήσαντες] AC; add. οὖν (?) S.

5. πηλὸς γὰρ ἔσμεν κ.τ.λ.] The image of Jeremiah xviii. 4—6, adopted by S. Paul Rom. ix. 21. The present passage is suggested rather by the prophet than by the Apostle. The image is drawn out in *Test. xii Patr.* Nepht. 2, and in *Athenag. Suppl.* 15.

6. ποιῇ σκεύος καὶ κ.τ.λ.] There can be no doubt that the more graphic reading of A is correct. The very point of the comparison is that the breakage happens *in the making* (ποιῇ), happens *under the hands* of the potter (ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῇ), and not afterwards, as ποιήσῃ...ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαστραφῇ would imply.

7. συντριβῇ] Rev. ii. 27 ὡς τὰ σκευὴ τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται.

πάλιν αὐτὰ ἀναπλάσσει] Hilgenfeld refers to Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 26 καθάπερ σκευὸς τι, ἐπὶ ἀν πλασθέν αἰτίαν τινὰ σχῆ, ἀναχωνέυεται ἢ ἀναπλάσσεται εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι καιρὸν καὶ ὁλόκληρον; see the references there given by Otto.

8. εἰ δὲ προφθάσῃ κ.τ.λ.] ‘When

*He has once cast it into the fiery furnace, He will no more come to its rescue.*’ προφθάνειν occurs Matt. xvii. 25 and several times in the LXX.

16. τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν κ.τ.λ.] *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 5 μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, 12 τὴν σάρκα μὴ μολύνῃτε ἀλλὰ τηρήσῃτε ἀγνὴν.

18. Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν κ.τ.λ.] Probably a quotation fused from Luke xvi. 10 ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν· εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδικῷ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει; and Matt. xxv. 21, 23, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἡς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω. Irenæus (ii. 34. 3) cites it somewhat similarly, ‘Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis?’ The quotation of our Clementine writer may perhaps be taken from an apocryphal gospel (see the notes on §§ 4, 5, 12); but the passage of Irenæus, who can hardly have borrowed from an apocryphal source, shows how great divergences are possible in quotations from memory, and lessens the pro-

Γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστός ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν. ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει· τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἄσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν [αἰώνιον] ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν.

1 πολλῷ] AC; πολλοῖς S.

lower note.

4 ἀπολάβωμεν] A; απολαβητε CS: see the

bability of this solution. Hilgenfeld's inference (p. xxxix), 'Irenæus hac epistula quamvis nondum Clementi Romano adscripta usus esse videtur,' seems to me quite unwarranted by the coincidence. We have in fact a similar coincidence in Hippol. *Haer.* x. 33 (p. 336) ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς εὐρεθῆι καὶ τὸ μέγα πιστευθῇ καὶ δυναθῇ.

2. ἄρα οὖν] A favourite collocation of particles in S. Paul: see Fritzsche on Rom. v. 18. The accentuation ἄρα οὖν is erroneous.

τοῦτο λέγει] 'He means this': as in § 2 (twice), § 12. See the note on *Galatians* iii. 17. The words therefore which follow ought not to be treated as an apocryphal quotation, as they are by several editors and others.

3. ἄσπιλον] For τηρεῖν ἄσπιλον comp. 1 Tim. vi. 14, James i. 27.

4. αἰώνιον] The omission in the Syriac is probably correct; comp. § 14 τοσαύτην δύναται ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη μεταλαβεῖν ζωὴν κ.τ.λ., § 17 συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν. The epithet may have been inserted from the expression just above, ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Similarly in John xx. 31 αἰώνιον is added after ζωὴν by NCD etc., and in 1 Tim. vi. 19 τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς (from ver. 12) is substituted for the less usual τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς by several authorities. In Luke x. 25 Marcion read ζωὴν without αἰώνιον (see Tertull. *c. Marc.* iv. 25), and so one Latin copy.

ἀπολάβωμεν] 'secure.' The preposition implies that it is already potentially our own, so that we are only recovering a right: see *Galatians* iv. 5 with the note.

The licence in the change of persons (τηρήσατε, ἀπολάβωμεν) has offended the transcribers here, though occasionally indulged in even by the best writers in all languages, e.g. Jeremy Taylor *Works* vi. p. 364 'If they were all zealous for the doctrines of righteousness, and impatient of sin, in yourselves and in the people, it is not to be imagined what a happy nation we should be.' See also e.g. Rom. vii. 4 ἐθανάτωθε, καρποφορήσωμεν, viii. 15 ἐλάβετε, κράζομεν, and frequently in S. Paul.

IX. 'Do not deny the resurrection of the body. As we were called in the flesh, so also shall we be judged in the flesh. As Christ being spirit became flesh for us, so shall we in the flesh receive our recompense. Let us love one another; let us make a return to God for His goodness. What must this return be? Sincere repentance and unceasing praise—the praise not of our lips only, but of our hearts and of our actions.'

5. Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις κ.τ.λ.] This passage, as far as ἀποληψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν, is quoted in several collections of Syriac fragments, immediately after the opening sentence of this epistle: see the note on the beginning of § 1, and comp. i. p. 185. The sentence εἰς Χριστὸς... ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν is also quoted by Timotheus of Alexandria; see i. p. 180.

αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ κ.τ.λ.] Difficulties on this point were very early felt and met by S. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 12 sq. A little later the precursors of Gnosti-



5 IX. Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται. γινώτε· ἐν τίνι ἐσώθητε, ἐν τίνι ἀνεβλέψατε, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ ὄντες;

5 τις] AC; S translates, as if it had read μηδels.

6 οὐδὲ] A; οὐτε C.

cism boldly maintained that the only resurrection was a spiritual resurrection (2 Tim. ii. 18). It afterwards became a settled tenet of the Gnostic sects to deny the resurrection of the body: see Polyc. *Phil.* 7 ὁς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, Justin *Dial.* 80 (p. 306 D) εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνεβάλετε ὑμεῖς τισὶ λεγομένοις Χριστιανοῖς...οἱ καὶ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ ἀποθησκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, μὴ ὑπολάβητε αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς κ.τ.λ., Iren. ii. 31. 2 τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγείραι...ut ne quidem credant hoc in totum posse fieri; esse autem resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem ejus, quae ab eis dicitur, veritatis' (comp. v. 31. 1, 2), *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 14 ἡμεῖς σε διδάσκομεν, ἣν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις, καὶ ἀνιστάμεθα Θεὸν ἐπεγνώκοτες ἀληθῆ, Tertull. *de Res. Carn.* 19 'Nacti quidam sollemnissimam eloquii prophetici formam, allegorici et figurati, non tamen semper, resurrectionem quoque mortuorum manifeste annuntiatam in imaginariam significationem distorquent etc.,' with the following chapters.

From this doctrine the antinomian Gnostics deduced two consequences; (1) That the defilement of the flesh is a matter of indifference, provided that the spirit has grasped the truth. Against this error is directed the warning *Hermas Sim.* v. 7 τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φύλασσε καθαρὰν καὶ ἁμιαντὸν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κατενοικούν ἐν αὐτῇ μαρτυρήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ δικαιοθῇ σου ἡ σὰρξ· βλέπε μήποτε ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ

τὴν καρδίαν σου τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι καὶ παραχρήσῃ αὐτῇ ἐν μiasmῶ τινὶ κ.τ.λ. So too Ps.-Ign. *Tars.* 2 ἕτεροι δὲ [λέγουσιν] ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη οὐκ ἐγείρεται, καὶ δεῖ ἀπολαυστικὸν βίον ζῆν καὶ μετείνειν. See also Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 22. This practical consequence our writer seems to have distinctly in view §§ 8, 9. (2) That it is legitimate to decline martyrdom and to avoid persecution by a denial of Christ with a mental reservation. Rightly or wrongly this charge is constantly brought against them by their antagonists. Thus Agrippa Castor, writing against Basilides (Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 7), represented him as teaching ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογενομένων καὶ ἐξομνυμένων ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διαγμῶν καιροὺς: and Iren. *Haer.* iii. 18. 5 'Ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam ut etiam martyres spernant et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur etc.' (comp. i. 24. 6). This is a constant charge in Tertullian. See on this subject Ritschl *Altkath. Kirche* p. 495 sq. This view again seems to be combated by our writer, §§ 4, 5, 7, 10.

Schwegler *Nachap. Zeitalt.* i. p. 453 sq maintained that the expression in our text is directed against docetic Ebionism. He is well refuted by Hilgenfeld *Apost. Vät.* p. 115 sq.

7. ἐν τίνι] 'in what,' not 'in whom,' as the following εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ shows.

ἀνεβλέψατε] 'ye recovered your sight'; comp. § 1 τοιαύτης ἀχλὺς γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὁράσει ἀνεβλέψαμεν κ.τ.λ.

δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα·  
ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῇ  
σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε. εἰ Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος, ὁ σώσας  
ἡμᾶς, ὃν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ  
οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ 5  
σαρκὶ ἀποληψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν. ἀγαπῶμεν οὖν ἀλ-  
λήλους, ὅπως ἔλθωμεν πάντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ  
Θεοῦ. ὡς ἔχομεν καιρὸν τοῦ ἰαθῆναι, ἐπιδῶμεν ἐαν-

2 καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκί...ὁ σώσας] AC; *et in carne venit christus dominus (noster), unus existens, is qui salvavit* S. This may be explained by the obliteration of some letters, so that ἐλεύσεσθε was read ἐλ...θε, and translated as if ἦλθε. 3 ἐλεύσεσθε] ἐλευσεσθαι A.

εἰ] Fragn. Syr; εἰς ACS Timoth: see the lower note.

4 πνεῦμα] AS; λόγος C: see above, i. p. 125, for the motive of this change. ἐγένετο] AC; add. δὲ S Timoth Fragn.-Syr.

σὰρξ] AC; *in carne* S Timoth Fragn.-Syr. καὶ οὕτως] A; καὶ οὕτως καὶ C. 5 ἐκά-

I. ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Philad.* 7 τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε: comp. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17, vi. 19, 2 Cor. vi. 16, and see Ign. *Ephes.* 9. 15 (with the notes).

3. ἐλεύσεσθε] Not, I think, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, as Harnack takes it, but εἰς τὴν κρίσιν.

εἰ Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ.] The reading εἰ for εἰς, now supported by ample authority, is evidently required by the context. Mill and others would have read ὡς, which gives the same sense. Editors quote as a parallel Ign. *Magn.* 7 εἰς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, but εἰς is quite out of place here, though appropriate there where the writer is dwelling on *unity*. It is possible that the reading of A ΕΙC arose out of ΕΙΠC i.e. εἰ Ἰησοῦς, or ΕΙΟΙC i.e. εἰ ὁ Ἰησοῦς. The confusion would be easier, as the preceding word ends in Ε.

4. ὃν μὲν] As though the sentence were intended to be continued in a participial form *γενόμενος δέ*.

τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα] The doctrine of the pre-existence of the Son, as

the Logos, is here presented in a somewhat unusual form; comp. however Hermas *Sim.* v. 6 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ προὖν, τὸ κτίσαν πάσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατέκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἐβούλετο, ix. 1 ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 10 οὗτος οὖν ὢν πνεῦμα Θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ σοφία καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου κατήρχετο εἰς τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλει κ.τ.λ., Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. 16 'spiritus Creatoris qui est Christus,' Hippol. c. *Noet.* 4 (p. 47 Lagarde) λόγος σὰρξ ἦν, πνεῦμα ἦν, δύναμις ἦν κ.τ.λ. See especially Dörner *Lehre von der Person Christi* i. p. 205 sq.

8. ὡς ἔχομεν καιρὸν] 'while we have opportunity': comp. Gal. vi. 10 (with the note), Ign. *Smyrn.* 9 ὡς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν. Another instance of ὡς, 'while,' occurs above, § 8.

10. προγνώστης] Justin *Apol.* i. 44 (p. 82 B), Tatian *ad Graec.* 19, Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 15.

11. τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31 εἰδέναι τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, Deut. viii. 2 διαγνωσθῇ τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου,



τοὺς τῷ θεραπεύοντι Θεῷ, ἀντιμισθίαν αὐτῷ διδόντες· ποίαν; τὸ μετανοῆσαι ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς καρδίας· προ- γνώστης γάρ ἐστιν τῶν πάντων καὶ εἰδὼς ἡμῶν τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ. δῶμεν οὖν αὐτῷ αἶνον αἰώνιον, μὴ ἀπὸ στόματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσδέξῃται ὡς υἱούς. καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· Ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

λεσεν] AC; add. *existens in carne* (ὦν ἐν τῇ σαρκί) S, but this may be only a gloss of οὕτως and probably does not represent any additional words in the Greek text. οὕτως sec.] A; οὕτω C.

6 ἀποληψόμεθα] ἀποληψομαι A. οὖν] AS; om. C.

9 τῷ θεραπεύοντι] AC; add. *nos* S.

10 εἰλικρινούς]

εἰλικρινουστ A.

11 τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ] ταενκαρδια A; τὰ ἐγκάρδια C; *ea quae in corde nostrum* S.

12 αἶνον αἰώνιον] αιωνιον (om. αιων) A; αἶνον (om. αἰώνιον) CS.

13 ἡμᾶς] AC; καὶ ἡμᾶς S.

15 ποιοῦντες] πουντες A.

I Sam. ix. 19, etc. Hilgenfeld reads τὰ ἐγκάρδια, saying of A 'ἐγκάρδια (s. ἐγκάρδια) c. cod., Jun., ἐν καρδίᾳ ceteri edd.' But, inasmuch as an iota subscript or adscript never appears in MSS of this date, the transcriber could not have written ἐν καρδίᾳ otherwise than he has done. Moreover, since ἐν καρδίᾳ and ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ occur numberless times in the LXX, whereas the adjective ἐγκάρδιος is not once found there, this reading seems to me improbable. In Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 3 (p. 103) I should be disposed conversely to read διορῶν τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ (for ἐγκάρδια) λόγος. The word ἐγκάρδιος however is legitimate in itself.

12. αἶνον αἰώνιον] This is doubtless the right reading; see above, I. p. 120 and the note on εἰρεῖν below § 10. Comp. *Apost. Const.* iii. 1 τὸν αἰώνιον ἔπαινον.

15. Ἀδελφοί μου κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 49 ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου· ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιῇ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφός καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν (comp. Mark iii. 35); Luke viii. 21

μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες. Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 14 (p. 139), gives the saying Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πατρὸς μου, as it is assumed, from an Ebionite gospel (*Westcott Canon* p. 160, Hilgenfeld *Apost. Vät.* p. 122); but I do not think his language implies more than that the Ebionites allowed the saying to stand in their recension of the Gospel, and he may be quoting loosely from the canonical Evangelists. A still wider divergence from the canonical passages is in Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 20 (p. 994) ἄγει οὖν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συγκληρονόμους υἱούς καὶ φίλους· Ἀδελφοί μου γάρ, φησιν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ συγκληρονόμοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου, where the context shows that συγκληρονόμοι is deliberately given as part of the quotation. Omitting καὶ συγκληρονόμοι and inserting οὗτοί εἰσιν, it will be seen that this form of the saying agrees exactly with our pseudo-Clement's quotation.



X. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου, ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν, καὶ διώξωμεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὴν δὲ κακίαν καταλείψωμεν ὡς προοδοίπορον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ

1 ἀδελφοί μου] A; ἀδελφοί (om. μου) C; ἀδελφοί καὶ ἀδελφαί [μου] S. On the uncertainty respecting the pronoun in S in such cases see below, § 13. 4 προ-

X. 'Let us therefore fulfil the will of our Father. Let us flee from vice, lest evil overtake us. Let us do good, that peace may pursue us. They who teach the fear of men rather than the fear of God, are duly punished. And, if they themselves alone suffered, it were tolerable. But now they shall have a double condemnation, for they lead others besides themselves into ruin.'

2. ἵνα ζήσωμεν] To be connected not with τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς, but with ποιήσωμεν.

4. προοδοίπορον] 'a forerunner'; for κακία is the evil disposition, while ἀμαρτία is the actual sin. On κακία see Trench *N. T. Syn.* 1st ser. § xi, where he quotes the definition of Calvin (on Ephes. iv. 32) 'Animi pravitas quae humanitati et aequitati est opposita et malignitas vulgo nuncupata.' The substantive προοδοίπορος seems to be very rare, though the verb προοδοιπορεῖν occurs occasionally.

6. ἀγαθοποιεῖν] See the note on the First Epistle § 2 ἀγαθοποιῶν.

7. †εὐρεῖν†] sc. εἰρήνην; 'For this reason a man cannot find peace.' If we take the reading of the Greek MSS, no other meaning seems possible; but it can hardly be correct. Yet this must have been the reading of S, which translates 'non est homini (cuiquam) invenire homines illos qui faciunt timorem humanum,' as if the construction were οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον εὐρεῖν (ἐκείνους) οἵτινες κ.τ.λ.; but for

to read פּוֹרְשֵׁי 'qui transeunt,'

thus more closely representing παράγουσι, which however it mistranslates? Previous editors have supposed the error to lie in ἄνθρωπον, written ἈΝΘ̄ in the MS. Accordingly ἈΝΘ̄ (i.e. ἄν Θεόν) has been suggested by Wotton; ΟΥΝΘ̄ (i.e. οὐρανόν) by Davies; and ΑΙΝΟΝ (αἶνον) by Hilgenfeld. But in the first correction the ἄν is grammatically inexplicable; and the second and third give unnatural expressions. I believe the mistake is in ΕΥΡΕΙΝ, and should suggest ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝΕΥΡΕΙΝ or ΕΙΡΗΝΕΥΕΙΝ, or still better ΕΥΗΜΕΡΕΙΝ. If εὐημερεῖν 'to prosper' be adopted, the writer seems to have in mind Ps. xxxiv. 9 sq φοβήθητε τὸν Κύριον πάντες...οὐκ ἔστιν ὑστέρημα τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν...φόβον Κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς. τίς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζῶν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς;...ἐκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιήσον ἀγαθόν, ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν, where the coincidences are striking. The contrast between the fear of men and the fear of God, which underlies this passage, would naturally suggest to our author the words in which the Psalmist emphatically preaches the fear of the Lord. For εὐημερεῖν, εὐημερία, comp. 2 Macc. v. 6, viii. 8, x. 28, xii. 11, xiii. 16, xiv. 14. For the manner in which the transcriber of our principal MS drops letters (more especially where there is a proximity of similar forms) comp. § 9 αἰώνιον for αἶνον αἰώνιον,

φύγωμεν τὴν ἀσέβειαν, μὴ ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ κακά. ἐὰν γὰρ σπουδάσωμεν ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διώξεται ἡμᾶς εἰρήνη. Διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν †εὔρεῖν† ἄν-

οδο[πορον] AC; *proditorum* (as if *προδότην*) S. This rendering again may be due to the obliteration of some letters in the word.

ἀμαρτιῶν] A; ἀμαρτημάτων C.

6 γὰρ] AS; δὲ C.

πουντες for ποιῶντες, § 11 ασουκ for ἀς οὐς οὐκ. See also in the First Epistle § 11 ετερογνωμοσ, § 25 τελευτηκοτος, § 32 ημερας (for ἡμετέρας), etc., and (if my conjecture be correct) § 40 the omission of ἐπιμελῶς before ἐπιτελείσθαι. Lipsius (*Academy* July 9, 1870: comp. *Jen. Lit.*, 13 Jan. 1877) would read οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρήνη ἀνθρώποις οἵτινες κ.τ.λ.

Hilgenfeld (ed. 2, pp. xlvi, 77) supposes that there is a great lacuna at this point οὐκ ἔστιν εὔρεῖν ἀνθρώπων | οἵτινες παράγουσιν φόβους ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. In this lacuna he finds a place not only for this quotation in the so-called John of Damascus (see above, I. p. 194 sq), but also for the reference to the Sibyl in Pseudo-Justin which I have discussed already (I. p. 178 sq). This theory however seems highly improbable for the following reasons.

(1) Though there is good reason for assuming that the existing text is faulty at this point, the external facts are altogether adverse to the supposition that a great lacuna exists here, such for instance as would be produced by the disappearance of one or more leaves in an archetypal MS. Such an archetypal MS must have been of very ancient date, for all our three extant authorities (see above, I. p. 145) have the same text here. It is not indeed impossible that this archetypal MS should have been defective, seeing that the common progenitor of ACS certainly had minor corruptions. But though possible in itself, this supposition is

hardly consistent with other facts. It is highly improbable that a long passage which had disappeared thus early should have been preserved in any MS accessible to the Pseudo-Damascene, or even to the Pseudo-Justin. Moreover the enumeration of verses in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus seems to have been made when the epistle was of its present size, and is not adapted to a more lengthy document. In the colophon at the end of the Second Epistle (see above, I. p. 122) C gives στίχοι χ', ῥητὰ κέ'. As Nicephorus (see I. p. 196) gives the numbers of στίχοι in the two Clementine Epistles as ,βχ', Bryennios supposes that χ' here is an error for ,βχ', the ,β having dropped out. But, as Hilgenfeld himself has pointed out, as the ῥητὰ, or scriptural quotations, are given as 25, this must refer to the Second Epistle alone. When counted up, they do in fact amount to 25, one or two more or less, for it is difficult in some cases to decide whether to reckon the quotations separately or not. The 600 verses therefore must refer to the Second Epistle alone. I may add that this agrees with the reckoning of Nicephorus, which giving 2600 to the Two Epistles leaves 2000 for the First. Thus the proportion of the First Epistle to the Second is roughly as 2000 : 600, or as 10 : 3. In my translation the two Epistles take up respectively 34½ and 10½ pages, these numbers being almost exactly as 10 : 3.

(2) Again; though the two frag-



θρωπον, οἵτινες παράγουσι φόβους ἀνθρωπίνους, προρημένοι μᾶλλον τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν. ἀγνοοῦσιν γὰρ ἡλικὴν ἔχει βάσανον ἢ ἐνθάδε ἀπόλαυσις, καὶ οἶαν τρυφήν ἔχει ἢ μέλλουσα ἐπαγγελία. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτοὶ μόνοι ταῦτα ἐπρασσον, 5 ἀνεκτὸν ἦν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιμένουσιν κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες τὰς ἀναιτίους ψυχάς, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι δισσὴν ἔξουσιν τὴν κρίσιν, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτῶν.

# XI. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ δουλεύσωμεν

1 προρημένοι] προαιρούμεθα AC. S translates, as if it had read προαιρούμενοι, which was also conjectured by Bryennios. 2 ἀπόλαυσιν] AS; ἀνάπαυσιν C.

3 ἐπαγγελίαν] επαγγελειαν A. ἡλικην] ηλκην A. 4 ἀπόλαυσις] AS; ἀνάπαυσις C. 5 ἐπαγγελία] επαγγελεια A. 6 ἀνεκτὸν ἦν] AC; S translates erat iis fortasse respiratio, but this probably does not represent any

ments which Hilgenfeld would assign to this lacuna are not incongruous in subject, yet the sentiments in the extant context on either side of the supposed lacuna are singularly appropriate to one another, and in this juxtaposition seem to have been suggested by the language of Ps. xxxiv. 9 sq quoted in my note.

(3) The style of the fragment quoted by the Pseudo-Damascene betrays a different hand from our author's. Its vocabulary is more philosophical (καθόλου, τὰ φεῦκτα, ὑπόθεσις καὶ ὕλη, τὰ ἀσπαστὰ, κατ' εὐχὴν), and altogether it shows more literary skill.

The probable account of the quotations in the Pseudo-Justin and in the Pseudo-Damascene is given above (I. p. 178 sq, 194 sq).

1. οἵτινες] 'men who,' the antecedent being the singular ἀνθρωπον. This grammatical irregularity is not uncommon: see Jelf's *Gramm.* § 819.

2. a.

παράγουσι κ.τ.λ.] 'introduce (instil) fears of men': comp. § 4 οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Θεόν. The passages in the

lexicons will show that Hilgenfeld's correction παρεισάγουσι for παράγουσι is unnecessary. He rightly explains the words (*Apost. Vät.* p. 118) to refer to those Gnostics who taught that outward conformity to heathen rites was indifferent and that persecution might thus be rightly escaped: comp. κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες below, and see the note above on § 9 αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ κ.τ.λ.

3. ἐπαγγελίαν] i.e. the subject, the fulfilment, of the promise, as e.g. Acts i. 4, Gal. iii. 14, Heb. vi. 15.

6. ἀνεκτὸν ἦν] For the imperfect see Winer § xlii. p. 321.

κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες] Ign. *Philad.* 2 κακοδιδασκαλίας. So καλοδιδασκάλους, Tit. ii. 3.

7. δισσὴν κ.τ.λ.] For the form of the sentence comp. Gen. xliii. 11 καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δισσοῦν λάβετε. Comp. *Apost. Const.* v. 6 καὶ ἐτέροις αἰτιοὶ ἀπωλείας γενησόμεθα καὶ διπλοτέραν ὑποίοισμεν τὴν τίσιν.

XI. 'Let us therefore serve God and believe His promise. If we waver, we are lost. Remember how the word of prophecy denounces the distrustful, how it compares the fulfil-



ο τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐσόμεθα δίκαιοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δουλεύσω-  
μεν διὰ τοῦ μὴ πιστεῦειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προ-  
φητικὸς λόγος· Ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστά-  
ζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ, οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα πάντα ἠκούσαμεν  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας  
προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τοῦτων ἐωράκαμεν. Ἀνόητοι, συμ-  
βάλετε ἐαυτοὺς ζῆλῳ, λάβετε ἄμπελον· πρῶτον μὲν φυλ-  
λοροεῖ, εἴτα βλαστὸς γίνεταί, μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαζ, εἴτα

different Greek.

7 ἀναιτίους] ανετιουσ Α.

10 sq δουλεύωμεν διὰ τοῦ

μὴ πιστεῦειν κ.τ.λ.] Α; δουλεύωμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεῦειν κ.τ.λ. C; πιστεύωμεν, διὰ  
τὸ δεῖν πιστεῦειν κ.τ.λ. S.

12 ταλαίπωροι] AC; νερε (ἀληθῶς οὐ θνῶς) miserī

S. 14 πάντα] Α; πάλοι CS. ἠκούσαμεν] Α; ἠκούομεν CS. 15 καὶ]

AC; om. S. ἐπὶ] AC; ἀπὸ S. 17 μὲν] AC; om. S. φυλλοροεῖ]

Α; φυλλοροεῖ C.

18 μετὰ ταῦτα] AS; εἴτα C.

ment of God's purpose to the gradual ripening of the fruit on the vine, how it promises blessings at the last to His people. God is faithful and He will perform. Let us therefore work patiently, and we shall inherit such good things as pass man's understanding.'

9. καθαρὰ καρδίᾳ] 1 Tim. i. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 22 (comp. Matt. v. 8), Her-  
mas Vis. iii. 9.

12. ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος] See 2 Pet. i. 19. From some apocryphal source, perhaps Eldad and Modad: see the notes on the First Epistle § 23, where also the passage is quoted. The variations from the quotation in the First Epistle are these: (1) τῇ καρδίᾳ] τὴν ψυχὴν (2) πάντα] om. (3) ἡμεῖς δὲ...ἐωράκαμεν] καὶ ἰδοὺ γεγηράκαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συνβέβηκεν (4) ἀνόητοι] ὧ ἀνόητοι. (5) γίνεταί] add. εἴτα φύλλον, εἴτα ἄνθος καὶ. (6) οὕτως καὶ κ.τ.λ.] this close of the quotation not given. These variations are sufficient to show that the writer of the Second Epistle cannot have derived the passage solely from the

First. At the same time the coincidence of two remarkable quotations in this very chapter (see below on οὐκ ἠκουσεν κ.τ.λ.), which occur also in the First Epistle, besides other resemblances (e.g. § 3), seems to prove that our writer was acquainted with and borrowed from the genuine Clement.

The additions which some editors introduce into the text here (νιοὶ after ἡμεῖς δέ, and ἔτι after ἐωράκαμεν) are due to a mistake. The traces, which they have wrongly so read in A, are the reversed impressions of letters on the opposite leaf (now lost). The photograph shows this clearly.

15. ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας] 'day after day': Num. xxx. 15, 2 Pet. ii. 8. This additional coincidence of the passage quoted with the language of 2 Peter (see the notes on the First Epistle, § 23) is worthy of notice. It seems hardly possible that the two can be wholly independent, though we have no means of determining their relation.

σταφυλὴ παρестηκγία· οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θλίψεις ἔσχεν· ἔπειτα ἀπολήσεται τὰ δρασθά. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσαντες ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν κομισώμεθα. πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἐκά- 5 στω τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν οὖν ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰσήξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν

1 σταφυλῇ] AS; βλαστὸς C. ὁ λαὸς μου] AC; add. πρῶτον S. 2 ἔπειτα] ἐπιτα A. 3 ἀλλὰ] ἀλλ' C. 4 ἡα] AC; om. S. 8 οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν] AC (but A ασουκ for ασουσουκ); *oculus non vidit et auris non audiuit* (transposing the clauses) S. This latter is the order in 1 Cor. iii. 9, and in Clem. Rom. 34. 9 εἶδεν] ἰδεν A. 12 ἐπειδὴ]

3. μὴ διψυχῶμεν] See the note on the First Epistle § 11.

4. πιστὸς γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Heb. x. 23 πιστὸς γάρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος.

5. ἀποδιδόναι ἐκάστω κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xvi. 27, Rom. ii. 6, Rev. xxii. 12. See also the quotation given in the First Epistle, § 34.

7. εἰσήξομεν] 'Vocem εἰσέκειν non agnoscunt lexica', Jacobson. It occurs as early as Æschylus, and several instances of it are given in Steph. Thes.

8. οὐς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on the First Epistle § 34, where the same passage occurs. The ἄς should not be treated as part of the quotation.

XII. 'Let us then patiently wait for the kingdom of God. The time of its coming is uncertain. Our Lord's answer to Salome says that it shall be delayed till *the two shall be one, and the outward as the inward, and the male with the female, neither male nor female*. By this saying He means that mutual harmony must first prevail, that there be perfect sincerity, and that no sensual passion be harboured.'

11. καθ' ὥραν] 'betimes,' 'tempestive,' according to its usual meaning; e.g. Job v. 26, Zech. x. 1. It is com-

monly translated here 'in horas', 'from hour to hour'.

13. ἐπιφανείας] This word, as a synonyme for the παρουσία, occurs in the New Testament only in the Pastoral Epistles, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Tim. i. 10, iv. 1, 8, Tit. ii. 13; compare the indirect use in 2 Thess. ii. 8 τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ.

14. ὑπό τινος] By Salome. This incident was reported in the Gospel of the Egyptians, as we learn from Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 13, p. 553 (in a passage quoted from Julius Cassianus), where the narrative is given thus: *πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ Κύριος, Ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδυμα πατήσῃτε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.* To this Clement adds *ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητὸν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.* Similar passages from this gospel and apparently from the same context are quoted by Clement previously, *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 532) τῇ Σαλώμῃ ὁ Κύριος *πυνθανομένη μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει...Μέχρις αὖ, εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε, and Strom.* iii. 9 (p. 539 sq) *κάκεινα λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰ-*

αὐτοῦ καὶ ληψόμεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οἷς οὐκ ἤκου-  
σεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμός εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου  
ἀνέβη.

XII. Ἐκδεχόμεθα οὖν καθ' ὥραν τὴν βασιλείαν  
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶ-  
δαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐπερω-  
τηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τινος, πότε ἤξει

A; ἐπεὶ C, or so probably S.

13 ἐπιφανείας] επιφανιασ A.

τοῦ Θεοῦ]

AC; αὐτοῦ S.

ἐπερωτηθεὶς] A; ἐρωτηθεὶς C.

14 ὑπὸ τινος] AC; add.

τῶν ἀποστόλων S. The addition is unfortunate, for the questioner was Salome; see the lower note.

ἤξει] AC; *venit* (a present) S.

οημένα, ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν (*Strom.* iii. 6, just quoted)· φέρεται δὲ, οἶμαι, ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ, Ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας... ὅθεν εἰκότως περὶ συντελείας μνηστάντος τοῦ Λόγου, ἡ Σαλώμη φησὶ· Μέχρι τίνος οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθανοῦνται; ... παρατετηρημένως ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Κύριος, Μέχρις ἂν τίκτωσιν αἱ γυναῖκες... τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην εἰρημένων ἐπιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι; φαιμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς, Καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα... ἀμείβεται λέγων ὁ Κύριος, Πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσιν μὴ φάγῃς. One of the sayings in the last passage is again referred to in *Exc. Theod.* 67, p. 985, ὅταν ὁ σωτὴρ πρὸς Σαλώμην λέγῃ μέχρι τότε εἶναι θάνατον ἄχρῃ ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτωσιν. There is nothing in these passages to suggest that Clement himself had read this gospel (unless indeed, as has occurred to me, we should read τί δὲ οὐχὶ κ.τ.λ.; for τί δέ; οὐχὶ κ.τ.λ. in *Strom.* iii. 9), and the expressions λέγουσα, οἶμαι, φασὶ, seem to imply the contrary; though it is generally assumed that he was acquainted with it. Of the historical value of this narrative we may remark: (1) The mystical colouring of these sayings is quite alien to the character

of our Lord's utterances as reported in the authentic Gospels, though entirely in keeping with the tone of Græco-Egyptian speculation. Epiphanius thus describes this apocryphal gospel (*Haer.* lxii. 2, p. 514) πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριωδῶς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναφέρεται. (2) The only external fact which can be tested—the reference to Salome as childless—is in direct contradiction to the canonical narratives. This contradiction however might be removed by an easy change of reading, καλῶς οὖν ἂν ἐποίησα for καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα. The Egyptian Gospel was highly esteemed by certain Gnostic sects as the Ophites (Hippol. *Haer.* v. 7, p. 99), by the Encratites (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II. cc.), and by the Sabellians Epiphanius. *Haer.* I. c.). The Encratites especially valued it, alleging the passages above quoted as discountenancing marriage and thus favouring their own ascetic views. This was possibly the tendency of the Egyptian Gospel, as is maintained by Schneckenburger (*Ueber das Evang. der Egypt.* Bern 1834, p. 5 sq) and Nicolas (*Evangelies Apocryphes* p. 119 sq); but the inference is at least doubtful. Clement of Alexandria refuses to accept the interpretations of the Encratites; and though his own



αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· ὍΤΑΝ ἔσται τὰ δῶο ἔν, καὶ τὸ  
ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε  
ἄρσεν οὔτε θήλυ. Τὰ δῶο δὲ ἔν ἐστίν, ὅταν λαλῶ-  
μεν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἐν δυσὶ σώμασιν ἀνυποκρί-  
τως εἴη μία ψυχή. καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, τοῦτο 5

1 sq τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω] AS; τὰ ἔξω ὡς τὰ ἔσω C.

2 θηλείας] θηλιας A.

3 δύο δὲ] A; δὲ δύο C.

4 ἑαυτοῖς] C; αὐτοῖς A; nobis S, which represents

are sometimes fanciful, still all the passages quoted may reasonably be explained otherwise than in an Encratite sense.

This quotation has a special interest as indicating something of the unknown author of our Second Epistle. As several of his quotations cannot be referred to the canonical Gospels (see §§ 4, 5, 8), it seems not unnatural to assign them to the apocryphal source which in this one instance he is known to have used. This suspicion is borne out by a fact to which I have called attention above. One of our Lord's sayings quoted by him (§ 9) bears a close resemblance to the words as given in the *Excerpta Theodoti*; and we have just seen that the Gospel of the Egyptians was quoted in this collection. Thus our pseudo-Clement would seem to have employed this apocryphal gospel as a principal authority for the sayings of our Lord.

3. Τὰ δύο δὲ ἐν] i.e. when peace and harmony shall reign. So the opposite is thus expressed in Seneca *de Ira* iii. 8 'Non tulit Caelius adsentientem et exclamavit, *Dic aliquid contra, ut duo simus*'; comp. Plato *Symp.* 191 D ὁ ἔρως...ἐπιχειρῶν ποιῆσαι ἐν ἐκ δυοῖν καὶ ἰσάσθαι τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην (quoted by Lagarde *Rel. Jur. Eccl.* p. 75).

4. ἑαυτοῖς] 'to one another,' as e.g. Ephes. iv. 32, Col. iii. 13, 16, 1 Pet. iv. 8, 10. If the reading of

the MSS be correct, it must be aspi- rated αὐτοῖς, and this form is perhaps less unlikely than in the earlier and genuine epistle (see the notes there on §§ 9, 12, 14, etc.). The expression occurs in Ephes. iv. 25 λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

5. τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω] Perhaps meaning originally 'when the outside corresponds with the inside, when men appear as they are, when there is no hypocrisy or deception.' The pseudo-Clement's interpretation is slightly but not essentially different. This clause is omitted in the quotation of Julius Cassianus (*Strom.* iii. 13, p. 553, quoted above), who thus appears to have connected τὰ δύο ἐν closely with τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας and interpreted the expression similarly. See Hippol. *Haer.* v. 18 (p. 173 sq) καὶ ἔστιν ἀρσενόθλυς δύναμις καὶ ἐπίνοια, ὅθεν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστοιχοῦσιν...ἐν ὄντες...ἔστιν οὖν οὕτως καὶ τὸ φανὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν ὅν, δύο εὐρίσκεισθαι, ἀρσενόθλυς ἔχων τὴν θηλειαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, a passage quoted by this father from the *Great Announcement* of the Simonians. We may perhaps infer from a comparison of Cassianus' quotation with our pseudo-Clement's, that Cassianus strung together detached sentences, omitting all that could not be interpreted to bear on his Encratite views. Compare pseudo-Linus *de Pass. Petr. Apost.* (Bigne's *Magn. Bibl. Patr.* i. p. 72 E) 'Unde Dominus in mysterio dixerat: Si non fece-

λέγει· τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει τὸ ἔσω, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ σῶμα λέγει. ὃν τρόπον οὖν σου τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ σου δῆλος ἔστω ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θᾶλυ,

ἐαντοῖς. διὰ] A; δόο C. 5 τὸ ἔξω] ὡς τὸ ἔσω AC; τὸ ἔσω ὡς τὸ ἔξω S.  
6 τὸ ἔσω, τὸ δὲ ἔξω] AS; τὸ ἔξω τὸ δὲ ἔσω C. 7 οὕτως] οὕτω C. 8 δῆλος]  
A; δῆλη C. 9 θηλείας] θηλιασ A.

ritis dextram sicut sinistram et sinistram sicut dextram, et quae sursum sicut deorsum et quae ante sicut retro, non cognoscetis regnum Dei,' which 'appears to contain another version of this saying' (Westcott *Introd. to Gospels* p. 427).

8. δῆλος] The lexicons give only one instance of this feminine, Eurip. *Med.* 1197 δῆλος ἦν κατὰστασις. Compare τέλειον in Ign. *Philad.* 1.

9. καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν κ.τ.λ.] This supposed saying of our Lord was interpreted by Julius Cassianus, as forbidding marriage. Whether this was its true bearing, we cannot judge, as the whole context and the character of this gospel are not sufficiently known. It might have signified no more than that 'in the kingdom of heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage (Matt. xxii. 30),' or that the distinctive moral excellences of each sex shall belong to both equally. Clement of Alexandria, answering Julius Cassianus, gives the following interpretation of the passage: The male represents θυμός, the female ἐπιθυμία, according to the well-known Platonic distinction; these veil and hinder the operations of the reason; they produce shame and repentance; they must be stripped off, before the reason can assume its supremacy; then at length ἀποστᾶσα τοῦδε τοῦ σχήματος ᾧ διακρίνεται τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ψυχὴ μετατίθεται εἰς ἑνωσιν, οὐθέτερον οὐσα. It appears from the context that our preacher's interpretation

was more closely allied to that of Cassianus than to that of Clement. At the same time I have shown above (I. p. 408) that the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome, who speak of Clement as teaching virginity, do not refer to this epistle, as many suppose. And the references elsewhere in the epistle to the duty of keeping the flesh pure (§§ 6, 8, 9, 14, 15) are as applicable to continency in wedded as in celibate life. Comp. e.g. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 26 γάμον νομιτεύει...εἰς ἀγνείαν πάντας ἀγει.

This saying of the Egyptian Gospel, if it had any historical basis at all (which may be doubted), was perhaps founded on some utterance of our Lord similar in meaning to S. Paul's οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, Gal. iii. 28. It is worth observing that Clement of Alexandria, in explaining the saying of the Egyptian Gospel, refers to these words of S. Paul and explains them similarly of the θυμός and ἐπιθυμία. See also the views of the Ophites on the ἀρσενόθελυς (Hippol. *Haer.* v. 6, 7), whence it appears that they also perverted S. Paul's language to their purposes. The name and idea of ἀρσενόθελυς had their origin in the cosmical speculations embodied in heathen mythology; see *Clem. Hom.* vi. 5, 12, *Clem. Recogn.* i. 69, Athenag. *Suppl.* 21, Hippol. *Haer.* v. 14 (p. 128).

It is equally questionable whether the other sayings attributed to our Lord in this context of the Egyptian



τοῦτο λέγει, ἵνα ἀδελφὸς ἰδὼν ἀδελφὴν †οὐδέν† φρονῇ  
περὶ αὐτῆς θηλυκόν, μηδὲ φρονῇ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρσενικόν.  
ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιούντων, φησὶν, ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία  
τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

XIII. Ἀδελφοὶ †οὖν† ἤδη ποτὲ μετανοήσωμεν·<sup>5</sup>  
νήψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν· μεστοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν πολλῆς  
ἀνοίας καὶ πονηρίας. ἐξαλείψωμεν ἅφ' ἡμῶν τὰ πρό-

1 τοῦτο] After this word A is mutilated, and the remainder of the so-called  
epistle is wanting; see I. p. 117. οὐδέν φρονῇ] οὐδέν φρονεῖ C. 2 μηδὲ]

add. *quum soror videbit fratrem* S.

5 Ἀδελφοὶ οὖν] Ἀδελφοὶ [μου] S,  
omitting οὖν. As S commonly renders ἀδελφοὶ alone by ἱππῶν *fratres mei*, it is

Gospel have any bearing on Encratite views. The words 'so long as women bear children' seem to mean nothing more than 'so long as the human race shall be propagated,' and 'I came to abolish the works of the female' may have the same sense. The clinching utterance, *πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσιν μὴ φάγῃς*, which has been alleged as showing decisively the Encratite tendencies of the gospel, appears to me to admit of a very different interpretation. It would seem to mean very much the same as S. Paul's *πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει*, and to accord with the Apostle's injunctions respecting marriage.

1. οὐδέν] The previous editors, while substituting *φρονῇ* for *φρονεῖ*, have passed over οὐδέν in silence. But with *φρονῇ* we should certainly expect *μηδέν*. The reading οὐδέν can only be explained by treating οὐδέν *θηλυκόν* as a separate idea, 'should entertain thoughts which have no regard to her sex,' so as to isolate οὐδέν from the influence of ἵνα; but the order makes this explanation very difficult. The grammars do not give any example of the use of οὐ (οὐδέν) which is analogous; see Kühner II p. 747 sq,

Winer § lv. p. 599 sq. The sentence is elliptical, and words must be understood in the second clause, *μηδὲ [ἀδελφὴ ἰδοῦσα ἀδελφόν] φρονῇ* κ.τ.λ. Similar words, it will be seen, are supplied in the Syriac; but I attribute this to the exigencies of translation, rather than to any difference in the Greek text which the translator had. Gebhardt ingeniously reads *μηδ' ἦδε*; but *ἦδε...αὐτοῦ* does not seem a natural combination of pronouns here.

3. *φησὶν*] It does not follow that the preacher is quoting the exact words of the Gospel according to the Egyptians; for *φησὶν* may mean nothing more than 'he says in effect,' 'he signifies.' See e.g. Barnab. 7 οὕτω, *φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν* κ.τ.λ., a passage which has been wrongly understood as preserving a saying of Christ elsewhere unrecorded, but in which the writer is really giving only an *explanation* of what has gone before. This use of *φησὶν* occurs many times elsewhere in Barnab. §§ 6, 10, 11, 12, where the meaning is indisputable.

XIII. 'Let us therefore repent and be vigilant: for now we are full of wickedness. Let us wipe out our former sins; and not be men-pleasers.



τερα ἀμαρτήματα, καὶ μετανοήσαντες ἐκ ψυχῆς σωθώ-  
μεν. καὶ μὴ γινώμεθα ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι· μηδὲ θέλωμεν  
μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω ἀνθρώποις  
ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα δι' ἡμᾶς μὴ βλασφη-  
μῇται. Λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος Διὰ πάντοcs τὸ ὄνομά μου  
βλασφημεῖται ἐν πάσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· καὶ πάλιν Οὐαὶ δι' ὃν

uncertain whether the translator has μου in his text.

11 τὸ ὄνομα] add.

domini S. ἡμᾶς] S; ὑμᾶς C.

12 καὶ] S; om. C.

13 βλασφη-

μεῖται] add. δι' ὑμᾶς S.

πᾶσιν] om. S.

the lower note.

πάλιν Οὐαὶ δι' ὃν] S; διὸ C. See

Yet we must approve ourselves by our righteousness to the heathen, lest God's Name be blasphemed, as the Scriptures warn us. And how is it blasphemed? When the Oracles of God command one thing, and we do another: for then they treat the Scriptures as a lying fable. When for instance God's Word tells us to love those that hate us, and they find that, so far from doing this, we hate those that love us, they laugh us to scorn, and they blaspheme the holy Name.'

5. οὖν] This particle cannot stand after the vocative, and indeed is omitted in the Syriac. Perhaps οὖν is a corruption of μου, as ἀδελφοί μου occurs several times, §§ 9, 10, 11; or the scribe has here tampered with the connecting particles, as he has done elsewhere (§ 7 ὥστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί μου), and in this case has blundered.

6. νήψωμεν ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ.] 2 Tim. ii. 26 νανήψωσιν...εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα, Pet. iv. 7 νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς, Polyc. Phil. 7 νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς. 7. ἐξαλείψωμεν] Harnack quotes Acts iii. 19 μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ τιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλείφθῃναι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας.

9. ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι] Ephes. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22. See also the note on ἀνθρωπάρεσκον Ign. Rom. 2.

10. ἑαυτοῖς] 'one another,' i.e.

'our fellow-Christians,' as rightly explained here by Harnack; comp. § 4 ἐν τῷ ἀγαπᾶν ἑαυτούς, § 12 λαλῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλήθειαν, but not § 15.

τοῖς ἔξω ἀνθρώποις] 'the heathen. For the expression οἱ ἔξω see the note *Colossians* iv. 5.

11. τὸ ὄνομα] 'the Name'; so Tertull. *Idol.* 14 'ne nomen blasphemetur.' For other instances of this absolute use, and for the manner in which (as here) translators and transcribers supply the imagined defect, see the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3.

12. Διὰ παντός κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Is. lii. 5 τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος, Δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. The Syriac translator inserts δι' ὑμᾶς, and omits πᾶσιν; but these are obvious alterations to conform to the familiar LXX of Isaiah.

13. καὶ πάλιν Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] I have adopted the reading of the Syriac here, because the Greek text is obviously due to the accidental omission of some letters (perhaps owing to homœoteuton), a common phenomenon in our MS. On the other hand it is hardly conceivable that any scribe or translator could have invented the longer reading of the Syriac out of the shorter reading of the Greek. The Syriac reading however is not without its

ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΕΪΤΑΙ ΤΟ ὄΝΟΜΑ ΜΟΥ· ἐν τίνι βλασφημεῖται; ἐν τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ βούλομαι. τὰ ἔθνη γάρ, ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζει· ἔπειτα, καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν<sup>5</sup> λέγομεν, ἔνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται, λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην. ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσιν παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ Θεὸς Οὐ χάρις ἡμῖν εἰ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ἡμῖν εἰ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς

1 ἐν τίνι] add. δὲ S: comp. § 3.

2 ὑμᾶς ἃ βούλομαι] ἡμᾶς ἃ λέγομεν] S.

3 ἡμῶν] S; ὑμῶν C.

4 ἔπειτα] add. δὲ S.

7 μῦθόν τινα] add. *delirii*

S, the word being doubtless added to bring out the force of μῦθον.

9 ἀλλὰ]

add. τότε S.

10 ἐχθρὸν] add. ὑμῶν S. The addition of pronouns is very

difficulty. If the first quotation Διὰ παντὸς κ.τ.λ. is taken from Is. lii. 5, whence comes the second Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.? The explanation seems to be, that Is. lii. 5 itself was very frequently quoted in the early ages Οὐαὶ δι' ὃν (or δι' οὗ) κ.τ.λ. (see instances collected in the note to Ign. *Trall.* 8), though there is no authority for it either in the LXX or in the Hebrew. Our preacher therefore seems to have cited the same passage in two different forms—the first from the LXX, the second from the familiar language of quotation—supposing that he was giving two distinct passages.

1. ἐν τίνι κ.τ.λ.] This is no longer any part of the quotation, but belongs to the preacher's explanation. He has however put the words into the mouth of God Himself, after his wont: e.g. § 12 ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιοῦντων κ.τ.λ., § 14 τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα κ.τ.λ. The reading of the Syriac, μὴ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἃ λέγομεν, is obviously a correction to overcome this difficulty. For other examples where this preacher begins his explanations with ἐν τίνι see §§ 3, 9.

3. τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ] A synonyme for the Scriptures; comp. Rom. iii. 2, Heb. v. 12; Clem. Rom. 19, 53, 62, etc. The point to be observed is that the expression here refers to an *evangelical* record: see the next note below. Thus it may be compared with the language of Papias, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 Ματθαῖος...συνεγράφητο τὰ λόγια, which must have been nearly contemporaneous; see *Essays on Supernatural Religion* p. 170 sq. Similarly our author above § 2 quotes a gospel as *γραφὴ*.

4. ἔπειτα κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 8 ὁ τοιοῦτος...βλασφημίαν προσέτριψε τῷ κοινῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ὡς μὴ ποιοῦντων ἐκεῖνα ἃ λέγομεν εἶναι καλὰ κ.τ.λ.

8. λέγει ὁ Θεός] 'God saith.' The passage quoted therefore is regarded as one of τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. As the words of our Lord follow, it might perhaps be thought that the expression λέγει ὁ Θεός refers not to the Divine inspiration of the Gospel, but to the Divine personality of Christ, of whom the writer says § 1 οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ. But, not to



ἐχθροῦς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν, θαυμάζουσιν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος· ὅταν δὲ ἴδωσιν ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοὺς μισοῦντας οὐκ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, καταγελῶσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομα.

XIV. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης, τῆς πνευματικῆς, τῆς πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκτισ-

common in S; and I have not thought it necessary to record several instances which occur below. 13 *ἔτι*] om. S, perhaps owing to the exigencies of translation.

14 *καὶ*] om. S. βλασφημεῖται] add. οὖν S. τὸ ὄνομα] add. τοῦ Χριστοῦ S.

mention that such a mode of speaking would be without a parallel in the early ages of Christianity, the preceding τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ determines the sense here.

Οὐ χάρις κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Luke vi. 32, 35 *εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; ...πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν... καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς. For the use of χάρις comp. 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20.*

II. ἀγαθότητος] 'goodness' in the sense of 'kindness,' 'beneficence,' as ἀγαθοποιεῖν in the context of St Luke (vv. 33, 35). This substantive does not occur in the N. T., and only rarely (Wisd. vii. 26, xii. 22, Ecclus. xlv. 23) in the LXX; the form commonly used being ἀγαθωσύνη.

XIV. 'If we do God's will, we shall be members of the eternal, spiritual Church; if not, we shall belong to that house which is a den of thieves. The living Church is Christ's body. God made male and female, saith the Scripture. The male is Christ, the female the Church. The Bible and the Apostles teach that the Church existed from eternity. Just as Jesus was manifested in the flesh, so also was the Church. If therefore we desire to

partake of the spiritual archetype, we must preserve the fleshly copy in its purity. This flesh is capable of life and immortality, if it be united to the Spirit, that is to Christ. And the blessings which await His elect are greater than tongue can tell.'

16. τῆς πρώτης κ.τ.λ.] This doctrine of an eternal Church seems to be a development of the Apostolic teaching which insists on the fore-ordained purpose of God as having elected a body of men to serve Him from all eternity; see esp. Ephes. i. 3 sq *ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ, καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ...προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν κ.τ.λ.,* a passage aptly quoted by Bryennios. The language of our preacher stands midway in point of development, and perhaps also about midway in point of chronology, between this teaching of S. Paul and the doctrine of the Valentinians, who believed in an eternal æon 'Ecclesia,' thus carrying the Platonism of our pseudo-Clement a step in advance.

17. πρὸ ἡλίου κ.τ.λ.] This expression is probably taken from Ps. lxxi (lxxii). *ἡ συμπαράμεναι τῷ ἡλίῳ*



μῆνης· εἰ μὴ ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα Κυρίου, ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγούσης ἘΓΕΝΗΘΗ ὁ οἶκός μου σπήλαιον ληστῶν. ὥστε οὖν αἵρετισώμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζωῆς εἶναι, ἵνα σωθῶμεν. οὐκ οἶομαι

2 ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγούσης] *ex iis de quibus scriptum est S.*  
οὖν] C; ὥστε, ἀδελφοί [μου] S, omitting οὖν. See above, p. 240.

3 ὥστε

καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης γενεὰς γενεῶν and *ib.* ver. 17 πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; for though in these passages, as the Hebrew shows, πρὸ has or ought to have a different meaning (Aquila εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς σελήνης, Symmachus ἔμπροσθεν τῆς σελήνης), yet it was commonly so interpreted, as appears from Justin *Dial.* 64 (p. 288) ἀποδείκνυται...ὅτι οὗτος (i.e. ὁ Χριστός) καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἦν, in proof of which statement he cites the passages just quoted; comp. *ib.* 45 (p. 264) ὅς καὶ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου καὶ σελήνης ἦν, 34 (p. 252), 76 (p. 302); and so Athanasius *c. Arian.* i. 41 (I. p. 351) εἰ δὲ καί, ὡς ψάλλει Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ ἑβδομηκοστῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ, Πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν, πῶς ἐλάμβανεν ὁ εἶχεν αἰὲ κ.τ.λ. Similarly too in his *Expos. in Psalm.* lxxi (I. p. 897) he explains the two expressions, vv. 5, 17, πρὸ αἰώνων and πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου respectively. Meanwhile Eusebius *Comm. in Psalm.* ad loc. (*Op.* v. p. 800 ed. Migne) had mentioned and rejected this meaning; οὐ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης, τούτεστι πρὶν γενέσθαι τὴν σελήνην, ἀλλ' ἐνώπιον ὥσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἡγούμενος τῆς σελήνης.

For the idea see esp. *Hermas Vis.* ii. 4 Τίς οὖν ἐστίν; φημί. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησίν. εἰπον οὖν αὐτῷ, Διὰ τί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; Ὅτι, φησίν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη· διὰ τοῦτο πρεσβυτέρα, καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη, quoted by Bryennios. Comp. also *Orig. c. Cels.* vi. 35, where speaking of the phrase

ἀπορροίας ἐκκλησίας ἐπιγείου which Celsus had attributed among other absurdities to the Christians, he writes, τάχα ἐλήφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν λέγεσθαι ἐκκλησίας τινὸς ἐπουρανίου καὶ κρείττονος αἰῶνος ἀπόρροϊαν εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκκλησίαν. And see the passages quoted in the notes on τὰ βιβλία κ.τ.λ. and ἀντίτυπον. Hilgenfeld quotes *Clem. Alex. Strom.* iv. 8 (p. 593) εἰκὼν δὲ τῆς οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας ἡ ἐπίγειος (this father has just before cited Ephes. v. 21 sq, Col. iii. 18 sq), *ib.* vi. 13 (p. 793) αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ ...μιμήματα, οἶμαι, ἀγγελικῆς δόξης κακείνης τῆς οἰκονομίας τυγχάνουσιν ἢν ἀναμένειν φασὶν αἱ γραφαὶ τοὺς κατ' ἔχνος κ.τ.λ.

2. ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς κ.τ.λ.] A loose expression, meaning 'of those persons described in the Scripture'. The Syriac translator has paraphrased accordingly. The passage is Jer. vii. 11 μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου, οὐ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., to which also our Lord alludes (*Matt.* xxi. 13, *Mark* xi. 17, *Luke* xix. 46). For the application here comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 17.

3. ὥστε οὖν] A pleonasm which our author repeats elsewhere; §§ 4, 7. αἵρετισώμεθα] 'choose', 'prefer'; a common word in the LXX. In the N. T. it is found only *Matt.* xii. 18, in a quotation from *Is.* xlii. 1, where however it does not occur in the LXX. See *Sturz Dial. Mac.* 144.

4. τῆς ζωῆς] Harnack writes 'Iudaeorum synagoga est ecclesia mor-

δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἐκκλησία ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστιν  
Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ Ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· τὸ ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός,  
τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία· καὶ ὅτι τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστο-

8 τὸ θῆλυ] C; καὶ τὸ θῆλυ S.  
prophetarum S.

καὶ ὅτι] atque etiam S.

τὰ βιβλία] add.

tis'. The contrast however is not between the Synagogue and the Church of Christ, but between mere external membership in the visible body and spiritual communion in the celestial counterpart.

5. σῶμά ἐστιν Χριστοῦ] Ephes. i. 23 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ; comp. *id.* iv. 4, 12 sq, 16, v. 23, 30, Rom. xii. 5, 1 Cor. x. 17, xii. 12—27, Col. i. 18, 24, ii. 19, iii. 15.

6. Ἐποίησεν κ.τ.λ.] Gen. i. 27 ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. The application seems to be suggested by S. Paul's treatment of this portion of the Mosaic account, Ephes. v. 31 sq; where, after representing the Church as the body and spouse of Christ, and quoting Gen. ii. 24, he says, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ [εἰς] τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

8. καὶ ὅτι] Some words have evidently dropped out in the MS here: see the introduction, I. p. 144 sq. The lacuna is conveniently supplied by λέγουσιν δῆλον after ἄνωθεν, as I have done. This seems to me better than the more obvious solution of Bryennios, who would attach this ὅτι to the preceding ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, and understand merely φασι or διδάσκουσι or the like. The Syriac translator omits the ὅτι and inserts a λέγουσι or some similar word. This is clearly an arbitrary correction.

τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι] This is

a rough synonyme for the Old and New Testaments respectively. Though the Apostolic and Evangelical writings are elsewhere in this epistle treated as γραφαί (§ 2) and even as λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ (§ 13), being thus co-ordinated in point of authority with the Old Testament, yet the term τὰ βιβλία, 'the Books', is not yet extended to them. For somewhat similar expressions for the Old and New Testaments in early writers, see the note on Ign. *Philad.* 5. The exact mode of expression is however unique. The Syriac translator's 'books of the prophets' is the obvious gloss of a later age.

But what Books of the Old Testament and what Apostolic writings had the preacher in view?

(1) As regards the O. T. the answer is partly supplied by his own context. In the first place the history of creation in Genesis is contemplated. Such treatment was altogether in accordance with the theological teaching of his age. Anastasius of Sinai (*Routh's Rel. Sacr.* I. p. 15; comp. *Anastas. Op.* p. 860, Migne) says, Πατίου τοῦ πάνυ τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος, καὶ Κλήμεντος Πανταίου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἱερέως, καὶ Ἀμμωνίου σοφωτάτου, τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρώτων συνώδων ἐξηγητῶν, εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξαήμερον νοησάντων. We might almost suppose that Anastasius was here alluding to our pseudo-Clement, if he had not in a parallel passage (p. 962



λοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ νῦν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν [λέγουσιν, δῆλον]. ἦν γὰρ πνευματική, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν, ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ· ἡ ἐκκλησία δὲ πνευματικὴ οὐσα ἐφανερώθη ἐν τῇ σαρκί

1 οὐ νῦν] add. *dicunt* S.

λέγουσιν δῆλον] om. CS; see the lower note.

2 ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν, ἐφανερώθη δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *et vir eius autem* (δὲ) *spiritalis est, is qui est iesus christus dominus noster, manifestatus est autem*, etc. S. 3 ἡμε-

Migne), where he is again enumerating ancient interpreters who explained the statements respecting paradise in Genesis as *eis τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενα*, specified Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεύς. He writes again (p. 964), 'admirabiles quos diximus interpretes...decreverunt...duosquodam esse paradisos...terrestrem et caelestem, qui cernitur et qui intelligitur, sicut etiam est Christus caelestis simul et terrestris, congruenter typo *duarum ecclesiarum, terrenae, inquam, et caelestis civitatis Domini virtutum* etc.' (a passage which illustrates the language of our preacher respecting the Church); and he himself accordingly maintains that whatever is said of Adam and Eve applies to Christ and the Church (e.g. pp. 999, 1007, 1027, 1050). But besides the Hexaemeron, our preacher may have been thinking of other parts of the O. T., such as Ps. xlv (xlv), in which 'the queen' was already interpreted of the Church (Justin *Dial.* 63, p. 287). So too he would not improbably have the Song of Solomon in his mind.

(2) As regards the 'Apostles' again his context indicates his chief reference. The Epistle to the Ephesians seemed to him more especially to inculcate this doctrine. But he would find it elsewhere. There are some indications that he was acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and, if so, he would see

a confirmation of his view in πόλει Θεοῦ ζῶντος Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ... πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς (xii. 22, 23). Again such words as Apoc. xxi. 9, 10, τὴν νύμφην τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου... τὴν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, would suit his purpose admirably.

1. οὐ νῦν κ.τ.λ.] 'not now for the first time, but from the beginning'. For this sense of ἄνωθεν see Luke i. 3, Acts xxvi. 5; comp. Justin *Dial.* 24 (p. 242) ὥσπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκηρύσσετο, *ib.* 63 (p. 286) ὅτι ἄνωθεν ὁ Θεός... γεννᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἔμελλε, where it is an explanation of πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. Harnack compares Gal. iv. 26, etc., but the opposition to νῦν here suggests the temporal rather than the local meaning of ἄνωθεν.

2. ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν] sc. πνευματικὸς ἦν, so that ὁ Ἰησοῦς, not ἡ ἐκκλησία, is the nominative of ἐφανερώθη: comp. § 9 Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος, ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὧν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν. For ἐφανερώθη δὲ κ.τ.λ. comp. 1 Pet. i. 20 Χριστοῦ προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων (v.l. ἐσχάτων) τῶν χρόνων δι' ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.

3. ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν] 'when the days were drawing to a close', 'at the end of all things'; a not uncommon LXX expression, Gen. xlix. 1, Deut. iv. 30 (v.l.), Dan. ii. 28, x. 14, Hos. iii. 5, Mic. iv. 1; and



Χριστοῦ, δηλοῦσα ἡμῖν ὅτι, ἐάν τις ἡμῶν τηρήσῃ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ μὴ φθείρῃ, ἀπολήψεται αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ· ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ αὕτη ἀντίτυπός ἐστιν τοῦ πνεύματος· οὐδεὶς οὖν τὸ ἀντίτυπον φθείρας τὸ

ρῶν] *temporum* S.

γ ἀντίτυπος] C; *tyfus* S, and so τὸ ἀντίτυπον just below; but this is probably owing to the poverty of the language.

so 2 Pet. iii. 3, but in Heb. i. 2 the correct reading is ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν.

4. ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ] When Christ took a bodily external form, the Church did the same. Moreover this external form might be said to be ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, since the Church exists by union with Him.

5. τηρήσῃ αὐτήν] 'keep her pure and undefiled', i.e. so far as concerns his own conduct as one member of the body. The believer in his own special department is required to do that which Christ does throughout the whole, Ephes. v. 27 παραστήσαι ἑνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα κ.τ.λ.

6. ἀπολήψεται αὐτήν] i.e. by being incorporated in the celestial, spiritual Church.

8. τὸ ἀντίτυπον] 'the counterpart, or copy'. The Platonic doctrine of ideas underlies these expressions. The αὐθεντικόν is the eternal, spiritual archetype, the *original document*, as it were, in God's own handwriting: comp. Tertull. *de Monog.* 11 'in Graeco authenticum', 'the Greek original', before it was corrupted by transcription; *de Praescr.* 36 'ipsae authenticæ literæ eorum', 'the autograph letters of the Apostles'; Dig. xxviii. 3. 12 'exemplo quidem aperto nondum apertum est testamentum; quod si authenticum patefactum est totum, apertum', where 'authenticum' is the original, and 'exemplum' the copy; Julius in Athan. *Apol. c.*

*Arian.* 28 (I. p. 116) προεκόμισε χεῖρα ὀλόγραφον αὐθεντικὴν, i.e. 'written from first to last by his own hand'.

The ἀντίτυπον is the material, temporary manifestation, the imperfect and blurred *transcript* of the original: comp. Synes. *Epist.* 68 (p. 217) τοῖς ταχυγράφοις τὰ ἀντίτυπα δοῦναι τῶν τότε γραφέντων ἐπέταξα, *Epist.* in Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 85 (I. p. 158) τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ γράμματος. For ἀντίτυπον, thus contrasted with the heavenly and true, comp. Heb. ix. 24 ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, where the ἀντίτυπα are defined in the context as τὰ ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς and the ἀληθινὰ as αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπουράνια. See also the anonymous Valentinian in Epiph. *Haer.* xxxi. 5 (pp. 168, 169) ἀντίτυπος τοῦ προόντος Ἀγεννήτου, ἀντίτυπον τῆς προούσης τετράδος. And more especially for the pseudo-Clement's teaching here compare the Valentinian language, *Iren.* i. 5. 6 ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἁνῶ Ἐκκλησίας. In such senses ἀντίτυπον depreciates relatively; and with this meaning the material elements in the eucharist were commonly called by the fathers ἀντίτυπα of the body and blood of Christ, e.g. *Apost. Const.* v. 14, vi. 30, vii. 25: see Suicer *Thes.* s.v. On the other hand ἀντίτυπον is sometimes opposed to τύπος, as the finished work to the rough model, the realization to the foreshadowing, in which case it extols relatively; comp. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

αὐθεντικὸν μεταλήψεται. ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει, ἀδελφοί, Τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἵνα τοῦ πνεύματος μεταλάβητε. εἰ δὲ λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστόν, ἄρα οὖν ὁ ὑβρίσας τὴν σάρκα ὑβρίσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁ τοιοῦτος οὖν οὐ μεταλή- 5 ψεται τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. τοσαύτην δύναται ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη μεταλαβεῖν ζωὴν καὶ ἀθανασίαν, κολληθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. οὔτε ἐξειπεῖν τις δύναται οὔτε λαλήσαι ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

10

XV. Οὐκ οἶομαι δὲ ὅτι μικρὰν συμβουλίαν ἐποιήσαμην περὶ ἐγκρατείας, ἣν ποιήσας τις οὐ μετανόησει,

1 μεταλήψεται] CS. In C however it was first written ἀπολήψεται, and μετα is written above by the same hand. See the note on φιλοπονεῖν below, § 19. 4 ὁ ὑβρίσας...τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] *is qui contumelia affecit carnem suam contumelia affecit carnem christi ecclesiam* S. This might possibly represent ὁ ὑβρίσας τὴν σάρκα [τὴν ἰδίαν, τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα] ὑβρίσεν, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the words in brackets having been omitted in C by homœoteleuton; but I am disposed to regard it as

1. ἄρα οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This apparently refers not to what has immediately preceded, but to an application which the preacher has made of an evangelical text several chapters before, § 8 ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει Τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνῆν κ.τ.λ. It is almost impossible however to trace the connexion of thought in so loose a writer.

3. τὴν σάρκα] as being the *body* of Christ. This language does not occur in S. Paul, for in Ephes. v. 30 ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ is an interpolation. The relation of Christ to the Church is represented by S. Paul as that of the *head* to the body, whereas here it is that of the *spirit* to the body, so that 'body' is equivalent to 'flesh'.

Altogether our preacher seems to be guilty of much confusion in his metaphor in this context; for here the relation of flesh to spirit represents the relation of the Church to

Christ, whereas just above it has represented the relation of the earthly Church and Christ to the heavenly Church and Christ. The insertion in the Syriac does not remove the difficulty. See the criticism of Photius on the inconsequence of this writer's sentiments, quoted above on § 1.

7. μεταλαβεῖν] With an accusative, as e.g. Acts xxiv. 25, and commonly in classical writers. On the different sense of the two cases with this verb see Kühner II. p. 294 sq. The propriety of the change here will be obvious. Similarly τὸ αὐθεντικὸν μεταλήψεται above.

8. τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου] See above, I. p. 125. The language here is still more unguarded than in § 9.

9. ἐξειπεῖν] 'express'; Clem. Rom. 48.

ἃ ἠτοίμασεν] A reference to the

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὸν σώσει καὶ τὸν συμβουλευσάντα.  
μισθὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν μικρὸς πλανωμένην ψυχὴν καὶ  
ἀπολλυμένην ἀποστρέψαι εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι. ταύτην γὰρ  
ἔχομεν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ κτίσαντι  
ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης  
καὶ λέγῃ καὶ ἀκούῃ. ἐμμένωμεν οὖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιστεῦ-  
σαμεν δίκαιοι καὶ ὅσιοι, ἵνα μετὰ παρρησίας αἰτῶμεν  
τὸν Θεὸν τὸν λέγοντα Ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἐρῶ ἰδοὺ πάρ-  
ειμι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μεγάλης ἐστὶν ἐπαγγελίας  
σημεῖον· ἐτοιμότερον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν λέγει ὁ Κύριος εἰς  
τὸ δίδόναι τοῦ αἰτοῦντος. τοσαύτης οὖν χρηστότητος

merely a paraphrastic rendering of S.

λέγων καὶ ἀκούων] S translates as if it had read ὁ τε λέγων καὶ ὁ ἀκούων. μετὰ  
πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης] *cum caritate et cum fide* S, transposing the words. On the  
repetition of the preposition see above, I. p. 137.

22 εἰς τὸ δίδόναι τοῦ αἰτοῦντος] *in illud ut det petitionem ejus qui petit ab ipso* S, thus supplying a substantive to  
govern τοῦ αἰτοῦντος and mistaking the sense.

23 τοσαύτης...μεταλαμβάνοντες] *quoniam igitur hac jucunditate et bonitate dei jucundamur* S.

same passage of which part has been  
already quoted by our preacher at  
the end of § 11. See the note on  
Clem. Rom. 34.

XV. 'He, that obeys this exhortation to chastity, will save both himself and the preacher. It is no small recompense to convert and save a perishing soul. Faith and love are the only return that speaker and hearer alike can make to God their Creator. So therefore let us be true to our belief, for God promises an immediate response, declaring Himself more ready to give than we to ask. We must not grudge ourselves these bounties of His goodness; for as the rewards of submission are great, so the punishment of disobedience is great also.'

11. οἶμαι] The word has occurred twice already in this writer §§ 6, 14.

13. καὶ ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. iv. 16

11 ἐποιησάμην] add. ὑμῖν S.

17 ὁ

λέγων καὶ ἀκούων] S translates as if it had read ὁ τε λέγων καὶ ὁ ἀκούων. μετὰ  
πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης] *cum caritate et cum fide* S, transposing the words. On the  
repetition of the preposition see above, I. p. 137.

22 εἰς τὸ δίδόναι τοῦ αἰτοῦντος] *in illud ut det petitionem ejus qui petit ab ipso* S, thus supplying a substantive to  
govern τοῦ αἰτοῦντος and mistaking the sense.

23 τοσαύτης...μεταλαμβάνοντες] *quoniam igitur hac jucunditate et bonitate dei jucundamur* S.

καὶ σεαυτὸν σώσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντάς  
σου. See also below, § 19. Harnack  
quotes Barnab. 1 μᾶλλον συγχαίρω  
ἐμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς  
βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον...πνεῦμα.

14. μισθὸς κ.τ.λ.] James v. 20 ὁ ἐπι-  
στρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ  
αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου κ.τ.λ.

16. ἀντιμισθίαν] A favourite word  
with our author, especially in this  
connexion; see the note on § 1.

19. δίκαιοι καὶ ὅσιοι] See on §§ 1, 5.

20. Ἔτι λαλοῦντος κ.τ.λ.] Is. lviii.  
9 ὁ Θεὸς εἰσακούσεται σου, ἔτι λαλοῦν-  
τός σου ἐρεῖ Ἰδοὺ πάρεμι. Comp.  
*Apost. Const.* iii. 7, where, as here, it  
is quoted ἐρῶ (though with a v.l.),  
probably (as Lagarde points out)  
from a confusion with Is. lxxv. 24 ἔτι  
λαλούντων αὐτῶν ἐρῶ, τί ἐστίν; So too  
it is given 'dicam' in Iren. iv. 17. 3,  
but ἐρεῖ in Justin *Dial.* 15 (p. 233).

23. τοῦ αἰτοῦντος] sc. εἰς τὸ αἰτεῖν  
'more prompt to give than the asker



μεταλαμβάνοντες μὴ φθονήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς τυχεῖν τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν. ὅσην γὰρ ἡδονὴν ἔχει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα τοῖς ποιήσασιν αὐτά, τοσαύτην κατάκρισιν ἔχει τοῖς παρακούσασιν.

XVI. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί, ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες οὐ<sup>5</sup> μικρὰν εἰς τὸ μετανοῆσαι, καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλέσαντα ἡμᾶς Θεόν, ἕως ἔτι ἔχομεν τὸν παραδεχόμενον ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ταῖς ἡδυνπαθείαις ταύταις ἀποταξώμεθα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν νικήσωμεν ἐν

1 τοσούτων] C; τοιούτων (?) S. 5 ἀδελφοί] add. ἀγαπητοί S. 8 παρα-  
δεχόμενον] πατέρα δεχόμενον (ΠΡΑ for ΠΑΡΑ) C; *patrem qui accipit* S. 11 Ἰη-  
σοῦ] *domini nostri iesu christi* S. 16 κρείσσων νηστοτε προσευχῆς] C;

is to ask'; as in the Collect 'more ready to hear than we to pray'. The Syriac translator has misunderstood the sense.

XVI. 'Therefore let us repent and return to God betimes. If we conquer our appetites and desires, we shall obtain mercy of Jesus. For be assured, the day of judgment is at hand; as a heated furnace shall it be; the heavens shall be fused and the earth shall be as melting lead; and all the deeds of men shall be revealed. Almsgiving is a token of repentance. Fasting is greater than prayer, and almsgiving than both. Love covereth a multitude of sins, and prayer delivereth from death. Blessed is he that aboundeth in these things. For almsgiving removeth the burden of sin.'

5. ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες] So Rom. vii. 8, 11. Conversely ἀφορμὴν διδόναι, 2 Cor. v. 12, 1 Tim. v. 14, Ign. *Trall.* 8.

6. καιρὸν ἔχοντες] So § 8 ἕως ἔχομεν καιρὸν μετάνοιας, § 9 ὡς ἔχομεν καιρὸν τοῦ λαθῆναι.

7. τὸν παραδεχόμενον] It is yet the καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος (2 Cor. vi. 2). ἡδυνπαθείαις] See again § 17. Not

a Biblical word. On this word, which was highly distasteful to the Stoics, see Wyttenbach on Plut. *Mor.* 132 C. It occurs at least as early as Xenophon, *Cyr.* vii. 5. 74.

9. ἀποταξώμεθα] See on § 6.

11. ἔρχεται κ.τ.λ.] Mal. iv. 1 ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα ἔρχεται καιομένη ὡς κλίβανος.

13. *τινες*] This is obviously corrupt, though both our authorities are agreed. I think that for *τινες* we should probably read [*αἱ*] *δυνάμεις*, the expression being taken from Is. xxxiv. 4 καὶ τακῆσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν; comp. *Apoc. Petr.* in Macar. Magn. iv. 7 (p. 165, Blondel) καὶ τακῆσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ. Where the MS was torn and letters had dropped out, it might easily be read *τινες*. Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10, *Orac. Sib.* iii. 689 sq, Melito *Apol.* 12, p. 432 (Otto). Though the existing text might be explained with Harnack and Hilgenfeld by the common belief in several heavens (comp. e.g. Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 23), I can hardly think that our Clementine writer would have expressed himself in this way, even if he had believed that some of the heavens would be spared from the conflagration. The pseudo-Justin

τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῆς τὰς πονηράς, μετα-  
ληψόμεθα τοῦ ἐλέους Ἰησοῦ. Γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται  
ἡδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ  
τακῆσονται †τινές† τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς  
μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ  
κρύφια καὶ φανερά ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καλὸν οὖν  
ἐλεημοσύνη ὡς μετάνοια ἁμαρτίας· κρείσσων νηστεία  
προσευχῆς, ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ ἀμφοτέρων· ἀγάπη δὲ κα-

*bonum jejunium, oratio*, S; but probably 12 has dropped out. This insertion  
would bring the Syriac into conformity with the Greek. 17 ἐλεημοσύνη δὲ]

add. *melior* (κρείσσων) S.

*Quaest. ad Orthod.* 74 probably refers to this passage: see I. p. 178 sq.

14. *μόλιβος*] This seems to be the correct form in the LXX generally, Exod. xv. 10, Num. xxxi. 22, Job xix. 24, etc. Both *μόλιβος* and *μόλιβδος* are certified by their occurrence in metre.

15. *κρύφια καὶ φανερά*] An exhaustive expression: comp. Wisd. vii. 21 ὅσα τέ ἐστι κρυπτὰ καὶ ἐμφανῆ ἔγνω.

*καλὸν οὖν κ.τ.λ.*] If there is no corruption in the text of this passage, it offers another illustration of the criticism of Photius on our pseudo-Clement, *Bibl.* 126, quoted above, § 1. This however may be doubtful. The preacher seems to be thinking of Tobit xii. 8, 9 ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης... καλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐλεημοσύνην ἢ θησαυρίζαι χρυσίον· ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται καὶ αὕτη ἀποκαθαριεῖ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν, where the first sentence as read in S is ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων. Here the very same function ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεσθαι, which our text assigns to prayer, is assigned to almsgiving. Moreover our text having stated that almsgiving is greater than prayer immediately afterwards as-

signs a more important work to prayer than to almsgiving. These two facts combined throw doubt on the integrity of the text. It would seem as though some words had been transposed and others perhaps omitted.

16. *ὡς μετάνοια ἁμαρτίας*] ‘as repentance from sin is good’, if the text be correct; for the sense will hardly allow us to translate ‘as being repentance from sin’. I suppose that *ἐλεημοσύνη* here has its restricted sense of ‘almsgiving’, as in every passage where it occurs in the N.T.

17. *ἀμφοτέρων*] See Ecclus. xl. 24 ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐλεημοσύνη ῥύσεται, where however the *ἀμφοτέρα* are ἀδελφοὶ καὶ βοήθεια εἰς καιρὸν θλίψεως.

*ἀγάπη δὲ κ.τ.λ.*] Taken from 1 Pet. iv. 8, where it is doubtless a quotation from Prov. x. 12. See the note on Clem. Rom. 49, where also it is quoted. There can be no doubt that in the original context it refers to passing over without notice, and so forgiving, the sins of others; nor is there any reason for interpreting it otherwise as adopted by S. Peter or by the genuine Clement. In James v. 20 the expression *καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν* seems still to be used of the sins of others, but in the sense of



λῦπται πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν· προσευχὴ δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται. μακάριος πᾶς ὁ εὐρεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις πλήρης· ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ κούφισμα ἀμαρτίας γίνεται.

XVII. Μετανοήσωμεν οὖν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, ἵνα μή τις ἡμῶν παραπόληται. εἰ γὰρ ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο πράσσωμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποσπᾶν

7 ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο πράσσωμεν] so apparently S; καὶ τοῦτο πράσσομεν (om. ἵνα) C. Similar omissions of ἵνα appear in AC in § 48 ἐξομολογήσωμαι (where S is correct), and in S itself in ii § 11 κομσώμεθα (where AC are correct). 10 περὶ] C; *ad* (*adversus*) S, as if πρὸς: but it perhaps does not represent a different reading. 12 προσέχειν καὶ πιστεύειν] S; πιστεύειν καὶ προσέχειν C. 14 εἰς οἶκον ἀπαλ-

‘burying them from the sight of God, wiping them out by the conversion and repentance of the sinner’. On the other hand our preacher seems certainly to take it as meaning ‘atones for a multitude of *one’s* *own* sins’, as it is taken by some modern commentators: and so too Tertull. *Scorp.* 6. Clement of Alexandria is hardly consistent with himself. In *Strom.* ii. 15 (p. 463) he explains it of God’s love in Christ which forgives the sins of men; whereas in *Quis div. salu.* 38 (p. 959) he takes it to mean that love, working in a man, enables him to repent and put away his own sins; and so apparently in *Strom.* i. 27 (p. 423). Origen *In Lev. Hom.* ii. § 5 (ii. p. 190) refers it to the man’s own sins; but the turn which he gives to the passage is shown by his quoting in juxtaposition Luke vii. 47 ἀφέωνται αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἡγάπησεν πολὺ—an explanation which removes the doctrinal objection to this interpretation, though the exegetical argument against it from the connexion of the passage in its original context (*Prov.* x. 12) still remains.

I. καλῆς συνειδήσεως] Heb. xiii. 18. A commoner expression is ἀγαθῇ

συνείδησις; see the note Clem. Rom. 41. For καθαρὰ συνείδησις see Clem. Rom. 45 with the note.

2. ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται] This is said of ἐλεημοσύνη in Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9 (already quoted); and of δικαιοσύνη, which also signifies ‘almsgiving’, in *Prov.* x. 2, xi. 4; but not of προσευχή. See the note on καλὸν οὖν κ.τ.λ. above.

3. ἐν] Comp. *Ecclus.* i. 6 σελήνη πλήρης ἐν ἡμέραις.

ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Prov.* xvi. 6 (xv. 27) ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πίστειν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι, *Ecclus.* iii. 30 ἐλεημοσύνη ἐξιλιάσεται ἁμαρτίας: comp. *Dan.* iv. 24 τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι (Theod.).

κούφισμα ἁμαρτίας] i.e. ‘removes the load of sin’, as with Bunyan’s pilgrims. So 3 *Esdr.* viii. 83 σύ, Κύριε, ὁ κούφισας τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, comp. *Ezr.* ix. 13 ἐκούφισας ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας.

XVII. ‘Let us therefore repent lest we perish. For, if we are commanded to convert even the heathen from their idolatry, how unpardonable would it be to allow the ruin of a soul which has once known the true God! Therefore let us assist the weak, that we and they alike may be saved. And let us not give



καὶ κατηχεῖν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ψυχὴν ἤδη γινώσκουσιν  
τὸν Θεὸν οὐ δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι; συλλάβωμεν οὖν ἑαυτοῖς  
καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνάγειν περὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπως  
σωθῶμεν ἅπαντες· καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἀλλήλους καὶ  
νουθετήσωμεν. καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄρτι δοκῶμεν προσέχειν  
καὶ πιστεύειν ἐν τῷ νουθετεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσ-  
βυτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν εἰς οἶκον ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, μνη-

λαγῶμεν] C; *domum dimissi fuerimus et cessaverimus ab omnibus* S. The variation might easily be explained by an omission in C owing to homœoteleuton, but it is more probably a periphrastic rendering of S to express the full force of ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: see above, I. p. 136 sq.

heed only while we are listening to the instructions of our presbyters, but also when we have departed to our homes. Let us also meet together more frequently, and thus endeavour to make progress in the commandments of the Lord. He has declared that He will come to gather together all nations and languages. Then the unbelievers shall see His glory and shall bewail their past obstinacy. Their worm shall not die; and their sufferings shall be a spectacle to all men. Meanwhile the righteous, seeing their torments, shall give glory to God, because there is hope for His true and zealous servants.'

5. Μετανοήσωμεν κ.τ.λ.] The expression μετανοεῖν ἐξ ὅλης [τῆς] καρδίας has occurred already § 8, and will occur again § 19; comp. also § 9 μετανοήσαι ἐξ εἰλικρινοῦς καρδίας.

6. παραπόληται] 'perish by the way,' i.e. 'unexpectedly, through carelessness, without sufficient cause'; as e.g. Lucian *Gymn.* 13 ὁρῶ οὐδενὸς μεγάλου ἔνεκα παραπολλυμένας, *Nigr.* 13 δέδοικα μὴ παραπόληται μεταξὺ λουόμενος, *Hermot.* 21 περιόψει με παραπολόμενον.

ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν] It was our Lord's command, Matt. xxviii. 19 sq; comp. Mark xvi. 15. If we adopt the reading

of the Greek MS, καὶ τοῦτο πράσσομεν must be taken as parenthetical so far as regards the structure, 'and we obey this command'; so that ἀποσπᾶν will then be governed by ἐντολὰς ἔχομεν.

9. συλλάβωμεν κ.τ.λ.] 'Let us therefore assist one another, that we may elevate the weak also as concerning that which is good'. This may be the meaning, if the text is correct; but it would seem as though some verb had fallen out after καί. For ἑαυτοῖς see the note on § 13; and for ἀνάγειν comp. Clem. Rom. 49.

11. καὶ ἐπιστρέψωμεν] to be connected with συλλάβωμεν, and not made dependent on ὅπως, as it is punctuated by Bryennios.

12. μὴ μόνον ἄρτι κ.τ.λ.] This clearly shows that the work before us is a sermon delivered in church; comp. § 19 μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἔντευξιν κ.τ.λ.

13. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων] 'the presbyters,' who delivered their exhortations after the reading of the Scriptures; see the note on § 19 μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν κ.τ.λ. This sermon itself was obviously such an exhortation; but the preacher, doubtless himself a 'presbyter', puts himself in the position of his hearers and uses the

μονεύωμεν τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνταλμάτων, καὶ μὴ ἀντι-  
 παρελκώμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 πυκνότερον προσερχόμενοι πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν ἐν  
 ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρο-  
 νοῦντες συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν. εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ 5  
 Κύριος Ἐρχομαι σὺναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φύλλας καὶ  
 γλῶσσας· τοῦτο δὲ λέγει τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ἐλθὼν λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς ἕκαστον κατὰ τὰ  
 ἔργα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δύξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ  
 κράτος οἱ ἄπιστοι, καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἰδόντες τὸ βα- 10

3 προσερχόμενοι] C; προσενχόμενοι S. 7 τὴν ἡμέραν] *super (de) die* S.  
 9 τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος] *gloriam ejus in robore et potestate* S. This again  
 might be explained by an omission in C owing to the repetition of similar begin-  
 nings of words, τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ [κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν (or τὴν ἰσχύν)] καὶ τὸ κράτος;  
 but such an expression in Greek would be very awkward. It is more probable  
 therefore that *robur et potestas* is a double rendering of τὸ κράτος. The preposi-

third person, by a common form of  
 speech, to avoid egotism: comp. e.g.  
 Clem. Rom. 63 ἡσυχάσαντες τῆς μα-  
 ταίας στάσεως...καταντήσωμεν.

1. ἀντιπαραελκώμεθα] '*be dragged  
 off in the opposite direction*'; comp.  
 Pers. *Sat.* v. 154 'duplici in diversum  
 scinderis hamo'. The lexicons do  
 not give this word.

2. κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν] The ex-  
 pression occurs Tit. ii. 12. The word  
 κοσμικὸς is apparently not found in  
 the LXX, and only once besides (in  
 a somewhat different sense) in the  
 N. T., Heb. ix. 1.

3. πυκνότερον προσερχόμενοι] '*com-  
 ing more frequently*', i.e. 'to this  
 place of meeting', or perhaps 'to  
 the presence of God' (comp. Heb.  
 x. 1, 22, Clem. Rom. 23, 29). On  
 these injunctions to more frequent  
 services, see the note on Ign. *Eph.*  
 13 σπουδάζετε πυκνότερον συνέρχεσ-  
 θαι; comp. ib. *Polyt.* 4 πυκνότερον  
 συναγωγὰι γινέσθωσαν. The Syriac  
 reading however may be correct.

5. ὁ Κύριος] Perhaps meaning  
 'Christ', as Harnack takes it, re-  
 ferring to § 3, where Is. xxix. 13  
 seems to be put into the mouth of  
 our Lord.

6. Ἐρχομαι κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lxvi. 18  
 ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ  
 τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἡξήσουσι καὶ ὄψονται  
 τὴν δόξαν μου. There is nothing cor-  
 responding to φυλάς in either the  
 Hebrew or the LXX; and our preach-  
 er must have got it from the familiar  
 combination of 'nations and tongues'  
 in Daniel, e.g. iii. 7 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
 φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι in the LXX.

7. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει] '*but by this he  
 means*': see the note on § 8.

τὴν ἡμέραν κ.τ.λ.] The same ex-  
 pression has occurred § 12, where  
 see the note on ἐπιφανείας.

8. λυτρώσεται] It is called ἡμέρα  
 ἀπολυτρώσεως in Ephes. iv. 30. For  
 other passages, where ἀπολύτρωσις  
 refers to the final redemption, see  
 Luke xxi. 28, Rom. viii. 23.

ἕκαστον κ.τ.λ.] As only those who

σίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες, Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι σὺ ἦς καὶ οὐκ ἤδειμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπειθόμεθα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῖς ἀναγγέλλουσιν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν· καὶ Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὗ τελεγθήσει καὶ τὸ πῆρ αὐτῶν οὗ σβεσθήσεται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί. τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην λέγει τῆς κρίσεως, ὅταν ὄψονται τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ παραλογισαμένους τὰς ἐντολὰς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εὐπραγήσαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασά-

tion (in place of the conjunction) may then be accounted for in two ways; (1) The translator read κατὰ κράτος for καὶ τὸ κράτος; or (2) A Syriac transcriber inadvertently wrote 3 for 1. The latter explanation seems to be more probable: see above, p. 181. 10 ἰδόντες] C; εἰδότες (from ἰδοίτες) S. 11 τοῦ κόσμου] mundi huius S. See the note on § 19 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ] om.

S. λέγοντες] et tunc dicent S.

17 ἡμῖν] S; ὑμῖν C.

shall be released are contemplated, this must imply different grades of happiness. I do not see sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of λυτρώσεται.

9. καὶ ὄψονται] A continuation of the quotation from Isaiah, the intervening words being a parenthetical explanation. See also Matt. xxiv. 30, Rev. i. 7.

10. ξενισθήσονται] 'shall be amazed', as 1 Pet. iv. 4, 12. The active ξενίζοντα, 'perplexing', 'amazing', occurs in Acts xvii. 20. This sense is found in Polybius and from his time onward. See also the note on ξενισμόν, Ign. Ephes. 19.

τὸ βασίλειον] 'the kingdom' or 'sovereignty'; see the note on § 6. We must understand ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ 'in the hands, in the power, of Jesus', as in the common idiom εἶναι ἐν τινί: see Rost u. Palm Griech. Wörterb. s. v. ἐν i. 2. b.

12. σὺ ἦς] 'Thou wast He'; see esp. John viii. 24 ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσῃτε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς

ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ib. ver. 28 τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, xiii. 19 ἵνα πιστεύσῃτε... ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. The preacher seems to be alluding to this language of our Lord, as recorded by St John.

14. ὁ σκώληξ κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lxvi. 24, the last verse of the prophet. Our preacher has already quoted this passage, § 7; see the note there.

17. ὅταν ὄψονται] 'when men shall see', the nominative being suggested by the preceding εἰς ὄρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί. For the future indicative with ὅταν see Winer xlii. p. 388; but no dependence can be placed on the MS in such a case.

18. παραλογισαμένους] 'played false with', 'attempted to cheat'; see Ign. Magn. 3 τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται (with the note). See 4 Esdr. vii. 72 with Bensly's note (p. 63).

19. εὐπραγήσαντες] If the reading be correct, it must mean 'having been virtuous' and not (as elsewhere) 'having been prosperous'; comp. δικαιοπραγεῖν.



ρους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ, ἔσονται δόξαν διδόντες τῷ Θεῷ αὐτῶν, λέγοντες ὅτι Ἔσται ἐλπίς 5 τῷ δεδουλεγκότι Θεῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας.

XVIII. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν γενώμεθα ἐκ τῶν εὐχαριστούντων, τῶν δεδουλεγκότων τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν κρινομένων ἀσεβῶν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πανθαμαρτωλὸς 10 ὢν καὶ μήπω φυγὼν τὸν πειρασμόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὢν ἐν

2 διὰ] ἢ διὰ S.

4 πυρὶ] C; et igne S.

ἔσονται] add. ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει S.

5 διδόντες] S; δόντες C.

7 οὖν] add. ἀδελφοί [μου] S.

10 φυγῶν]

φεύγων C; S has 𐀓𐀓𐀓 which perhaps represents φυγών.

15 ἐντενξιν] C;

1. ἡδυπαθείας] See the note on §16.

2. ἀστοχήσαντας] 'missed the mark', 'gone astray'; see 1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 21, 2 Tim. ii. 18. The word is not uncommon in Polybius and later classical authors.

4. πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ] Matt. iii. 12, Mark ix. 43, Luke iii. 17. For the reference of pseudo-Justin to this statement see I. p. 178 sq.

XVIII. 'Let us take our place with those who, having served God, will join in this thanksgiving. I myself, though I am still surrounded by the temptations of the devil, yet strive to follow after righteousness, that I may escape the judgment to come.'

9. πανθαμαρτωλὸς] The word is not given in the lexicons. Compare πανθαμαρτητός *Apost. Const.* vii. 18, Barnab. 20 (where the MSS agree in writing it without an aspirate), παντάδικος *Philo de Creat. Pr.* 3 (II. p. 362).

11. ὀργάνοις] 'the instruments, engines'; comp. *Ign. Rom.* 4. The word does not occur in the N. T.; and in the LXX it seems to be applied only to musical instruments,

or military engines, or the like. The metaphor here is probably military; comp. 2 Macc. xii. 27 ἐνθάδε ὀργάνων καὶ βελῶν πολλὰι παραθέσεις, and see Ephes. vi. 16 τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπυρωμένα. The preacher finds himself ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ, the enemy having environed him with his engines of war.

12. δικαιοσύνην διώκειν] A phrase occurring in the Pastoral Epistles, 1 Tim. vi. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 22 (comp. *Rom.* ix. 30).

κἂν ἐγγύς] 'at all events near, if I cannot actually reach it'. For this use of κἂν comp. *Ign. Ephes.* 10 κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, with the note.

XIX. 'Therefore, brothers and sisters, I have exhorted you to give heed to the Scriptures, that ye may save both me and yourselves. Your hearty repentance and earnest pursuit of salvation is the return which I ask for my trouble. Your zeal will thus stimulate all the young who have any regard for godliness. And let us not be annoyed when we are admonished and turned away from sin. Half-heartedness and dis-

μέσοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις τοῦ διαβόλου, σπουδάξω τὴν δικαιοσύνην διώκειν, ὅπως ἰσχύσω καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, φοβούμενος τὴν κρίσιν τὴν μέλλουσαν.

XIX. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί, μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἔντευξιν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν· μισθὸν γὰρ αἰτῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ μετανοῆσαι ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ζῶν διδόντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντες σκοπὸν πάσιν

*supplicationem, id est, admonitionem* S; clearly a gloss. See I. p. 141. S governs τῆς ἀληθείας by ἔντευξιν.

*17 τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν]* *me qui lego*

*uobis uerba (or oracula) dei S.*

*19 σκοπὸν]* S; κόπον C. This reading of S

was anticipated by Bensly, Gebhardt, and Hilgenfeld.

belief obscure our sense of right and wrong; and our understandings are darkened by our lusts. Let us practise righteousness. Blessed are they who obey these precepts. They may suffer in this world, but they will reap the fruit of immortality. Let not the godly man be sorrowful, if he suffer now. An eternal life in heaven awaits him, where he shall live in bliss with the fathers, and where sorrow shall have no place.'

14. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί] Comp.

20. So *Barnab.* 1 νιοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, *Rel. Jur. Eccl.* p. 74 (Lagarde).

μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'After you have heard the voice of God in the Scriptures', as it is rightly explained by Bryennios. The sermon or exhortation followed immediately after the reading of the scriptures in the weekly gatherings of the early Church: Justin *Apol.*

67 συνέλευσις γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπομνηνεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, ἕχρισ ἐγχαυρεῖ· εἶτα, πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν

καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται; Orig. c. *Cels.* iii. 50 καὶ δι' ἀναγνωσμάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ διηγήσεων προτρέποντες μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς συνθρόνους ταύτης ἀρετάς, ἀποτρέποντες δὲ κ.τ.λ.; *Apost. Const.* ii. 54 μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς διδασκαλίαν. See also the notes on § 17 μὴ μόνον ἄρτι κ.τ.λ. and the introduction, p. 195. For the expression ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας see § 3 τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας (comp. § 20). Its use here as a synonyme for the Scripture is explained by the preacher's language above § 13, τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, λέγει ὁ Θεός.

15. ἔντευξιν] 'appeal' 'entreaty'; as e.g. Justin *Apol.* i. 1 (p. 53), Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 5, Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 32 (I. p. 172), and so most frequently in classical authors. For its commoner sense in Christian writers, 'supplication to God', see the note on Clem. Rom. 63.

16. ἵνα καὶ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ezek. iii. 21.

18. μετανοῆσαι κ.τ.λ.] See the note § 17.

τοῖς νέοις θήσομεν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. καὶ μὴ ἀηδῶς ἔχωμεν καὶ ἀγανακτῶμεν οἱ ἄσσοφοι, ὅταν τις ἡμᾶς νουθετῇ καὶ ἐπιστρέφῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἐνίστε γὰρ πονηρὰ πράσσοντες οὐ γινώ- 5 σκομεν διὰ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς στηθεσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσμεθα τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ματαίων. πράξωμεν οὖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἵνα εἰς τέλος σωθῶμεν. μακάριοι οἱ τούτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν· κὰν ὀλίγον χρόνον 10

2 φιλοπονεῖν] *manifestent amorem laboris* S: see Michaelis in Castell. *Lex. Syr.* p. 656. The scribe of C has first written *φιλοσοφεῖν*, but has afterwards corrected it so as to be read *φιλοπονεῖν*. See p. 206. 3 οἱ ἄσσοφοι] C; *tanquam illi insipientes* S. 5 ἐνίστε] S; *ἐνια* C. 11 τῷ κόσμῳ] S; add. *τούτῳ* C. I have the less hesitation in striking out *τούτῳ* here because the general tendency of S is to insert the pronoun, not to omit it, in this connexion: e.g. § 5, 19, 38, 60, ii. 18. *ἀθάνατον*] S; *δὲ θάνατον* C. The correction was obvious, even before the reading of S was known; and the only question was whether to read *τὸν δ' ἀθάνατον* or

2. φιλοπονεῖν] *Ecclus. Prol. τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πεφιλοπονημένων*. The word occurs in classical writers of the best age.

3. μὴ ἀγανακτῶμεν] *Clem. Rom. 56 παιδείαν ἐφ' ἧ οὐδεὶς ὀφείλει ἀγανακτεῖν*.

οἱ ἄσσοφοι] '*fools that we are*', for this is the force of the article; comp. § 1 οἱ ἀκούοντες (with the note). For *ἄσσοφος* comp. *Ephes. v. 15*. It seems not to occur again in the Bible (except *Prov. ix. 8* in A, where there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew); and is not very common elsewhere.

6. διψυχίαν] As above § 11 μὴ διψυχῶμεν. See the notes on *Clem. Rom. II. 23*. To the references there given add *Barnab. 19 οὐ μὴ διψυχῆσης πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ*.

7. ἐσκοτίσμεθα κ.τ.λ.] From *Ephes. iv. 17, 18, ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοῦς αὐτῶν, ἐσκοτωμένοι* (V. l. *ἐσκοτισμένοι*)

τῇ διανοίᾳ; comp. *Clem. Rom. 36 ἡ ἀσύνητος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν*.

10. ὀλίγον χρόνον κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 *Pet. i. 6 ὀλίγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον, λυπηθέντες*, v. 10 ὀλίγον παθόντας. For *κακοπαθεῖν* see 2 *Tim. ii. 9, iv. 5, James v. 13*; comp. *συγκακοπαθεῖν*, 2 *Tim. i. 8, ii. 3*.

12. καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν] *Hos. x. 12 σπεύρατε ἑαυτοῖς εἰς δικαιοσύνην, τρυγήσατε εἰς καρπὸν ζωῆς*.

13. μακάριος αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] See *Hippol. de Univ. p. 69* (Lagarde) ἡ τῶν πατέρων δικαίων τε ὁρωμένη ὄψις πάντοτε μειδιᾷ ἀναμενόντων τὴν μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἀνάπανσιν καὶ αἰωνίαν ἀναβίωσιν...ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι [οἱ ἄδικοι] τὸν τῶν πατέρων χορὸν καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ὁρώσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κολαζόμενοι...καὶ τὸ σῶμα...δυνατὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἀναβιώσας ἀθάνατον ποιεῖν, and lower down ἀποφθέγγονται φωνὴν οὕτως λέγοντες, Δικαία σου ἡ κρίσις, and again τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον



κακοπαθήσωσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν. μὴ οὖν λυπείσθω ὁ εὐσεβής, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ταλαιπωρῇ· μακάριος αὐτὸν ἀναμένει χρόνος· ἐκεῖνος ἄνω μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα.

XX. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν παραστέτω, ὅτι βλέπομεν τοὺς ἀδίκους πλουτοῦντας, καὶ στενοχωρουμένους τοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλους. πιστεύωμεν οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί· Θεοῦ ζῶντος πείραν ἀθλουόμεν, καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι στεφανω-

τὸν ἀθάνατον. For another instance of the same error comp. § 36 θανάτου γνώσεως for ἀθανάτου γνώσεως in S itself.

12 τρυγήσουσιν] *delectabuntur*... in S, i.e. τρυφήσουσιν; for the same word (τρυφή) and its derivatives are used to translate τρυφή, § 10, and τρυφή, ἐντρυφᾶν 2 Pet. ii. 13.

14 ἐκεῖνος] S attaches this to χρόνος and punctuates after πατέρων.

16 μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο... παραστέτω] CS (but S has ἡμῶν) μὴ παραστέτω τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν Rup 783.

18 πιστεύωμεν] S; πιστεύομεν C.

19 Θεοῦ] ὅτι θεοῦ S.

διαμένει... σκώληξ δέ τις ἔμπυρος κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 17). These resemblances suggest that our Clementine homily was known to this writer.

15. ἀναβιώσας] 2 Macc. vii. 9 ἀποθανόντας ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ νόμων εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀνατίησει.

ἀλύπητον] 'inaccessible to sorrow', stronger than ἄλυπον; comp. *Clem. Hom.* xi. 17 σὺν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄλυπον αἰῶνα κληρονομήσαι.

XX. 'Be not dismayed, if you see wrong-doers prospering, while the servants of God are straitened. Believe it, this present life is the arena of our conflict; the crown will be awarded in the future. Our reward is not instantaneous. If it were so, when the pursuit of it would be a matter of traffic and not of piety.'

'To the one invisible God of truth, who sent us a Saviour and through Him manifested truth and life to us,

be the glory for ever.'

16. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο κ.τ.λ.] This passage is quoted loosely and with some omissions in the *Sacr. Parall.* (MS Rupef.), which bear the name of Joannes Damascenus, *Op.* II. p. 783 (Le Quien); see above, I. p. 193 sq. It will be seen that in the quotation the original words are altered, so as to conform to well-known scriptural passages; e.g. μὴ παραστέτω τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν is substituted for μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν παραστέτω, after John xiv. 1, 27; and εὐσέβειαν is substituted for θεοσέβειαν, after 1 Tim. vi. 5.

19. πείραν] For the accusative after ἀθλεῖν comp. e.g. Plato *Leg.* viii. p. 830 A, Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 5; and for such accusatives generally see Kühner II. p. 264. For an elaborate application of the same metaphor see § 7.

θῶμεν. οὐδεὶς τῶν δικαίων ταχὺν καρπὸν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεται αὐτόν. εἰ γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν δικαίων ὁ Θεὸς συντόμως ἀπεδίδου, εὐθέως ἐμπορίαν ἡσκούμεν καὶ οὐ θεοσέβειαν· ἐδοκούμεν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιοι, οὐ τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἀλλὰ τὸ κερδαλέον διώκοντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο 5  
θεία κρίσις ἐβλάψεν πνεῦμα μὴ ὄν δίκαιον, καὶ ἐβάρυνεν δεσμοῖς.

Τῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ ἀοράτῳ, πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐφάνέρωσεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν 10

1 ταχὺν] C Rup; *celeriter* (ταχὺ) S, using the same adverb which renders συντόμως just below. 3 συντόμως ἀπεδίδου, εὐθέως] CS; εὐθέως ἀπεδίδου Rup.

4 οὐ θεοσέβειαν] CS; οὐκ εὐσεβειαν Rup. οὐ τὸ] CS; οὐ διὰ τὸ Rup. 5 εὐσεβὲς] C Rup; *theosebēs* S. 7 δεσμοῖς] S; *desmōs* C. 8 τῆς ἀληθείας]

add. *domini nostri iesu christi* (in apposition) S. 9 ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχη-

4. θεοσέβειαν] See 1 Tim. ii. 10. It occurs occasionally in the LXX.

5. διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'on account of these sordid motives Divine judgment overtakes and cripples the spirit of a man, seeing that it is not upright, and loads it with chains'. The word βλάπτειν is used especially of Divine vengeance surprising its victim, checking and maiming him in his mid career; e.g. Hom. *Od.* i. 195 ἀλλὰ νῦν τὸν γε θεοὶ βλάπτουσι κεύθευ, *ib.* xiv. 178 τοῦ δέ τις ἀθανάτων βλάψε φρένας, Xen. *Symph.* viii. 43 ἦν μὴ θεὸς βλάπτῃ, Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 45 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μάλιστα βλαπτομένην τὴν γνώμην ἐοικώς κ.τ.λ., Trag. in Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* p. 159 ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινά, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἐξαφαιρείται φρενῶν τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλὸν κ.τ.λ., and so frequently. Sordid motives bring their own punishment in a judicial blindness (βλάπτει πνεῦμα). The aorist here has its common *gnomic* sense, and is the most appropriate tense: see Kühner II. p. 136 sq. Previous editors seem to

have mistaken the sense. Bryennios says μὴ ὄν δίκαιον, τοῦτεστιν, ἀδίκως, but it is not clear what he means. Hilgenfeld reads δεσμούς, and explains 'Christiani non omni ex parte iusti persecutionem gentilium patiebantur'. Harnack, misled by the aorist, says 'auctor *diabolum* respicere videtur, quem tamquam avaritiae principem et auctorem hic inverteit (?)... censuit igitur, diabolum jam hoc tempore catenis onustum esse'. He might have quoted Wolsey's warning to Cromwell in *Henry VIII*, 'By that sin fell the angels'.

8. Τῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ ἀοράτῳ] Comp. 1 Tim. i. 17 ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ Θεῷ.

πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας] As in § 3. So also ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας § 19. The Syriac translator takes 'the Truth' here to denote Christ Himself (John xiv. 6); comp. Orig. c. *Cels.* viii. 63 ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς μονογενοῦς αὐτῷ ἀληθείας. So Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) speaks of Christ's personal disciples as receiving commandments ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας.

καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωὴν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας  
τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

γόν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας] *salvatorem et principem vitae et salutis nostrae* S. II [ζωὴν]  
C; *delectationem* (אֲמֻנָה) S; which word elsewhere is a rendering of *τρυφή* (see  
above, § 19) or of *ἀπόλαυσις* (see i § 20). αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα] *atque etiam jesus christo*  
*domino nostro cum spiritu sancto gloria et honor et imperium* (i.e. ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ  
καὶ τὸ κράτος) S.

9. τὸν σωτῆρα κ.τ.λ.] Acts v. 31 *ρίας*. Comp. *Epist. Vienn.* 17 (in  
ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα compared with Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς  
iii. 15 τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς: see also τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
Heb. ii. 10 τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτη-





*The lacunæ in the Alexandrian Manuscript.*

Page

5. 1 [Προς] Κορινθιογς  
2 [Ἡ ἐκκλη]σία...ἡ παροι-  
κούσα [Ῥώμην]  
6. 1 τῇ πα[ροικου]σῃ  
2 ἡγι[ασμέν]οις...τοῦ [Κυρίου  
7. 3 ἡμῶν...[χάρις ὑ]μῖν...παν-  
το[κράτο]ρος  
5 [Διὰ τὰς] αἰφνιδίους...[γε-  
νομ]ένας  
8. 1 [περι]πτώσεις...[νομ]ίζομεν  
2 πεποι[σθ]αι  
3 [πα]ρ' ὑμῖν...[τ]ῆς τε  
12. 2 ὑποτάσ[σ]οιτες  
13. 3 λαμβά[ν]οντες  
16. 1 ἀρ[κ]οῦμενοι  
25. 16 Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον [οἱ  
μέγιστοι  
17 στύλ[οι ἐδιώ]χθησαν...ἕως  
θανάτο[ν ἤθλησαν]  
18 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶ[ν ἡμῶν] ...  
ἀποστόλου[s]  
26. 1 Πέτρον] ὅς...οὐχ [ἔνα οὐ]δὲ  
δύο  
2 ὑπ[ήνεγκεν] πόνους...μαρτυ-  
[ρήσας]  
27. 3 ὀφειλ[όμενον]...διὰ ζῆλο[ν  
28. 1 καὶ ἔριν] Παῦλος...[ὑπέ-  
δει]ξεν  
29. 2 [φυγα]δευθεῖς...γ[ενό]μενος  
30. 1 ἐ[ν τῇ] δύσει  
34. 2 κατήντη[σαν]

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34. 4 τοῦτ[ο]  
5 ὁστέων μ[ου]  
35. 9 ὑπομνήσκον[τες]  
10 σκάμμα[τι]  
11 ἐπείκει[ται]...κενὰς [καὶ]  
12 ἔλθω[μεν]  
13 τ[ῆς] παραδό[σεως] ... [καὶ  
ἴδω]μεν  
36. 1 [καὶ τί πρό]σδεκτον...τοῦ  
ποι[ήσαντ]ος  
2 [ἀτενίσ]ωμεν...[καὶ γν]ώμεν  
3 τῷ Θεῷ [καὶ πατρ]ι αὐτοῦ  
4 [σωτ]ηρίαν...τῷ κό[σμ]ῳ  
37. 5 [διέλθ]ωμεν...[καὶ] καταμά-  
θωμεν  
6 γενεᾶ [κα]ὶ...ἔδω[κε]ν  
40. 9 [δι]ελεχθῶμεν  
41. 10 [αἱ] ἀμαρτίαι...ὑμῶν [ὥς]  
48. 5 [πρὸς σὲ εἰσῆλ]θον  
6 [γῆς ἡμῶν]...ὁ γὰρ βα[σι]-  
λεὺς οὐ[τ]ως  
7 εἰσῆλθον [μὲν οἱ ἄν]δρες  
8 [ἀλλὰ εὐθὲ]ως...πορεύον[ται  
τῇ ὁδῷ]  
9 ἐν[αλλάξ]  
49. 10 γ[ινοῦ]σκουσα...ὅτι [Κύριος  
ὁ Θεός]  
11 ὑμῖν [τὴν πό]λιν ταύτην.  
Omitted in the colla-  
tion. For πολιν C has  
γην

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49. 12 ὁ [τρό]μος... τοῖς κα[τοι]-  
κοῦσιν  
13 γέν[ηται]  
51. 9 αὐτο[ῦ]  
11 δικαιοσύνην  
52. 1 διδάσκω[ν]... [οὔ]τως  
2 ἐλεηθ[ῆ]τε... ὥ[ς] ποιεῖτε  
3 ποιηθήσεται ὑμ[ῖν] ..δοθή-  
σεται [ὑμῖν]  
4 κριθήσε[σθε ὥς χ]ρηστεύ-  
εσθε.. χρη[στευθῆ]σεται  
5 με[τρεῖτε]  
6 [ταύτη] τ[ῇ]... παραγγέλ[μα]-  
σιν  
7 εἰν[τοὺς εἰ]ς  
8 [ὄντα]ς... αὐ[τ]οῦ τ[α]πεινο-  
φρονοῦντες  
53. 9 [φησὶ]ν γὰρ... [ἐπι]βλέψω  
10 [ἡ]σ[ύ]χιον  
11 [δί]καιον  
55. 15 [κ]αὶ πάλιν  
56. 1 τῇ γλώσση αὐ[τ]ῶν  
2 [α]ὐτῶν  
63. 13 κατηγ[ορεῖ λέγων]... ἀπὸ ῥύ-  
π[ου οὐδ' αὖν]  
64. 1 αὐτο[ῦ]... ἐν ὅλῳ [τῷ]  
2 οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ... [ὑπ]ηρε[σίας]  
3 Α[ἰ]γυπτου... [αἰκ]ισμάτων  
4 κάκε[ῖνος]  
5 ἐμ[εγα]λορημόνησεν... ἐ[πὶ]  
τῆς βάτου  
6 διδο[μέ]νου... πέμπ[εις]  
65. 7 βρ[α]δύγλωσσος  
67. 15 ἐξάλειψ[ον]... ἐν ἑμο[ί]  
17 ἀπο[ρί]ψης... [καὶ τὸ πνεῦ]μα  
18 ἀντανέ[λ]ης ἀπ' ἐ[μοῦ]... τὴν  
ἀγαλ[λία]σιν  
19 τ[οῦ] σωτηρίου... [ἡ]γεμο]-  
νικῶ  
68. 1 διδά[ξ]ω ἀνό[μους]... ἀ[σεβ]εῖς

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68. 2 [ῥ]ῥοαί με  
3 τῆς [σωτ]ηρίας... [ἀγαλ]λιά-  
σεται... [δικ]αιοσύνην  
4 [ἀν]οίξεις  
5 ἀναγ[γ]ελεῖ... ἡ[θ]έλ[η]σας  
70. 4 ἐμποδ[ί]ζοντα... ἀστέ[ρ]ων  
5 διαταγὴν [α]ὐτοῦ  
6 [π]αρεκβάσεως... [το]ὺς ἐπι-  
τεταγμένους  
79. 17 πρ[ό]σωπον δὲ  
18 τοῦ ἐξολε[θ]ρευσαι... μνη-  
μ[ό]συνον  
19 ὁ δ[ί]καιος... αὐ[τ]οῦ καὶ ἐκ  
πασῶν  
20 α[ὐτοῦ] ἐρῶ[σ]ατο  
22 μάσ[τιγες]... ἐλ[πί]ζον[τας]  
23 κυκλώσε[ι]  
24 κ[αὶ] εὐερ[γ]ετικὸς  
25 ἐ[πὶ] τοὺς φοβούμενους  
26 ἡπίως [τε] καὶ... αὐ[τ]οῦ  
27 προσερχομένο[ις]  
82. 8 τὴν ἀπαρχή[ν]  
9 ἐκ νεκ[ρῶν]  
10 κατὰ και[ρὸν]... ἡμέρ[α καὶ]  
83. 11 δηλοῦσ[ιν]...  
12 ἡ[μέρα]... ἐπέρ[χεται] λά-  
βω[μεν]  
13 [πῶς καὶ] τίνα τρόπον  
14 [ἐξ]ῆλθεν ὁ σ[τ]εῖρων... [ἐκα]-  
στο[ν]  
15 πε[σόντα]  
16 δι[α]λύεται... ἡ μεγα[λειό]-  
της  
17 [ἀνίσ]τησιν  
18 πλεί[ονα]  
19 [ἴδω]μεν... [γιν]όμενον  
20 [τό]ποις  
89. 20 [λ]έγει  
21 [κ]αὶ ἐκοιμήθη  
22 ἐξη[γ]έρθη... [κα]ὶ πάλιν



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90. 1 [τη]ν σάρκα μου  
 97. 24 πεποιθήσ[εως γινώ]σκων  
 98. 1 ἡδέ[ως προσήγε]το...ταπει-  
   νοφρ[οσύνης]  
   2 αὐ[τοῦ δι' ἀδελ]φὸν  
   3 πρὸς [Λαβὰν]...ἐδόθ[η αὐτῷ]  
   4 τοῦ [Ἰσραήλ]  
   5 ἐάν[τις]...ἐιλικριν[ῶς]  
   6 [με]γαλεία...δεδομέ[νων]  
   7 ἱερέ[ς]  
   8 λειτουργ[οῦν]τες  
 100. 5 πίστ[ε]ως  
   9 ἀγαθοποιί[ας]  
 101. 10 δεσπότ[ης]  
   11 μετὰ ἐκτενεία[ς]  
   12 ἀγαθ[ὸν]  
   13 δ[εσπό]της...ἐρ[γοῖς]  
   14 αὐτ[οῦ] sec.  
   15 ἐστῆρισε[ν]  
   16 συνέσει διεκό[σμησεν]...  
   [διεχώ]ρισεν  
   17 [ἐπὶ τ]ὸν  
 102. 1 βου[λήμα]τος  
   2 αὐ[τῇ ζ]ῶα...[διατ]άξει  
   3 θάλασσ[αν κ]αὶ...προδημι-  
   [ουργή]σας  
   4 [δυ]νάμει  
   5 [κα]ὶ...[ἄνθρωπ]ον  
 105. 11 [π]λήθος  
 113. 10 κ[αὶ τὴν κατὰ]σχέσιν...τ[ῆς]  
   γῆς]  
   11 αὐ[τόν· κάθου]...ἕως ἂν [θῶ  
   12 τοῖς] ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπό-  
   διο[ν τῶν πο]δῶν  
   13 ἐ[χθροί]...ἀντασσο[μένοι]  
   ...θελήμα[τι]  
   14 αὐτοῦ]  
   15 ἄνδ[ρες ἀδελ]φοί  
   16 ἐκτενεία[ς ἐν τοῖς] ἀμώμοις  
   17 [αὐτοῦ]...στρα[τευο]μένους

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113. 18 ἡ[μῶν]...εὐεικτικ[ῶς]  
 114. 1 ἐπιτελο[ῦ]σιν...πάντε[ς]  
 115. 12 ὅλο[ν]  
   14 ὅλ[ον]  
 116. 1 ὑποτασσέσθ[ω]  
   2 καθῶ[ς]  
   8 μαρτυρεῖτ[ω]  
   9 μ[αρ]τυρεῖσθαι  
   10 [ἦτω] καὶ...γινώσ[κων ὅτι]  
 117. 11 ἔτ[ερος]...[αὐτῷ] τὴν...ἀνα-  
   λογι[σώμ]εθα  
   12 ποίας [ὑλ]ης]  
   13 τί[νες εἰ]σήλαμεν ... [ἐκ  
   ποί]ου  
   14 [ὁ πλά]σας  
   15 [εἰσῆ]γαγεν ... [προ]ετοιμά-  
   σας  
   16 [αὐτ]οῦ...[ταῦ]τα  
   17 [ὁ]φείλομεν  
   18 [αὐ]τῷ  
 118. 1 [ἄ]φρονες  
 121. 8 ἐ[κέλ]ευσεν  
 131. 16 [καὶ ἐπὶ]δείξατο  
   17 [τὰς σφρα]γίδας...τῇ[ν σκη-  
   νὴν]  
   18 προε[ῖλεν τὰς] ῥάβδους  
   19 ῥ[άβδος]...βεβλα[στηκνῖα]  
   20 πρ[οῆδει]  
   21 μέλλειν [ἔσεσθαι]  
   22 ἀκ[αταστα]σία...οὕτω[ς]  
   23 ἐποί[ησεν]...τ[ὸ ὄνο]μα  
   24 μόνου [Θεοῦ]  
 136. 3 πολιτευομέν[ους]  
   5 φιλόνηκ[οι]  
   6 [τῶν] ἀνηκόντων...ἐν[κεκύ-  
   φα]τε  
   7 [τὰς τοῦ] πνεύματος  
 137. 8 [ὅτι οὐ]δὲν...παραπε[ποιή]-  
   μένον  
   9 [οὐχ εἰ]ρήσεται

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137. 10 ἀποβε[βλημ]ένους ... [ἐδι]-  
ώθησαν  
11 ὑπὸ ἀνό[μω]ν  
12 [ἀν]οσίων ... ὑπὸ πα[ρα]νό-  
μων  
13 [ὑ]πὸ τῶν...[ἀ]νελιφότων  
138. 1 [ε]ὐκλεὺς...[τί] γὰρ  
2 [ἐ]βλήθη  
3 [ῆ] Ἀνανίας  
139. 11 [πα]ναρέτω  
12 ἡ δόξ[α εἰ]ς...τῶν αἰ[ώνων]  
13 ἀμήν...[ο]ἱ δὲ ὑπο[μ]έ-  
νοντες  
140. 4 [κ]ολληθῶμεν  
150. 3 εὖρε[θῆναι]  
4 [ὁ Θεός· δεώμ]εθα...ἀπ[ὸ]  
5 τοῦ ἐλ[έ]ους...[εὖρεθῶμεν]  
6 ἀνθρω[πίνης]...πᾶσα[ι ἀπὸ]  
7 Ἀδὰμ] ἕως...παρῆ[λθον]  
151. 8 τελειωθέν[τες]...ἔχον[σιν]  
9 φανερωθήσον[ται] ... βασι-  
λ[είας]  
10 τοῖ [Θε]οῦ...εἰσέλ[θετε]  
11 ὅσον ὅσ[ον]  
12 θυ[μός]...ἡμέρ[ας]  
13 [ἐκ] τῶν θηκῶν  
14 [προσ]τάγματα...ἐ[ν ὁ]μο-  
νοίᾳ  
15 ἀφελθῆ[ναι]  
152. 1 ἀ[φέ]θησαν  
2 ἐπεκα[λύφθησαν]...ἀ[νῆρ]  
3 ἁμαρτία[ν]...αὐτ[οῦ]  
4 ἐ[γέ]νετο  
6 ἡμ[ῶν]...α[ἰώ]νων  
153. 7 Ὅσα [οὔ]ν παρε[πέσα]μεν  
8 [το]ῦ ἀντικ[ειμέ]νου...[ἀφε-  
θῆναι ἡμῖν]  
9 οἷτι[ν]ες ἀρχηγ[οὶ]  
10 ἐγεν[ή]θησαν  
154. 3 τῶ[ν] παραπτωμάτων

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154. 6 [κρί]μα...κατέβ[η]σαν  
7 ζῶ[ν]τες ... θά[νατος] ποι-  
μανεῖ  
8 α[ὐτοῦς]...στρα[τιὰ αὐτ]οῦ  
9 ἡγοῦμ[ε]νοι Αἰγ[ύπτου]...  
[ἀναβα]ται  
10 [αἰτία]ν  
11 [ἐρυνθ]ρ[ῶν]...[τὸ σκλ]ηρυνθῆ-  
ναι  
155. 12 ἀσυ[νέτου]ς  
13 [τὰ σημ]εῖα [καὶ].. Αἰγύ-  
[πτου]  
14 [τοῦ θ]εράποντος...[Μ]ωϋ-  
σέω[ς]  
15 [ὁ] δεσπότης  
16 [οὔ]δεν...[ἐξ]ομολογεῖσθαι  
17 [ὁ ἐ]κλεκτός  
18 ἐξομολογήσο[μ]αι  
20 π[ά]λιν  
21 αἱ[νέ]σεως  
156. 3 ἐπίστασ[θε τὰ]ς  
4 [καὶ ἐγ]κεύφατε  
5 [Θεοῦ εἰς ἀ]νάμνησιν...ταῦ-  
τα [γράφομεν]  
6 ἀναβαί[νοντος εἰ]ς...ποιή-  
σαν[τος]  
7 τεσσερ[άκοντα]....τεσ[σερά-  
κοντ]α  
8 [καὶ ταπειν]ώσει...αὐτὸν [ὁ  
Θεός]  
9 [Μωϋ]σῇ Μωϋσῇ...[τὸ τάχος]  
ἐντεῦθεν  
10 [ὁ λαός σ]ου...[Αἰγύπτου]ν  
157. 11 ἐκ [τῆς ὁδοῦ]...[ἐποίησα]ν  
12 [καὶ εἶπε]ν...λελάλη[κα πρὸς]  
13 [ἑώρακα] τὸν λαόν  
14 [ἐστιν σ]κληροτράχηλος...  
[με ἐξολ]εθρεῦσαι  
15 ἐξα[λείψω τ]ὸ ὄνομα...ὑπο-  
κά[τωθεν]

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157. 16 [σε εἰς ἔ]θνος...[καὶ πολ]ὺ  
 17 [καὶ εἶπεν Μ]ωϋσῆς...Κύριε  
 [ἄφες τὴν]  
 165. 15 [τὸ σπέρμα σου] τὰ δὲ τέκνα  
 ...[τὸ παμβό]τανον  
 16 ἐλεύσ[η δὲ ἐν τᾷ]φω...ὥρι-  
 μο[ς κατὰ  
 17 και]ρὸν...ὥσ[περ θημω]νιὰ  
 18 συ[νκομι]σθεῖσα ... ἀγαπη-  
 [τοὶ πόσος]  
 19 τ[οῖς παιδε]υομένοις ... δε-  
 σπό[τον πατῆρ  
 20 γὰρ] ἀγαθὸς...παιδε[ύει] εἰς  
 τ[ὸ ἐλε]ηθῆναι  
 21 π[αι]δείας  
 22 [τῆς] στάσεως  
 166. 1 ὑποτά[γῃ]τε ... παι[δευ]-  
 θητε  
 2 κάμψαν[τες]  
 4 αὐθάδ[εια]ν  
 5 [ἐν] τῷ ποιμνίῳ  
 8 προήσομα[ι  
 167. 9 ὑμῖ]ν...[δὲ ὑμᾶ]ς  
 10 ἐπ[ειδὴ] ἐκάλουν...ὑπηκού-  
 σα[τε καὶ ἐξέτει]νον  
 11 οὐ [προσείχετε]...ἐπο[ιεῖτε  
 τὰς ἐμὰς]  
 12 ἐμ[οῖς ἐλέγχ]οις ... τοιγα-  
 [ροῦν καὶ γώ]  
 13 ἀπωλεί[α ἐπιγελά]σομαι...  
 [ἡνίκα  
 14 ἂν] ἔρχεται...ὀλεθρο[ς καὶ  
 ὡς ἂν ἀ]φίκηται  
 15 θ[όρυβος ἡ δὲ]...κ[αταιγίδι  
 πα]ρῇ

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167. 16 ὑμ[ῖν θλίψις]...γ[άρ, ὅταν  
 ἐπι]καλέσησθε  
 168. 1 [οὐκ εἰσα]κούσομαι...ζητ[ή-  
 σουσιν]  
 2 εὐρῇ[σουσιν]...[τὸν  
 3 δὲ φό]βον .... προείλα[ντο  
 οὐδὲ]  
 4 προσέχ[ειν βουλαῖς]...ἐμὸν[ς  
 ἐλέγχους]  
 5 τῇ[ς ἐαυτῶν]...[καὶ τῆς  
 6 ἐαυτῶν]...πλησθῆσον[ται...  
 At this point the MS breaks off

until

185. 15 ...λο[ιπὸν]...Θεὸς [καὶ]  
 16 [πᾶ]σης  
 186. 1 [τὸ]ν Κύριον  
 2 [εἰ]ς λαὸν...[ψ]υχῇ  
 3 μεγαλο[π]ρεπὲς...[π]ίστιν  
 218. 4 ὀφείλο[μεν]...τ[ούτοις]  
 5 [αὐτὸν] καὶ  
 6 το[ύς] ἀνθρώπους  
 7 δ[ιὰ]...πρασσό[ντων]  
 8 ἐμο[ῦ]...μο[ῦ]  
 9 μο[ῦ]  
 221. 14 δουλενε[ῖν]...δ[ουλ]εύειν  
 15 ἀσύμφο[ρον]  
 225. 1 στεφα[ν]ωθῆναι  
 235. 11 [τῇ] ἐπαγγελίᾳ  
 12 ταλαίπωρ[οι]...προ[φη]τικὸς  
 13 εἶσ[ιν]  
 14 τ[ῇ] καρδίᾳ...πά[ντα]  
 15 πα[τέ]ρων  
 239. 6 ἔξ[ω]  
 8 ἐν τ[οῖς] καλοῖς  
 240. 1 τοῦτ[ο]...  
 Here the MS ends.



# THE EPISTLES OF S. CLEMENT.

*Corrigenda in the collation of the Constantinopolitan ms [C].*

Page		
48.	8	ἀλλ' εὐθέως
70.	1	οὐρανοί (om. οἱ)
72.	2	παρατεθειμένα
	3	οὕτως
74.	3	καιρὸν καὶ
93.	1	ποῦ οὖν τις
96.	1	μιαρὰς καὶ (om. τε)
	2	μέθας τε καὶ
125.	4	εὐαρεστείτω τῷ Θεῷ
	7	ἐνδεδεχισμοῦ
143.	12	ἀλλὰ ἡ πρόσκλισις
156.	3	καλῶς (om. καὶ)
	5	πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν

TRANSLATIONS.





THE EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT  
TO  
THE CORINTHIANS.

THE Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth, to them which are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved, and to the detestable and unholy sedition, so alien and strange to the elect of God, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a pitch of madness that your name, once revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men, hath been greatly reviled. For who that had sojourned among you did not approve your most virtuous and steadfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and forbearing piety in Christ? Who did not publish abroad your magnificent disposition of hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting yourselves to your rulers and rendering to the older men among you the honour which is their due. On the

young too ye enjoined modest and seemly thoughts: and the women ye charged to perform all their duties in a blameless and seemly and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is meet; and ye taught them to keep in the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household in seemliness, with all discretion.

2. And ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more glad to give than to receive*, and content with the provisions which God supplieth. And giving heed unto His words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, and an insatiable desire of doing good. An abundant outpouring also of the Holy Spirit fell upon all; and, being full of holy counsel, in excellent zeal and with a pious confidence ye stretched out your hands to Almighty God, supplicating Him to be propitious, if unwillingly ye had committed any sin. Ye had conflict day and night for all the brotherhood, that the number of His elect might be saved with fearfulness and intentness of mind. Ye were sincere and simple and free from malice one towards another. Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: ye judged their shortcomings to be your own. Ye repented not of any well-doing, but were *ready unto every good work*. Being adorned with a most virtuous and honourable life, ye performed all your duties in the fear of Him. The commandments and the ordinances of the Lord were *written on the tables of your hearts*.

3. All glory and enlargement was given unto you, and that was fulfilled which is written; *My beloved ate and drank and was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked*. Hence come jealousy and envy, [and] strife and sedition, persecution and tumult, war and captivity. So men were stirred up, *the mean against the honourable*, the ill-reputed against the highly-reputed, the foolish against the wise, *the young against the elder*. For this cause *righteousness* and peace stand aloof, while each

man hath forsaken the fear of God, and become purblind in the faith of Him, neither walketh in the ordinances of His commandments nor liveth according to that which becometh Christ, but each goeth after the lusts of his evil heart, seeing that they have conceived an unrighteous and ungodly jealousy, through which also *death entered into the world.*

4. For so it is written, *And it came to pass after certain days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God, and Abel he also brought of the firstlings of the sheep and of their fatness. And God looked upon Abel and upon his gifts, but unto Cain and unto his sacrifices He gave no heed. And Cain sorrowed exceedingly, and his countenance fell. And God said unto Cain, Wherefore art thou very sorrowful? and wherefore did thy countenance fall? If thou hast offered aright and hast not divided aright, didst thou not sin? Hold thy peace. Unto thee shall he turn, and thou shalt rule over him. And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go over unto the plain. And it came to pass, while they were in the plain, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him.* Ye see, brethren, jealousy and envy wrought a brother's murder. By reason of jealousy our father Jacob ran away from the face of Esau his brother. Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted even unto death, and to come even unto bondage. Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, while it was said to him by his own countryman, *Who made thee a judge or a decider over us? Wouldest thou slay me, even as yesterday thou slewest the Egyptian?* By reason of jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp. Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive to hades, because they made sedition against Moses the servant of God. By reason of jealousy David was envied not only by aliens, but was persecuted also by Saul [king of Israel].

5. But, to pass from the examples of ancient days, let us come to those champions who lived very near to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and



most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance.

6. Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves. By reason of jealousy women being persecuted, after that they had suffered cruel and unholy insults †as Danaids and Dircaë†, safely reached the goal in the race of faith, and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body. Jealousy hath estranged wives from their husbands, and changed the saying of our father Adam, *This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh*. Jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities and uprooted great nations.

7. These things, dearly beloved, we write, not only as admonishing you, but also as putting ourselves in remembrance. For we are in the same lists, and the same contest awaiteth us. Wherefore let us forsake idle and vain thoughts; and let us conform to the glorious and venerable rule which hath been handed down to us; and let us see what is good and what is pleasant and what is acceptable in the sight of Him that made us. Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto His Father, because being shed for our salvation it won for the whole world the grace

of repentance. Let us review all the generations in turn, and learn how from generation to generation the Master hath given a place for repentance unto them that desire to turn to Him. Noah preached repentance, and they that obeyed were saved. Jonah preached destruction unto the men of Nineveh; but they, repenting of their sins, obtained pardon of God by their supplications and received salvation, albeit they were aliens from God.

8. The ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Spirit spake concerning repentance. Yea and the Master of the universe Himself spake concerning repentance with an oath; *For, as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, so much as his repentance;* and He added also a merciful judgment: *Repent ye, O house of Israel, of your iniquity; say unto the sons of My people, Though your sins reach from the earth even unto the heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet and blacker than sack-cloth, and ye turn unto Me with your whole heart and say Father, I will give ear unto you as unto an holy people.* And in another place He saith on this wise, *Wash, be ye clean. Put away your iniquities from your souls out of My sight. Cease from your iniquities; learn to do good; seek out judgment; defend him that is wronged: give judgment for the orphan, and execute righteousness for the widow; and come and let us reason together, saith He; and though your sins be as crimson, I will make them white as snow; and though they be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool. And if ye be willing and will hearken unto Me, ye shall eat the good things of the earth; but if ye be not willing, neither hearken unto Me, a sword shall devour you; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things.* Seeing then that He desireth all His beloved to be partakers of repentance, He confirmed it by an act of His almighty will.

9. Wherefore let us be obedient unto His excellent and glorious will; and presenting ourselves as suppliants of His mercy and goodness, let us fall down before Him and betake ourselves unto His compassions, forsaking the vain toil and the strife and the jealousy which leadeth unto death. Let us fix

our eyes on them that ministered perfectly unto His excellent glory. Let us set before us Enoch, who being found righteous in obedience was translated, and his death was not found. Noah, being found faithful, by his ministration preached regeneration unto the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures that entered into the ark in concord.

10. Abraham, who was called the 'friend,' was found faithful in that he rendered obedience unto the words of God. He through obedience went forth from his land and from his kindred and from his father's house, that leaving a scanty land and a feeble kindred and a mean house he might inherit the promises of God. For He saith unto him; *Go forth from thy land and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto the land which I shall show thee, and I will make thee into a great nation, and I will bless thee and will magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.* And again, when he was parted from Lot, God said unto him; *Look up with thine eyes, and behold from the place where thou now art, unto the north and the south and the sunrise and the sea; for all the land which thou seest, I will give it unto thee and to thy seed for ever; and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. If any man can count the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be counted.* And again He saith; *God led Abraham forth and said unto him, Look up unto the heaven and count the stars, and see whether thou canst count them. So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness.* For his faith and hospitality a son was given unto him in old age, and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice unto God on one of the mountains which He showed him.

11. For his hospitality and godliness Lot was saved from Sodom, when all the country round about was judged by fire and brimstone; the Master having thus foreshown that He forsaketh not them which set their hope on Him, but appointeth unto punishment and torment them which swerve aside. For



when his wife had gone forth with him, being otherwise-minded and not in accord, she was appointed for a sign hereunto, so that she became a pillar of salt unto this day, that it might be known unto all men that they which are double-minded and they which doubt concerning the power of God are set for judgment and for a token unto all the generations.

12. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved. For when the spies were sent forth unto Jericho by Joshua the son of Nun, the king of the land perceived that they were come to spy out his country, and sent forth men to seize them, that being seized they might be put to death. So the hospitable Rahab received them and hid them in the upper chamber under the flax-stalks. And when the messengers of the king came near and said, *The spies of our land entered in unto thee: bring them forth, for the king so ordereth:* then she answered, *The men truly, whom ye seek, entered in unto me, but they departed forthwith and are journeying on the way;* and she pointed out to them the opposite road. And she said unto the men, *Of a surety I perceive that the Lord your God delivereth this city unto you; for the fear and the dread of you is fallen upon the inhabitants thereof. When therefore it shall come to pass that ye take it, save me and the house of my father.* And they said unto her, *It shall be even so as thou hast spoken unto us. Whensoever therefore thou perceivest that we are coming, thou shalt gather all thy folk beneath thy roof, and they shall be saved; or as many as shall be found without the house shall perish.* And moreover they gave her a sign, that she should hang out from her house a scarlet thread, thereby showing beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope on God. Ye see, dearly beloved, not only faith, but prophecy, is found in the woman.

13. Let us therefore be lowly-minded, brethren, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and anger, and let us do that which is written. For the Holy Ghost saith, *Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, neither the rich in his riches; but he that boasteth let*

him boast in the Lord, that he may seek Him out, and do judgment and righteousness; most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering: for thus He spake; *Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be showed unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.* With this commandment and these precepts let us confirm ourselves, that we may walk in obedience to His hallowed words, with lowliness of mind. For the holy word saith, *Upon whom shall I look, save upon him that is gentle and quiet and feareth Mine oracles?*

14. Therefore it is right and proper, brethren, that we should be obedient unto God, rather than follow those who in arrogance and unruliness have set themselves up as leaders in abominable jealousy. For we shall bring upon us no common harm, but rather great peril, if we surrender ourselves recklessly to the purposes of men who launch out into strife and seditions, so as to estrange us from that which is right. Let us be good one towards another according to the compassion and sweetness of Him that made us. For it is written: *The good shall be dwellers in the land, and the innocent shall be left on it; but they that transgress shall be destroyed utterly from it.* And again He saith; *I saw the ungodly lifted up on high and exalted as the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by, and behold he was not; and I sought out his place, and I found it not. Keep innocence and behold uprightness; for there is a remnant for the peaceful man.*

15. Therefore let us cleave unto them that practise peace with godliness, and not unto them that desire peace with dissimulation. For He saith in a certain place; *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; and again, They blessed with their mouth, but they cursed with their heart.* And again He saith, *They loved Him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied unto Him; and their heart was not*

*pright with Him, neither were they stedfast in His covenant. For his cause Let the deceitful lips be made dumb, which speak iniquity against the righteous. And again; May the Lord utterly destroy all the deceitful lips, the tongue that speaketh proud things, even them that say, Let us magnify our tongue; our lips are our own; who is lord over us? For the misery of the needy and for the roaring of the poor I will now arise, saith the Lord. I will set him in safety; I will deal boldly by him.*

16. For Christ is with them that are lowly of mind, not with them that exalt themselves over the flock. The sceptre of the majesty] of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit saith concerning Him. For He saith; *Lord, who believed our report? and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We announced Him in His presence. As a child was He, as a root in thirsty ground. There is no form in Him, neither glory. And we beheld Him, and He had no form nor comeliness, but His form was mean, lacking more than the form of men. He was a man of stripes and of toil, and knowing how to bear infirmity: for His face is turned away. He was dishonoured and held of no account. He beareth our sins and suffereth pain for our sakes: and we accounted Him to be in toil and in stripes and in affliction. And He was wounded for our sins and hath been afflicted for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace is upon Him. With His bruises we were healed. We all went astray like sheep, each man went astray in his own path: and the Lord delivered Him over for our sins. And He openeth not His mouth, because He is afflicted. As a sheep He was led to slaughter; and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so openeth He not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away. His generation who shall declare? For His life is taken away from the earth. For the iniquities of my people He is come to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death; for He wrought no iniquity, neither was guile found in His mouth. And the Lord desireth to cleanse Him from*



*His stripes. If ye offer for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed. And the Lord desireth to take away from the toil of His soul, to show Him light and to mould Him with understanding, to justify a Just One that is a good servant unto many. And He shall bear their sins. Therefore He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong; because His soul was delivered unto death, and He was reckoned among the transgressors; and He bare the sins of many, and for their sins was He delivered up. And again He Himself saith; But I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men and an outcast of the people. All they that beheld me mocked at me; they spake with their lips; they wagged their heads, saying, He hoped on the Lord; let Him deliver him, or let Him save him, for He desireth him. Ye see, dearly beloved, what is the pattern that hath been given unto us; for, if the Lord was thus lowly of mind, what should we do, who through Him have been brought under the yoke of His grace?*

17. Let us be imitators also of them which went about in goatskins and sheepskins, preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elijah and Elisha and likewise Ezekiel, the prophets, and besides them those men also that obtained a good report. Abraham obtained an exceeding good report and was called the friend of God; and looking stedfastly on the glory of God, he saith in lowliness of mind, *But I am dust and ashes.* Moreover concerning Job also it is thus written; *And Job was righteous and unblameable, one that was true and honoured God and abstained from all evil.* Yet he himself accuseth himself saying, *No man is clean from filth; no, not though his life be but for a day.* Moses was called *faithful in all His house*, and through his ministration God judged Egypt with the plagues and the torments which befel them. Howbeit he also, though greatly glorified, yet spake no proud words, but said, when an oracle was given to him at the bush, *Who am I, that Thou sendest me? Nay, I am feeble of speech and slow of tongue.* And again he saith, *But I am smoke from the pot.*

18. But what must we say of David that obtained a good

report? of whom God said, *I have found a man after My heart, David the son of Jesse: with eternal mercy have I anointed him.* Yet he too saith unto God; *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy compassions, blot out mine iniquity. Wash me yet more from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against Thee only did I sin, and I wrought evil in Thy sight; that Thou mayest be justified in Thy words, and mayest conquer in Thy pleading. For behold, in iniquities was I conceived, and in sins did my mother bear me. For behold Thou hast loved truth: the dark and hidden things of Thy wisdom hast Thou showed unto me. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be made clean. Thou shalt wash me, and I shall become whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear of joy and gladness. The bones which have been humbled shall rejoice. Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Make a clean heart within me, O God, and renew a right spirit in mine inmost parts. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and strengthen me with a princely spirit. I will teach sinners Thy ways, and godless men shall be converted unto Thee. Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation. My tongue shall rejoice in Thy righteousness. Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall declare Thy praise. For, if Thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it: in whole burnt-offerings Thou wilt have no pleasure. A sacrifice unto God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and humbled heart God will not despise.*

19. The humility therefore and the submissiveness of so many and so great men, who have thus obtained a good report, hath through obedience made better not only us but also the generations which were before us, even them that received His oracles in fear and truth. Seeing then that we have been partakers of many great and glorious doings, let us hasten to return unto the goal of peace which hath been handed down to

us from the beginning, and let us look stedfastly unto the Father and Maker of the whole world, and cleave unto His splendid and excellent gifts of peace and benefits. Let us behold Him in our mind, and let us look with the eyes of our soul unto His long-suffering will. Let us note how free from anger He is towards all His creatures.

20. The heavens are moved by His direction and obey Him in peace. Day and night accomplish the course assigned to them by Him, without hindrance one to another. The sun and the moon and the dancing stars according to His appointment circle in harmony within the bounds assigned to them, without any swerving aside. The earth, bearing fruit in fulfilment of His will at her proper seasons, putteth forth the food that supplieth abundantly both men and beasts and all living things which are thereupon, making no dissension, neither altering anything which He hath decreed. Moreover, the inscrutable depths of the abysses and the unutterable statutes of the nether regions are constrained by the same ordinances. The basin of the boundless sea, gathered together by His workmanship *into its reservoirs*, passeth not the barriers wherewith it is surrounded; but even as He ordered it, so it doeth. For He said, *So far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee*. The ocean which is impassable for men, and the worlds beyond it, are directed by the same ordinances of the Master. The seasons of spring and summer and autumn and winter give way in succession one to another in peace. The winds in their several quarters at their proper season fulfil their ministry without disturbance; and the everflowing fountains, created for enjoyment and health, without fail give their breasts which sustain the life of men. Yea, the smallest of living things come together in concord and peace. All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in His compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.



21. Look ye, brethren, lest His benefits, which are many, turn unto judgment to all of us, if we walk not worthily of Him, and do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight with concord. For He saith in a certain place, *The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp searching the closets of the belly*. Let us see how near He is, and how that nothing escapeth Him of our thoughts or our devices which we make. It is right therefore that we should not be deserters from His will. Let us rather give offence to foolish and senseless men who exalt themselves and boast in the arrogance of their words, than to God. Let us fear the Lord Jesus [Christ], whose blood was given for us. Let us reverence our rulers; let us honour our elders; let us instruct our young men in the lesson of the fear of God. Let us guide our women toward that which is good: let them show forth their lovely disposition of purity; let them prove their sincere affection of gentleness; let them make manifest the moderation of their tongue through their silence; let them show their love, not in factious preferences, but without partiality towards all men that fear God, in holiness. Let our children be partakers of the instruction which is in Christ: let them learn how lowliness of mind prevaieth with God, what power chaste love hath with God, how the fear of Him is good and great and saveth all them that walk therein in a pure mind with holiness. For He is the searcher out of the intents and desires; whose breath is in us, and when He listeth, He shall take it away.

22. Now all these things the faith which is in Christ confirmeth: for He Himself through the Holy Spirit thus inviteth us: *Come, my children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life and loveth to see good days? Make thy tongue to cease from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Turn aside from evil and do good. Seek peace and ensue it. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and His ears are turned to their prayer. But the face of the Lord is upon them that do evil, to destroy their memorial from the earth. The righteous cried out, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him from all his troubles.*

*Many are the troubles of the righteous, and the Lord shall deliver him from them all. Then again; Many are the stripes of the sinner, but them that set their hope on the Lord mercy shall compass about.*

23. The Father, who is pitiful in all things, and ready to do good, hath compassion on them that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestoweth His favours on them that draw nigh unto Him with a single mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, neither let our soul indulge in idle humours respecting His exceeding and glorious gifts. Let this scripture be far from us where He saith; *Wretched are the double-minded, which doubt in their soul, and say, These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us. Ye fools, compare yourselves unto a tree; take a vine. First it sheddeth its leaves, then a shoot cometh, then a leaf, then a flower, and after these a sour berry, then a full ripe grape. Ye see that in a little time the fruit of the tree attaineth unto mellowness. Of a truth quickly and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, the scripture also bearing witness to it, saying; He shall come quickly and shall not tarry; and the Lord shall come suddenly into His temple, even the Holy One, whom ye expect.*

24. Let us understand, dearly beloved, how the Master continually showeth unto us the resurrection that shall be hereafter; whereof He made the Lord Jesus Christ the firstfruit, when He raised Him from the dead. Let us behold, dearly beloved, the resurrection which happeneth at its proper season. Day and night show unto us the resurrection. The night falleth asleep, and day ariseth; the day departeth, and night cometh on. Let us mark the fruits, how and in what manner the sowing taketh place. *The sower goeth forth* and casteth into the earth each of the seeds; and these falling into the earth dry and bare decay: then out of their decay the mightiness of the Master's providence raiseth them up, and from being one they increase manifold and bear fruit.

25. Let us consider the marvellous sign which is seen in

the regions of the east, that is, in the parts about Arabia. There is a bird, which is named the phoenix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years; and when it hath now reached the time of its dissolution that it should die, it maketh for itself a coffin of frankincense and myrrh and the other spices, into the which in the fulness of time it entereth, and so it dieth. But, as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered, which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature and putteth forth wings. Then, when it is grown lusty, it taketh up that coffin where are the bones of its parent, and carrying them journeyeth from the country of Arabia even unto Egypt, to the place called the City of the Sun; and in the day time in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the Sun, it layeth them thereupon; and this done, it setteth forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it hath come when the five hundredth year is completed.

26. Do we then think it to be a great and marvellous thing, if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection of them that have served Him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith, seeing that He showeth to us even by a bird the magnificence of His promise? For He saith in a certain place; *And Thou shalt raise me up, and I will praise Thee; and I went to rest and slept, I was awaked, for Thou art with me.* And again Job saith; *And Thou shalt raise this my flesh which hath endured all these things.*

27. With this hope therefore let our souls be bound unto Him that is faithful in His promises and that is righteous in His judgments. He that commanded not to lie, much more shall He Himself not lie: for nothing is impossible with God save to lie. Therefore let our faith in Him be kindled within us, and let us understand that all things are nigh unto Him. By a word of His majesty He compacted the universe; and by a word He can destroy it. *Who shall say unto Him, What hast Thou done? or who shall resist the might of His strength?* When He listeth, and as He listeth, He will do all things; and



nothing shall pass away of those things that He hath decreed. All things are in His sight, and nothing escapeth His counsel, seeing that *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaimeth His handiwork. Day uttereth word unto day, and night proclaimeth knowledge unto night; and there are neither words nor speeches, whose voices are not heard.*

28. Since therefore all things are seen and heard, let us fear Him, and forsake the abominable lusts of evil works, that we may be shielded by His mercy from the coming judgments. For where can any of us escape from His strong hand? And what world will receive any of them that desert from His service? For the holy writing saith in a certain place; *Where shall I go, and where shall I be hidden from Thy face? If I ascend into the heaven, Thou art there; if I depart into the farthest parts of the earth, there is Thy right hand; if I make my bed in the depths, there is Thy Spirit.* Whither then shall one depart, or where shall one flee, from Him that embraceth the universe?

29. Let us therefore approach Him in holiness of soul, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, with love towards our gentle and compassionate Father, who made us an elect portion unto Himself. For thus it is written: *When the Most High divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the measurement of His inheritance.* And in another place He saith; *Behold, the Lord taketh for Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the firstfruits of his threshing-floor; and the holy of holies shall come forth from that nation.*

30. Seeing then that we are the special portion of a Holy God, let us do all things that pertain unto holiness, forsaking evil-speakings, abominable and impure embraces, drunkennesses and tumults and hateful lusts, abominable adultery, hateful pride; *For God, He saith, resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.* Let us therefore cleave unto those to whom

grace is given from God. Let us clothe ourselves in concord, being lowly-minded and temperate, holding ourselves aloof from all backbiting and evil speaking, being justified by works and not by words. For He saith; *He that saith much shall hear also again. Doth the ready talker think to be righteous? Blessed is the offspring of woman that liveth but a short time. Be not thou abundant in words.* Let our praise be with God, and not of ourselves: for God hateth them that praise themselves. Let the testimony to our well-doing be given by others, as it was given unto our fathers who were righteous. Boldness and arrogance and daring are for them that are accursed of God; but forbearance and humility and gentleness are with them that are blessed of God.

31. Let us therefore cleave unto His blessing, and let us see what are the ways of blessing. Let us study the records of the things that have happened from the beginning. Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac with confidence, knowing the future, was led a willing sacrifice. Jacob with humility departed from his land because of his brother, and went unto Laban and served; and the twelve tribes of Israel were given unto him.

32. If any man will consider them one by one in sincerity, he shall understand the magnificence of the gifts that are given by Him. For of Jacob are all the priests and levites who minister unto the altar of God; of him is the Lord Jesus as concerning the flesh; of him are kings and rulers and governors in the line of Judah; yea, and the rest of his tribes are held in so small honour, seeing that God promised saying, *Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.* They all therefore were glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the righteous doing which they wrought, but through His will. And so we, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God

justified all men that have been from the beginning; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

33. What then must we do, brethren? Must we idly abstain from doing good, and forsake love? May the Master never allow this to befall us at least; but let us hasten with instancy and zeal to accomplish every good work. For the Creator and Master of the universe Himself rejoiceth in His works. For by His exceeding great might He established the heavens, and in His incomprehensible wisdom He set them in order. And the earth He separated from the water that surroundeth it, and He set it firm on the sure foundation of His own will; and the living creatures which walk upon it He commanded to exist by His ordinance. Having before created the sea and the living creatures therein, He enclosed it by His own power. Above all, as the most excellent and exceeding great work of His intelligence, with His sacred and faultless hands He formed man in the impress of His own image. For thus saith God; *Let us make man after our image and after our likeness. And God made man; male and female made He them.* So having finished all these things, He praised them and blessed them and said, *Increase and multiply.* We have seen that all the righteous were adorned in good works. Yea, and so the Lord Himself having adorned Himself with works rejoiced. Seeing then that we have this pattern, let us conform ourselves with all diligence to His will; let us with all our strength work the work of righteousness.

34. The good workman receiveth the bread of his work with boldness, but the slothful and careless dareth not look his employer in the face. It is therefore needful that we should be zealous unto well-doing, for of Him are all things: since He forewarneth us saying, *Behold, the Lord, and His reward is before His face, to recompense each man according to his work.* He exhorteth us therefore to believe on Him with our whole heart, and to be not idle nor careless unto every good work. Let our boast and our confidence be in Him: let us submit ourselves to His will; let us mark the whole host of His angels, how they



stand by and minister unto His will. For the scripture saith, *Ten thousand times ten thousands stood by Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him : and they cried aloud, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth ; all creation is full of His glory.* Yea, and let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry unto Him as from one mouth earnestly that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. For He saith, *Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man, what great things He hath prepared for them that patiently await Him.*

35. How blessed and marvellous are the gifts of God, dearly beloved ! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in oldness, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification ! And all these things fall under our apprehension. What then, think ye, are the things preparing for them that patiently await Him ? The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-holy One Himself knoweth their number and their beauty. Let us therefore contend, that we may be found in the number of those that patiently await Him, to the end that we may be partakers of His promised gifts. But how shall this be, dearly beloved ? If our mind be fixed through faith towards God ; if we seek out those things which are well pleasing and acceptable unto Him ; if we accomplish such things as beseem His faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting off from ourselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strifes, malignities and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vainglory and inhospitality. For they that do these things are hateful to God ; and not only they that do them, but they also that consent unto them. For the scripture saith ; *But unto the sinner said God, Wherefore dost thou declare Mine ordinances, and takest My covenant upon thy mouth ? Yet thou didst hate instruction, and didst cast away My words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief, thou didst keep company with him, and with the adulterers thou didst eat thy portion. Thy mouth multiplied wickedness, and thy tongue gave deceit. Thou satest and spakest against thy brother, and against the son of thy mother thou didst lay a stumbling-block.*

*These things thou hast done, and I kept silence. Thou thoughtest, unrighteous man, that I should be like unto thee. I will convict thee, and will set thee face to face with thyself. Now understand ye these things, ye that forget God, lest at any time He seize you as a lion, and there be none to deliver. The sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me, and there is the way wherein I will show him the salvation of God.*

36. This is the way, dearly beloved, wherein we found our salvation, even Jesus Christ the High-priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through Him let us look stedfastly unto the heights of the heavens; through Him we behold as in a mirror His faultless and most excellent visage; through Him the eyes of our hearts were opened; through Him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up unto [His marvellous] light; through Him the Master willed that we should taste of the immortal knowledge; *Who being the brightness of His majesty is so much greater than angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name.* For so it is written; *Who maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flame of fire*; but of His Son the Master said thus; *Thou art My Son, I this day have begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession.* And again He saith unto Him; *Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thine enemies a footstool for Thy feet.* Who then are these enemies? They that are wicked and resist His will.

37. Let us therefore enlist ourselves, brethren, with all earnestness in His faultless ordinances. Let us mark the soldiers that are enlisted under our rulers, how exactly, how readily, how submissively, they execute the orders given them. All are not prefects, nor rulers of thousands, nor rulers of hundreds, nor rulers of fifties, and so forth; but each man in his own rank executeth the orders given by the king and the governors. *The great without the small cannot exist, neither the small without the great. There is a certain mixture in all things, and therein is utility.* Let us take our body as an example. The head

without the feet is nothing ; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing : even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body : but all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved.

38. So in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject unto his neighbour, according as also he was appointed with his special grace. Let not the strong neglect the weak ; and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich minister aid to the poor ; and let the poor give thanks to God, because He hath given him one through whom his wants may be supplied. Let the wise display his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. He that is lowly in mind, let him not bear testimony to himself, but leave testimony to be borne to him by his neighbour. He that is pure in the flesh, let him be so, and not boast, knowing that it is Another who bestoweth his continence upon him. Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we were made ; who and what manner of beings we were, when we came into the world ; from what a sepulchre and what darkness He that moulded and created us brought us into His world, having prepared His benefits aforehand ere ever we were born. Seeing therefore that we have all these things from Him, we ought in all things to give thanks to Him, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

39. Senseless and stupid and foolish and ignorant men deride and mock at us, desiring that they themselves should be exalted in their imaginations. For what power hath a mortal ? or what strength hath a child of earth ? For it is written ; *There was no form before mine eyes ; only I heard a breath and a voice.* What then ? Shall a mortal be clean in the sight of the Lord ; or shall a man be unblameable for his works ? seeing that He is distrustful against His servants, and noteth some perversity against His angels. Nay, the heaven is not clean in His sight. Away then, ye that dwell in houses of clay, whereof, even of the same clay, we ourselves are made. He smote them like a moth, and from morn to even they are no more. Because



*they could not succour themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them and they died, because they had no wisdom. But call thou, if perchance one shall obey thee, or if thou shalt see one of the holy angels. For wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth him that is gone astray. And I have seen fools throwing out roots, but forthwith their habitation was eaten up. Far be their sons from safety. May they be mocked at the gates of inferiors, and there shall be none to deliver them. For the things which are prepared for them, the righteous shall eat; but they themselves shall not be delivered from evils.*

40. Forasmuch then as these things are manifest beforehand, and we have searched into the depths of the Divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself fixed by His supreme will: that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure might be acceptable to His will. They therefore that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances.

41. Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience, and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in every place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the freewill offerings, or the sin offerings and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the sanctuary in the court of the altar; and this too through the high-priest and the aforesaid ministers, after that the victim to be offered hath

been inspected for blemishes. They therefore who do any thing contrary to the seemly ordinance of His will receive death as the penalty. Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed unto us, so much the more are we exposed to danger.

42. The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion ; for indeed it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times ; for thus saith the scripture in a certain place, *I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.*

43. And what marvel, if they which were entrusted in Christ with such a work by God appointed the aforesaid persons ? seeing that even the blessed Moses who was *a faithful servant in all His house* recorded for a sign in the sacred books all things that were enjoined upon him. And him also the rest of the prophets followed, bearing witness with him unto the laws that were ordained by him. For he, when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood, and there was dissension among the tribes which of them was adorned with the glorious name, commanded the twelve chiefs of the tribes to bring to him rods inscribed with the name of each tribe. And he took them and tied them and sealed them with the signet rings of the chiefs of the tribes, and put them away in the tabernacle of the testimony on the table of God. And having shut the tabernacle he sealed the keys, and likewise also the doors. And he said unto them, *Brethren, the tribe whose rod shall bud, this hath God chosen to be*

*priests and ministers unto Him.* Now when morning came, he called together all Israel, even the six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the chiefs of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of the testimony, and drew forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only with buds, but also bearing fruit. What think ye, dearly beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would come to pass? Assuredly he knew it. But that disorder might not arise in Israel, he did thus, to the end that the Name of the true and only God might be glorified: to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

44. And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe: for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that ye have displaced certain persons, though they were living honourably, from the ministration which they had †respected† blamelessly.

45. Be ye contentious, brethren, and jealous about the things that pertain unto salvation. Ye have searched the scriptures, which are true, which were given through the Holy Ghost; and ye know that nothing unrighteous or counterfeit is written in them. Ye will not find that righteous persons have been thrust out by holy men. Righteous men were persecuted,



but it was by the lawless ; they were imprisoned, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors: they were slain by those who had conceived a detestable and unrighteous jealousy. Suffering these things, they endured nobly. For what must we say, brethren? Was Daniel cast into the lions' den by them that fear God? Or were Ananias and Azarias and Misael shut up in the furnace of fire by them that professed the excellent and glorious worship of the Most High? Far be this from our thoughts. Who then were they that did these things? Abominable men and full of all wickedness were stirred up to such a pitch of wrath, as to bring cruel suffering upon them that served God in a holy and blameless purpose, not knowing that the Most High is the champion and protector of them that in a pure conscience serve His excellent Name: unto whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they that endured patiently in confidence inherited glory and honour; they were exalted, and had their names recorded by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

46. To such examples as these therefore, brethren, we also ought to cleave. For it is written; *Cleave unto the saints, for they that cleave unto them shall be sanctified.* And again He saith in another place; *With the guiltless man thou shalt be guiltless, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the crooked thou shalt deal crookedly.* Let us therefore cleave to the guiltless and righteous: and these are the elect of God. Wherefore are there strifes and wraths and factions and divisions and war among you? Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ, and stir up factions against our own body, and reach such a pitch of folly, as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of Jesus our Lord: for He said, *Woe unto that man. It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of Mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea, than that he should*

*pervert one of Mine elect.* Your division hath perverted many ; it hath brought many to despair, many to doubting, and all of us to sorrow. And your sedition still continueth.

47. Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel ? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties. Yet that making of parties brought less sin upon you ; for ye were partisans of Apostles that were highly reputed, and of a man approved in their sight. But now mark ye, who they are that have perverted you and diminished the glory of your renowned love for the brotherhood. It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful, and unworthy of your conduct in Christ, that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters. And this report hath reached not only us, but them also which differ from us, so that ye even heap blasphemies on the Name of the Lord by reason of your folly, and moreover create peril for yourselves.

48. Let us therefore root this out quickly, and let us fall down before the Master, and entreat Him with tears, that He may show Himself propitious, and be reconciled unto us, and may restore us to the seemly and pure conduct which belongeth to our love of the brethren. For this is a gate of righteousness opened unto life, as it is written ; *Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter in thereby and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord ; the righteous shall enter in thereby.* Seeing then that many gates are opened, this is that gate which is in righteousness, even that which is in Christ, whereby all are blessed, that have entered in and direct their path in holiness and righteousness, performing all things without confusion. Let a man be faithful, let him be able to expound a deep saying, let him be wise in the discernment of words, let him be strenuous in deeds, let him be pure ; for so much the more ought he to be lowly in mind, in proportion as he

seemeth to be the greater ; and he ought to seek the common advantage of all, and not his own.

49. Let him that hath love in Christ fulfil the commandments of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God ? Who is sufficient to tell the majesty of its beauty ? The height, whereunto love exalteth, is unspeakable. Love joineth us unto God ; *love covereth a multitude of sins* ; love endureth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing coarse, nothing arrogant in love. Love hath no divisions, love maketh no seditions, love doeth all things in concord. In love were all the elect of God made perfect ; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God : in love the Master took us unto Himself ; for the love which He had toward us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives.

50. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great and marvellous a thing is love, and there is no declaring its perfection. Who is sufficient to be found therein, save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it ? Let us therefore entreat and ask of His mercy, that we may be found blameless in love, standing apart from the factiousness of men. All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away : but they that by God's grace were perfected in love dwell in the abode of the pious ; and they shall be made manifest in the visitation of the kingdom of God. For it is written : *Enter into the closet for a very little while, until Mine anger and My wrath shall pass away, and I will remember a good day, and will raise you from your tombs.* Blessed were we, dearly beloved, if we should be doing the commandments of God in concord of love, to the end that our sins may through love be forgiven us. For it is written ; *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord shall impute no sin, neither is guile in his mouth.* This declaration of blessedness was pronounced upon them that have been elected by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

51. For all our transgressions therefore which we have com-



mitted through any of the wiles of the adversary, let us entreat that we may obtain forgiveness. Yea and they also, who set themselves up as leaders of faction and division, ought to look to the common ground of hope. For such as walk in fear and love desire that they themselves should fall into suffering rather than their neighbours; and they pronounce condemnation against themselves rather than against the harmony which hath been handed down to us nobly and righteously. For it is good for a man to make confession of his trespasses rather than to harden his heart, as the heart of those was hardened who made sedition against Moses the servant of God; whose condemnation was clearly manifest, for they went down to hades alive, and *death shall be their shepherd*. Pharaoh and his host and all the rulers of Egypt, *their chariots and their horsemen*, were overwhelmed in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished for none other reason but because their foolish hearts were hardened, after that the signs and the wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by the hand of Moses the servant of God.

52. The Master, brethren, hath need of nothing at all. He desireth not anything of any man, save to confess unto Him. For the elect David saith; *I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please Him more than a young calf that groweth horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and rejoice.* And again He saith; *Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High: and call upon Me in the day of thine affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me. For a sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit.*

53. For ye know, and know well, the sacred scriptures, dearly beloved, and ye have searched into the oracles of God. We write these things therefore to put you in remembrance. When Moses went up into the mountain and had spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said unto him; *Moses, Moses, go down quickly hence, for My people whom thou leddest forth from the land of Egypt have wrought iniquity: they have transgressed quickly out of the way which thou didst command unto them: they have made for themselves molten*

*images.* And the Lord said unto him; *I have spoken unto thee once and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is stiff-necked. Let Me destroy them utterly, and I will blot out their name from under heaven, and I will make of thee a nation great and wonderful and numerous more than this.* And Moses said; *Nay, not so, Lord. Forgive this people their sin, or blot me also out of the book of the living.* O mighty love! O unsurpassable perfection! The servant is bold with his Master; he asketh forgiveness for the multitude, or he demandeth that himself also be blotted out with them.

54. Who therefore is noble among you? Who is compassionate? Who is fulfilled with love? Let him say; If by reason of me there be faction and strife and divisions, I retire, I depart, whither ye will, and I do that which is ordered by the people: only let the flock of Christ be at peace with its duly appointed presbyters. He that shall have done this, shall win for himself great renown in Christ, and every place will receive him: *for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.* Thus have they done and will do, that live as citizens of that kingdom of God which bringeth no regrets.

55. But, to bring forward examples of Gentiles also; many kings and rulers, when some season of pestilence pressed upon them, being taught by oracles have delivered themselves over to death, that they might rescue their fellow citizens through their own blood. Many have retired from their own cities, that they might have no more seditions. We know that many among ourselves have delivered themselves to bondage, that they might ransom others. Many have sold themselves to slavery, and receiving the price paid for themselves have fed others. Many women being strengthened through the grace of God have performed many manly deeds. The blessed Judith, when the city was beleaguered, asked of the elders that she might be suffered to go forth into the camp of the aliens. So she exposed herself to peril and went forth for love of her country and of her people which were beleaguered; and the Lord delivered Holophernes into the hand of a woman. To no less

peril did Esther also, who was perfect in faith, expose herself, that she might deliver the twelve tribes of Israel, when they were on the point to perish. For through her fasting and her humiliation she entreated the all-seeing Master, the God of the ages; and He, seeing the humility of her soul, delivered the people for whose sake she encountered the peril.

56. Therefore let us also make intercession for them that are in any transgression, that forbearance and humility may be given them, to the end that they may yield not unto us, but unto the will of God. For so shall the compassionate remembrance of them with God and the saints be fruitful unto them, and perfect. Let us accept chastisement, whereat no man ought to be vexed, dearly beloved. The admonition which we give one to another is good and exceeding useful; for it joineth us unto the will of God. For thus saith the holy word; *The Lord hath indeed chastened me, and hath not delivered me over unto death. For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth. For the righteous, it is said, shall chasten me in mercy, and shall reprove me; but let not the †mercy† of sinners anoint my head.* And again He saith; *Blessed is the man whom the Lord hath reprov'd, and refuse not thou the admonition of the Almighty. For He causeth pain, and He restoreth again: He hath smitten, and His hands have healed. Six times shall He rescue thee from afflictions: and at the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall deliver thee from death, and in war He shall release thee from the arm of the sword. And from the scourge of the tongue shall He hide thee, and thou shalt not be afraid when evils approach. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and wicked, and of the wild beasts thou shalt not be afraid. For wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be at peace: and the abode of thy tabernacle shall not go wrong, and thou shalt know that thy seed is many, and thy children as the plenteous herbage of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave as ripe corn reaped in due season, or as the heap of the threshing floor gathered together at the right time.* Ye see, dearly beloved, how great



protection there is for them that are chastened by the Master : for being a kind father He chasteneth us, to the end that we may obtain mercy through His holy chastisement.

57. Ye therefore that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters, and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart. Learn to submit yourselves, laying aside the arrogant and proud stubbornness of your tongue. For it is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ and to have your name on God's roll, than to be had in exceeding honour and yet be cast out from the hope of Him. For thus saith the All-virtuous Wisdom ; *Behold I will pour out for you a saying of My breath, and I will teach you My word. Because I called and ye obeyed not, and I held out words and ye heeded not, but made My counsels of none effect, and were disobedient unto My reproofs ; therefore I also will laugh at your destruction, and will rejoice over you when ruin cometh upon you, and when confusion overtaketh you suddenly, and your overthrow is at hand like a whirlwind, or when anguish and beleaguerment come upon you. For it shall be, when ye call upon Me, yet will I not hear you. Evil men shall seek Me, and shall not find Me : for they hated wisdom, and chose not the fear of the Lord, neither would they give heed unto My counsels, but mocked at My reproofs. Therefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and shall be filled with their own ungodliness. For because they wronged babes, they shall be slain, and inquisition shall destroy the ungodly. But he that heareth Me shall dwell safely trusting in hope, and shall be quiet from fear of all evil.*

58. Let us therefore be obedient unto His most holy and glorious Name, thereby escaping the threatenings which were spoken of old by the mouth of Wisdom against them which disobey, that we may dwell safely, trusting in the most holy Name of His majesty. Receive our counsel, and ye shall have no occasion of regret. For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect, so surely shall he, who with

lowliness of mind and instant in gentleness hath without regretfulness performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto Him for ever and ever. Amen.

59. But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger; but we shall be guiltless of this sin. And we will ask, with instancy of prayer and supplication, that the Creator of the universe may guard intact unto the end the number that hath been numbered of His elect throughout the whole world, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom He called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of His Name.

[Grant unto us, Lord,] that we may set our hope on Thy Name which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our heart, that we may know Thee, who alone *abidest Highest in the high, Holy in the holy*; who *layest low the insolence of the proud*; who *scatterest the imaginings of nations*; who *settest the lowly on high, and bringest the lofty low*; who *makest rich and makest poor*; who *killest and makest alive*; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh; who *lookest into the abysses*, who scannest the works of man; the Succour of them that are in peril, the *Saviour of them that are in despair*; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit; who multiplieth the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honour us. We beseech Thee, Lord and Master, to be *our help and succour*. Save those among us who are in tribulation; have mercy on the lowly; lift up the fallen; show Thyself unto the needy; heal the ungodly; convert the wanderers of Thy people; feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the weak; comfort the faint-hearted. *Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone*, and Jesus

Christ is Thy Son, and *we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.*

60. Thou through Thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence, Thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which Thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on Thee, *pitiful and compassionate*, forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and *guide our steps to walk in holiness* and righteousness and singleness of heart, and *to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight* and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, *make Thy face to shine upon us* in peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by Thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by Thine uplifted arm. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers, *when they called on Thee in faith and truth* with holiness, [that we may be saved,] while we render obedience to Thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

61. Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through Thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we knowing the glory and honour which Thou hast given them may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting Thy will. Grant unto them therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which Thou hast given them without failure. For Thou, O heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and power over all things that are upon the earth. Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight,



that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy favour. O Thou, who alone art able to do these things, and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the High-priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen.

62. As touching those things which befit our religion and are most useful for a virtuous life to such as would guide [their steps] in holiness and righteousness, we have written fully unto you, brethren. For concerning faith and repentance and genuine love and temperance and sobriety and patience we have handled every argument, putting you in remembrance, that ye ought to please Almighty God in righteousness and truth and long-suffering with holiness, laying aside malice and pursuing concord in love and peace, being instant in gentleness; even as our fathers, of whom we spake before, pleased Him, being lowly-minded towards their Father and God and Creator and towards all men. And we have put you in mind of these things the more gladly, since we knew well that we were writing to men who are faithful and highly accounted and have diligently searched into the oracles of the teaching of God.

63. Therefore it is right for us to give heed to so great and so many examples, and to submit the neck, and occupying the place of obedience to take our side with them that are the leaders of our souls, that ceasing from this foolish dissension we may attain unto the goal which lieth before us in truthfulness, keeping aloof from every fault. For ye will give us great joy and gladness, if ye render obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, and root out the unrighteous anger of your jealousy, according to the entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter. And we have also sent faithful and prudent men that have walked among us from youth unto old age unblameably, who shall also be witnesses between you and us. And this we have done that ye might

know that we have had, and still have, every solicitude that ye should be speedily at peace.

64. Finally may the All-seeing God and Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that is called after His excellent and holy Name faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, chastity and soberness, that they may be well-pleasing unto His Name through our High-priest and Guardian Jesus Christ, through whom unto Him be glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

65. Now send ye back speedily unto us our messengers Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus also, in peace and with joy, to the end that they may the more quickly report the peace and concord which is prayed for and earnestly desired by us, that we also may the more speedily rejoice over your good order.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God and through Him, through whom is glory and honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion, unto Him, from the ages past and for ever and ever. Amen.

## AN ANCIENT HOMILY.

BRETHREN, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ, as of God, as of the Judge of quick and dead. And we ought not to think mean things of our Salvation: for when we think mean things of Him, we expect also to receive mean things. And they that listen as concerning mean things do wrong; and we ourselves do wrong, not knowing whence and by whom and unto what place we were called, and how many things Jesus Christ endured to suffer for our sakes. What recompense then shall we give unto Him? or what fruit worthy of His own gift to us? And how many mercies do we owe to Him! For He bestowed the light upon us; He spake to us, as a father to his sons; He saved us, when we were perishing. What praise then shall we give to Him? or what payment of recompense for those things which we received? we who were maimed in our understanding, and worshipped stocks and stones, gold and silver and bronze, the works of men; and our whole life was nothing else but death. While then we were thus wrapped in darkness and oppressed with this thick mist in our vision, we recovered our sight, putting off by His will the cloud wherein we were wrapped. For He had mercy on us, and in His compassion saved us, having beheld in us much error and perdition, even when we



had no hope of salvation, save that which came from Him. For He called us, when we were not, and from not being He willed us to be.

2. *Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not. Break out and cry, thou that travailest not; for more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath the husband.* In that He said, *Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not*, He spake of us: for our Church was barren, before that children were given unto her. And in that He said, *Cry aloud, thou that travailest not*, He meaneth this; Let us not, like women in travail, grow weary of offering up our prayers with simplicity to God. Again, in that He said, *For the children of the desolate are more than of her that hath the husband*, He so spake, because our people seemed desolate and forsaken of God, whereas now, having believed, we have become more than those who seemed to have God. Again another scripture saith, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners*. He meaneth this; that it is right to save them that are perishing. For this indeed is a great and marvellous work, to establish, not those things which stand, but those which are falling. So also Christ willed to save the things which were perishing. And He saved many, coming and calling us when we were even now perishing.

3. Seeing then that He bestowed so great mercy on us; first of all, that we, who are living, do not sacrifice to these dead gods, neither worship them, but through Him have known the Father of truth. What else is this knowledge to Himward, but not to deny Him through whom we have known Him? Yea, He Himself saith, *Whoso confesseth Me, Him will I confess before the Father*. This then is our reward, if verily we shall confess Him through whom we were saved. But wherein do we confess Him? When we do that which He saith and are not disobedient unto His commandments, and not only *honour Him with our lips*, but *with our whole heart and with our whole mind*. Now He saith also in Isaiah, *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me*.

4. Let us therefore not only call Him Lord, for this will not save us: for He saith, *Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness.* So then, brethren, let us confess Him in our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery nor speaking evil one against another nor envying, but being temperate, merciful, kindly. And we ought to have fellow-feeling one with another and not to be covetous. By these works let us confess Him, and not by the contrary. And we ought not rather to fear men but God. For this cause, if ye do these things, the Lord said, *Though ye be gathered together with Me in My bosom, and do not My commandments, I will cast you away and will say unto you, Depart from Me, I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*

5. Wherefore, brethren, let us forsake our sojourn in this world and do the will of Him that called us, and let us not be afraid to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, *Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.* But Peter answered and said unto Him, *What then, if the wolves should tear the lambs?* Jesus said unto Peter, *Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead; and ye also, fear ye not them that kill you and are not able to do anything to you; but fear him that after ye are dead hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the gehenna of fire.* And ye know, brethren, that the sojourn of this flesh in this world is mean and for a short time, but the promise of Christ is great and marvellous, even the rest of the kingdom that shall be and of life eternal. What then can we do to obtain them, but walk in holiness and righteousness, and consider these worldly things as alien to us, and not desire them? For when we desire to obtain these things we fall away from the righteous path.

6. But the Lord saith, *No servant can serve two masters.* If we desire to serve both God and mammon, it is unprofitable for us: *For what advantage is it, if a man gain the whole world and forfeit his soul?* Now this age and the future are two enemies. The one speaketh of adultery and defilement and avarice and

deceit, but the other biddeth farewell to these. We cannot therefore be friends of the two, but must bid farewell to the one and hold companionship with the other. Let us consider that it is better to hate the things which are here, because they are mean and for a short time and perishable, and to love the things which are there, for they are good and imperishable. For, if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; but if otherwise, then nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we should disobey His commandments. And the scripture also saith in Ezekiel, *Though Noah and Job and Daniel should rise up, they shall not deliver their children in the captivity.* But if even such righteous men as these cannot by their righteous deeds deliver their children, with what confidence shall we, if we keep not our baptism pure and undefiled, enter into the kingdom of God? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found having holy and righteous works?

7. So then, my brethren, let us contend, knowing that the contest is nigh at hand, and that, while many resort to the corruptible contests, yet not all are crowned, but only they that have toiled hard and contended bravely. Let us then contend that we all may be crowned. Wherefore let us run in the straight course, the incorruptible contest. And let us resort to it in throngs and contend, that we may also be crowned. And if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come near to the crown. We ought to know that he which contendeth in the corruptible contest, if he be found dealing corruptly with it, is first flogged, and then removed and driven out of the race-course. What think ye? What shall be done to him that hath dealt corruptly with the contest of incorruption? For as concerning them that have not kept the seal, He saith, *Their worm shall not lie, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.*

8. While we are on earth, then, let us repent: for we are clay under the craftsman's hand. For in like manner as the potter, if he be making a vessel, and it get twisted or crushed in



his hands, reshapeth it again; but if he have once put it into the fiery oven, he shall no longer mend it: so also let us, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil things which we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet time for repentance. For after that we have departed out of the world, we can no more make confession there, or repent any more. Wherefore, brethren, if we shall have done the will of the Father and kept the flesh pure and guarded the commandments of the Lord, we shall receive life eternal. For the Lord saith in the Gospel, *If ye kept not that which is little, who shall give unto you that which is great? For I say unto you that he which is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much.* So then He meaneth this, Keep the flesh pure and the seal unstained, to the end that we may receive life.

9. And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again. Understand ye. In what were ye saved? In what did ye recover your sight? if ye were not in this flesh. We ought therefore to guard the flesh as a temple of God: for in like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall come also in the flesh. If Christ the Lord who saved us, being first spirit, then became flesh, and so called us, in like manner also shall we in this flesh receive our reward. Let us therefore love one another, that we all may come unto the kingdom of God. While we have time to be healed, let us place ourselves in the hands of God the physician, giving Him a recompense. What recompense? Repentance from a sincere heart. For He discerneth all things beforehand and knoweth what is in our heart. Let us therefore give unto Him eternal praise, not from our lips only, but also from our heart, that He may receive us as sons. For the Lord also said, *These are My brethren, which do the will of My Father.*

10. Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father which called us, that we may live; and let us the rather pursue virtue, but forsake vice as the forerunner of our sins, and let us flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we be dili-

gent in doing good, peace will pursue us. For for this cause is a man unable to attain happiness, seeing that they call in the fears of men, preferring rather the enjoyment which is here than the promise which is to come. For they know not how great torment the enjoyment which is here bringeth, and what delight the promise which is to come bringeth. And if verily they were doing these things by themselves alone, it had been tolerable: but now they continue teaching evil to innocent souls, not knowing that they shall have their condemnation doubled, both themselves and their hearers.

11. Let us therefore serve God in a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we serve Him not, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be wretched. For the word of prophecy also saith: *Wretched are the double-minded, that doubt in their heart and say, These things we heard of old in the days of our fathers also, yet we have waited day after day and have seen none of them. Ye fools! compare yourselves unto a tree; take a vine. First it sheddeth its leaves, then a shoot cometh, after this a sour berry, then a full ripe grape. So likewise My people had tumults and afflictions: but afterward they shall receive good things.* Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be double-minded but endure patiently in hope, that we may also obtain our reward. *For faithful is He that promised* to pay to each man the recompense of his works. If therefore we shall have wrought righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom and shall receive the promises which *ear hath not heard nor eye seen, neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*

12. Let us therefore await the kingdom of God betimes in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of God's appearing. For the Lord Himself, being asked by a certain person when His kingdom would come, said, *When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.* Now *the two* are one, when we speak truth among ourselves, and in two bodies there shall be one soul without dissimulation. And by *the outside as the inside* He

meaneth this: by the inside He meaneth the soul and by the outside the body. Therefore in like manner as thy body appeareth, so also let thy soul be manifest in its good works. And by *the male with the female, neither male nor female*, He meaneth this; that a brother seeing a sister should have no thought of her as of a female, and that a sister seeing a brother should not have any thought of him as of a male. These things if ye do, saith He, the kingdom of my Father shall come.

13. Therefore, brethren, let us repent forthwith. Let us be sober unto that which is good: for we are full of much folly and wickedness. Let us wipe away from us our former sins, and let us repent with our whole soul and be saved. And let us not be found men-pleasers. Neither let us desire to please one another only, but also those men that are without, by our righteousness, that the Name be not blasphemed by reason of us. For the Lord saith, *Every way My Name is blasphemed among all the Gentiles*; and again, *Woe unto him by reason of whom My Name is blasphemed*. Wherein is it blasphemed? In that ye do not the things which I desire. For the Gentiles, when they hear from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at them for their beauty and greatness; then, when they discover that our works are not worthy of the words which we speak, forthwith they betake themselves to blasphemy, saying that it is an idle story and a delusion. For when they hear from us that God saith, *It is no thank unto you, if ye love them that love you, but this is thank unto you, if ye love your enemies and them that hate you*; when they hear these things, I say, they marvel at their exceeding goodness; but when they see that we not only do not love them that hate us, but not even them that love us, they laugh us to scorn, and the Name is blasphemed.

14. Wherefore, brethren, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the first Church, which is spiritual, which was created before the sun and moon; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall be of the scripture that saith, *My house was made a den of robbers*. So therefore let us choose rather to be of



the Church of life, that we may be saved. And I do not suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ: for the scripture saith, *God made man, male and female.* The male is Christ and the female is the Church. And the Books and the Apostles plainly declare that the Church existeth not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning: for she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was spiritual, but was manifested in the last days that He might save us. Now the Church, being spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, thereby showing us that, if any of us guard her in the flesh and defile her not, he shall receive her again in the Holy Spirit: for this flesh is the counterpart and copy of the spirit. No man therefore, when he hath defiled the copy, shall receive the original for his portion. This therefore is what He meaneth, brethren; Guard ye the flesh, that ye may partake of the spirit. But if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit is Christ, then he that hath dealt wantonly with the flesh hath dealt wantonly with the Church. Such an one therefore shall not partake of the spirit, which is Christ. So excellent is the life and immortality which this flesh can receive as its portion, if the Holy Spirit be joined to it. No man can declare or tell those things which the Lord hath prepared for His elect.

15. Now I do not think that I have given any mean counsel respecting continence, and whosoever performeth it shall not repent thereof, but shall save both himself and me his counsellor. For it is no mean reward to convert a wandering and perishing soul, that it may be saved. For this is the recompense which we are able to pay to God who created us, if he that speaketh and heareth both speak and hear with faith and love. Let us therefore abide in the things which we believed, in righteousness and holiness, that we may with boldness ask of God who saith, *Whiles thou art still speaking, I will say, Behold, I am here.* For this word is the token of a great promise: for the Lord saith of Himself that He is more ready to give than he that asketh to ask. Seeing then that we are partakers of so

great kindness, let us not grudge ourselves the obtaining of so many good things. For in proportion as the pleasure is great which these words bring to them that have performed them, so also is the condemnation great which they bring to them that have been disobedient.

16. Therefore, brethren, since we have found no small opportunity for repentance, seeing that we have time, let us turn again unto God that called us, while we have still One that receiveth us. For if we bid farewell to these enjoyments and conquer our soul in refusing to fulfil its evil lusts, we shall be partakers of the mercy of Jesus. But ye know that the day of judgment cometh even now *as a burning oven, and the powers of the heavens shall melt*, and all the earth as lead melting on the fire, and then shall appear the secret and open works of men. Almsgiving therefore is a good thing, even as repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both. And *love covereth a multitude of sins*, but prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every man that is found full of these. For almsgiving lifteth off the burden of sin.

17. Let us therefore repent with our whole heart, lest any of us perish by the way. For if we have received commands, that we should make this also our business, to tear men away from idols and to instruct them, how much more is it wrong that a soul which knoweth God already should perish! Therefore let us assist one another, that we may also lead the weak upward as touching that which is good, to the end that we all may be saved: and let us convert and admonish one another. And let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters; but likewise when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and not suffer ourselves to be dragged off the other way by our worldly lusts; but coming hither more frequently, let us strive to go forward in the commands of the Lord, that we all having the same mind may be gathered together unto life. For

the Lord said, *I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and languages.* Herein He speaketh of the day of His appearing, when He shall come and redeem us, each man according to his works. *And the unbelievers shall see His glory and His might:* and they shall be amazed when they see the kingdom of the world given to Jesus, saying, Woe unto us, for Thou wast, and we knew it not, and believed not; and we obeyed not the presbyters when they told us of our salvation. *And Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.* He speaketh of that day of judgment, when men shall see those among us that lived ungodly lives and dealt falsely with the commandments of Jesus Christ. But the righteous, having done good and endured torments and hated the pleasures of the soul, when they shall behold them that have done amiss and denied Jesus by their words or by their deeds, how that they are punished with grievous torments in unquenchable fire, shall give glory to God, saying, There will be hope for him that hath served God with his whole heart.

18. Therefore let us also be found among those that give thanks, among those that have served God, and not among the ungodly that are judged. For I myself too, being an utter sinner and not yet escaped from temptation, but being still amidst the engines of the devil, do my diligence to follow after righteousness, that I may prevail so far at least as to come near unto it, while I fear the judgment to come.

19. Therefore, brothers and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard, I read to you an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written, so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth in the midst of you. For I ask of you as a reward that ye repent with your whole heart, and give salvation and life to yourselves. For doing this we shall set a goal for all the young who desire to toil in the study of piety and of the goodness of God. And let us not be displeased and vexed, fools that we are, whensoever any one admonisheth us and turneth us aside from unrighteous-



ness unto righteousness. For sometimes while we do evil things, we perceive it not by reason of the double-mindedness and unbelief which is in our breasts, and *we are darkened in our understanding* by our vain lusts. Let us therefore practise righteousness that we may be saved unto the end. Blessed are they that obey these ordinances. Though they may endure affliction for a short time in the world, they will gather the immortal fruit of the resurrection. Therefore let not the godly be grieved, if he be miserable in the times that now are: a blessed time awaiteth him. He shall live again in heaven with the fathers, and shall have rejoicing throughout a sorrowless eternity.

20. Neither suffer ye this again to trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessing wealth, and the servants of God straitened. Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters. We are contending in the lists of a living God; and we are trained by the present life, that we may be crowned with the future. No righteous man hath reaped fruit quickly, but waiteth for it. For if God had paid the recompense of the righteous speedily, then straightway we should have been training ourselves in merchandise, and not in godliness; for we should seem to be righteous, though we were pursuing not that which is godly, but that which is gainful. And for this cause Divine judgment overtaketh a spirit that is not just, and loadeth it with chains.

To the only God invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth unto us the Saviour and Prince of immortality, through whom also He made manifest unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## II.

### HIPPOLYTUS OF PORTUS.

THE PERSONALITY and life of Hippolytus are beset with thorny and perplexing questions on all sides. Of what country was he a native? Where and how did he spend his early life? Under what influences was he brought in his boyhood and adolescence? Was he a simple presbyter or a bishop? If the latter, what was his see? Of the works ascribed or attributed to him, how many are genuine? What were his relations to the Roman See? Was he guilty of heresy or of schism? If the one or the other, what was the nature of the differences which separated him? Was this separation temporary or permanent? Was he a confessor or a martyr, or both or neither? What was the chronology of his life and works? More especially, at what date did he die? Has there, or has there not, been some confusion between two or three persons bearing the same name? What explanation shall we give of the architectural and other monumental records connected with his name?

These questions started up, like the fabled progeny of the dragon's teeth—a whole army of historical perplexities confronting us suddenly and demanding a solution—when less than forty years ago the work entitled *Philosophumena* was discovered and published to the world. To most of these questions I shall address myself in the dissertation which follows. The position and doings of Hippolytus are not unconnected with the main subject of these volumes. In the first place; whereas the internal history of the Church of Rome is shrouded in thick darkness from the end of the first century to the beginning of the third, from the age of Clement to the age of Hippolytus—scarcely a ray here and there penetrating the dense cloud—at this latter moment the scene is suddenly lit up with a glare—albeit a lurid glare—of light. Then again; we have some reason for believing that the earliest western list of the Roman bishops may have been drawn up by Hip-

polytus himself, and it is almost absolutely certain that the first continuator of this list, in whose work the earliest notice of Hippolytus occurs outside his own writings, was a contemporary (see above, I. p. 255, p. 259 sq). The questions asked above have not indeed in very many cases any immediate connexion with the matters with which we are directly concerned; but they hang very closely together one with another, and this seemed a fit opportunity of placing before the reader the results, however briefly, yet with some sort of completeness, of the investigations and discoveries which have been stimulated by the publication of the *Philosophumena*.

## § I.

## ANCIENT REFERENCES TO HIPPOLYTUS.

Following the course which I have pursued in other cases, I shall here gather together the ancient documentary evidence and traditions relating to Hippolytus, considering that I shall best consult the convenience of my readers as well as my own, by so doing. At the head of these are placed the references from Hippolytus himself to his own life and writings. In so doing I shall take the liberty of assuming provisionally the Hippolytean authorship of several writings, deferring the reasons for so assigning them till the proper occasion. The cross-references from the one to the other in these writings are the most important and unsuspecting evidence of authorship. I shall also include some notices of Gaius the Roman presbyter, a contemporary of Hippolytus; because the two are frequently confused in ancient authorities—so much so as to arouse the suspicion that Gaius was only another name for Hippolytus, and that he had no distinct personality. This question also I shall discuss presently.

These notices will be cited in the discussions which follow as *AR*, with the number and letter, and (where necessary) the page.

## I. HIPPOLYTUS [c. A.D. 230].

(a) *Refutatio Haeresium* i. prooem. (p. 2, Miller).

Οὐδένα μῦθον τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι νενομισμένων παραιτητέον. πιστὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ αὐσώτατα αὐτῶν δόγματα ἡγητέον διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῶν αἵρετικῶν μανίαν, οἱ διὰ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἀποκρύπτειν τε τὰ ἄρρητα ἑαυτῶν μυστήρια ἐνομίσθησαν πολλοῖς Θεὸν σέβειν. ὧν καὶ πάλαι μετρίως τὰ δόγματα ἐξεθέμεθα, οὐ κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐπιδείξαντες, ἀλλ' ἀδρομερῶς ἐλέγξαντες, μηδὲν ἄξιον ἡγησάμενοι τὰ ἄρρητα αὐτῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγειν, ὅπως δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἡμῶν ἐκθεμένων τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς αἰσχυρθέντες μήποτε καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐξειπόντες ἀθέους ἐπιδείξωμεν, παύσωνται [τι] τῆς ἀλογίστου γνώμης καὶ ἀθεμίτου ἐπιχει-



οήσεως. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὁρῶ μὴ δυσωπουμένους αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιείκειαν μηδὲ λογιζομένους, ὡς Θεὸς μακροθυμεῖ ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλασφημούμενος, ὅπως ἡ αἰδεσθέντες μετανοήσωσιν ἢ ἐπιμείναντες δικαίως κριθῶσι, βιασθεῖς πρόειμι δείξων αὐτῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια... ταῦτα δὲ ἕτερος οὐκ ἐλέγξει ἢ τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὗ τυχόντες πρότεροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι μετέδωσαν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πεπιστευκόσιν· ὧν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες τῆς τε αὐτῆς χάριτος μετέχοντες ἀρχιερατείας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λελογισμένοι οὐκ ὀφθαλμῷ νυστάζομεν οὐδὲ λόγον ὀρθὸν τιωπῶμεν κ.τ.λ.

This extract is taken from the text of Diel's *Doxographi Graeci* (Berolin. 1879); the remaining extracts, from the edition of Duncker and Schneidewin.

(b) *Ref. Haer.* vi. 42 (p. 202).

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος παρρησιαίτερον τῷ λέγῃ προσενεχθεὶς τὰ τοιαῦτα λούσματα καὶ ἀπολυτρώσεις ἐξέθετο, ἀδρομερέστερον εἰπὼν ἃ πράσσουσιν, οἷς ἐντυχόντες τινὲς αὐτῶν ἡρηνται οὕτως ταρειαλφέναι, αἰεὶ ἀρνείσθαι μανθάνοντες. διὸ φροντὶς ἡμῖν γεγένηται ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀνευρεῖν λεπτομερῶς, ἃ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λουτρῷ παραδιδόασιν κ.τ.λ.

(c) *Ref. Haer.* vi. 55 (p. 221 sq).

Ἄ παρατιθέναι μοι οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ὄντα φλυαρά καὶ ἀσύστατα, ἥδη τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου Εἰρηναίου δεινῶς καὶ πεπονημένως τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν διελέξαντος, παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα [παρειαλφάμεν] ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτοὺς Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀστρολόγων περιεργίας ταῦτα σφετεριζομένους ἐγκαλεῖν Χριστῷ ταῦτα παραδεδωκέναι.

(d) *Ref. Haer.* ix. 6, 7 (p. 278 sq).

Πολλοῦ τοίνυν τοῦ περὶ πασῶν αἱρέσεων γενομένου ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος μὴθὲν γενεξέλεγκτον καταλιποῦσι, περιλείπεται νῦν ὁ μέγιστος ἀγών, ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι καὶ διελέγξαι τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάσας αἱρέσεις, δι' ὧν τινες ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τολμηροὶ διασκεδαννύνειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μέγιστον τάραχον κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐμβάλλοντες. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν κακῶν γενομένην γνώμην ὀρμήσαντας διελέγξαι, τίνες αἱ ταύτης ἀρχαί, ὅπως εὐγνωστοὶ αἱ ἐκφυάδες αὐτῆς ἅπασιν γενόμεναι καταφρονηθῶσι.

Γεγένηται τις ὀνόματι Νοητός, τῷ γένει Σμυρναῖος. οὗτος εἰσηγήσατο ἔρρεσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείτου δογμάτων· οὗ διάκονος καὶ μαθητῆς γίνεται Ἐπίμονός τις τοῦνομα, ὃς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιδημήσας ἐπέσπειρε τὴν ἄθεον γνώμην. ὃ μαθητεύσας Κλεομένης, καὶ βίῃ καὶ τρόπῳ ἀλλότριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐκράννε τὸ δόγμα, κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ζεφυρινίου διέπειν νομίζοντας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, νδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ αἰσχροκερδοῦς [ὃς] τῷ κέρδει προσφερομένῳ πειθόμενος συνεχώρει τοῖς προσιοῦσι τῷ Κλεομένει μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποσυρ-

μενος τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥρμητο, συμβούλου καὶ συναγωνιστοῦ τῶν κακῶν ὄντος αὐτῷ Καλλίστου, οὐ τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἐφευρεθεῖσαν αἵρεσιν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐκθήσομαι. τούτων κατὰ διαδοχὴν διέμεινε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον κρατυνόμενον καὶ ἐπαῦξον διὰ τὸ συναίρεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ζεφυρίνον καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον, καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε συγχωρησάντων, ἀλλὰ πλειστάκις ἀντικαθεστῶτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διελεγξάντων καὶ ἄκοντας βιασαμένων τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογεῖν· οἱ πρὸς μὲν ὥραν αἰδούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας συναγόμενοι ὡμολόγουν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βόρβορον ἀνεκυλίνοντο.

(e) *Ref. Haer.* ix. 8 (p. 280).

Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἔκκειται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φιλοσοφουμένοις ἡ δόξα Ἡρακλείτου, ἀλλὰ γε δοκεῖ προσαναπαραχθῆναι καὶ νῦν, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ ἐγγίονος ἐλέγχου φανερώς διδαχθῶσιν οἱ τούτου νομίζοντες Χριστοῦ εἶναι μαθητάς, οὐκ ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ.

(f) *Ref. Haer.* ix. 11—13 (p. 284 sq.).

Ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκράτυνε Κάλλιστος, ἀνὴρ ἐν κακίᾳ πανούργος καὶ ποικίλος πρὸς πλάνην, θηρώμενος τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον. τὸν Ζεφυρίνον, ἄνδρα ιδιώτην καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἄπειρον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὄρων, ὃν πείθων δόμασι καὶ ἀπαιτήσεσιν ἀπειρημέναις ἤγεν εἰς ὃ ἐβούλετο, ὄντα δωρολήπττην καὶ φιλάργυρον, ἔπειθεν αἰεὶ στάσεις ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναμέσον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, αὐτὸς τὰ ἀμφοτέρα μέρη ὑστερον κερκωπέοις λόγοις πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν κατασκευάζων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν [λέγων ὅμοια] φρονοῦσι ποτὲ κατ' ἰδίαν τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν [λέγων] ἡπάτα, πάλιν δ' αὖ τοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέστησε δυνάμενον κατορθοῦν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παραινέσθαι οὐκ ἐσκληρύνετο, ἡνίκα δὲ σὺν τῷ Καλλίστῳ ἐμόναζεν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεσεῖετο πρὸς τὸ δόγμα τὸ Κλεομένους ῥέπειν φάσκοντος τὰ ὅμοια φρονεῖν. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν πανουργίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐνόει, αὖθις δὲ ἔγνω, ὡς διηγῆσομαι μετ' οὐ πολὺ. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ζεφυρίνον προάγων δημοσίᾳ ἔπειθε λέγειν· Ἐγὼ οἶδα ἓνα Θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα γενητὸν καὶ παθητόν· ποτὲ δὲ λέγων· Οὐχ ὁ Πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ Υἱός· οὕτως ἄπανστον τὴν στάσιν ἐν τῷ λαῷ διετήρησεν· οὐ τὰ νοήματα γνόντες ἡμεῖς οἱ συνεχωροῦμεν, ἐλέγχοντες καὶ ἀντικαθιστάμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας· ὃς εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῶν διὰ τὸ πάντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποκρίσει συντρέχειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐ, ἀπεκάλει ἡμᾶς διθέους, ἐξεμῶν παρὰ βίαν τὸν ἐνδομυχούντα αὐτῷ ἰόν. τούτου τὸν βίον δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἀγαπητὸν ἐκθέσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν ἐγεγόνει, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φανῆναι τοῦ τοιούτου τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐεπίγνωστος καὶ τάχα τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν εὐήθης γένηται ἢ διὰ τούτου ἐπικεχειρημένη αἵρεσις. οὗτος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ Φουσκιανοῦ ἐπάρχου ὄντος Ῥώμης· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας τοιόσδε ἦν·

Οἰκέτης ἐτύγχανε Καρποφόρου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς πιστοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. τούτῳ ὁ Καρποφόρος, ἅτε δὴ ὡς πιστῷ, χρήμα οὐκ ὀλίγον



ατεπίστευσεν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος κέρδος προσοίσειν ἐκ πραγματείας τραπεζικῆς· ὃς λαβὼν τράπεζαν ἐπεχείρησεν ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ πισκινῇ πουπλικῇ, ᾧ ὕκ ὀλίγαι παραθῆκαι τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπιστεύθησαν ὑπὸ χηρῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν προχήματι τοῦ Καρποφόρου. ὁ δὲ ἐξαφανίσας τὰ πάντα ἠπόρει. οὐ ταῦτα ράξαντος οὐκ ἔλιπεν ὃς ἀπαγγεῖλῃ τῷ Καρποφόρῳ· ὁ δὲ ἔφη ἀπαιτεῖν ὁγούς παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα συνιδὼν ὁ Κάλλιστος καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότη ἰδνουν ὑφορῶμενος, ἀπέδρα τὴν φυγὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ποιούμενος· ὃς ἰρῶν πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ ἔτοιμον πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ὅπου ἐτύγχανε πλέον, ἐνέβη πλευσόμενος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως λαθεῖν δεδύνηται· οὐ γὰρ ἔλιπεν ὃς παγγεῖλῃ τῷ Καρποφόρῳ τὸ γεγενημένον. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστὰς κατὰ τὸν λιμένα γειράτο ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ὁρμᾶν κατὰ [τὰ] μεμνημένα· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐστὸς ἐν ἔσω τῷ λιμένι. τοῦ δὲ πορθμέως βραδύνοντος ἰδὼν πόρρωθεν ὁ Κάλλιστος ὃν δεσπότην, ὃν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ γνούς ἑαυτὸν συνειληφθαι, ἠφείδησε τοῦ ἦν καὶ ἔσχατα ταῦτα λογισάμενος ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ αὗται καταπηδήσαντες εἰς τὰ σκάφη ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἀνείλοντο, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ ἧς γῆς μεγάλα βοώντων· καὶ οὕτως τῷ δεσπότῃ παραδοθεὶς ἐπανάχθη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὃν ὁ δεσπότης εἰς πίστινον κατέθετο. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος, ὡς ὑμβαίνει γίνεσθαι, προσελθόντες ἀδελφοὶ παρεκάλουν τὸν Καρποφόρον, ὡς ἐξαγάγῃ τῆς κολάσεως τὸν δραπετήν, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν μὲν τισι χρήμα ἀποκείμενα. ὁ δὲ Καρποφόρος, ὡς εὐλαβής, τοῦ μὲν ἰδίου γεγεν ἀφειδέιν, τῶν δὲ παραθηκῶν φροντίζειν—πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπεκλαίοντο γόντες, ὅτι τῷ αὐτοῦ προσχήματι ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Καλλίστῳ, ᾧ πεπιστεύκειν—καὶ πεισθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκειν μὴ δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι, τέχνην θανάτου ἐνένοισε, καὶ σαββάτῳ σκηψάμενος ἀπίεναί ὡς ἐπὶ χρεώστας, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνηγμένων, καὶ στὰς κατεστασίαζεν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ καταστασιασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐνυβρίσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ πληγὰς ἐμφορήσαντες ἔσυρον ἐπὶ τὸν Φουσκιανὸν ἔπαρχον ὄντα τῆς πόλεως. ἀπεκρίναντο οὗτοι· Ῥωμαῖοι συνεχώρησαν ἡμῖν τοὺς πατρώους νόμους δημοσίᾳ ἀναγίσκειν, οὗτος δὲ ἐπεισελθὼν ἐκώλυε καταστασίαζων ἡμῶν, φάσκων εἶναι Ἰουστιανός. τοῦ δὲ Φουσκιανοῦ πρὸ βήματος τυγχάνοντος καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἰουδαίων λεγομένοις κατὰ τοῦ Καλλίστου ἀγανακτοῦντος, οὐκ ἔλιπεν ὁ ἀπαγγέλλας τῷ Καρποφόρῳ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα. ὁ δὲ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ἐάρχου ἐβόα· Δέομαι, κύριε Φουσκιανέ, μὴ σὺ αὐτῷ πίστευε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ Ἰουστιανός, ἀφορμὴν δὲ ζητεῖ θανάτου χρήματά μου πολλὰ ἀφανίσας, ὡς οὐδεῖς. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὑποβολὴν τοῦτο νομισάντων, ὡς ζητούντος τοῦ Καρποφόρου ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν, μᾶλλον ἐπιφθόνως κατεβλῶν τοῦ ἐάρχου. ὁ δὲ κινηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μαστιγώσας αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν εἰς μακρὸν Σαρδονίας. μετὰ χρόνον δὲ ἐτέρων ἐκεῖ ὄντων μαρτύρων, θελήσασα ἡ Μαρκία ἔργον τι ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, οὕσα φιλόθεος παλλακὴ Κομόδου, προσκαλεσαμένη τὸν μακάριον Οὐίκτορα, ὄντα ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατ'



ἐκείνο καιροῦ, ἐπηρώτα, τίνες εἶεν ἐν Σαρδονία μάρτυρες. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀναδούς τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τοῦ Καλλίστου οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἰδὼς τὰ τετολμημένα παρ' αὐτοῦ. τυχούσα οὖν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἡ Μαρκία παρὰ τοῦ Κομόδου, δίδωσι τὴν ἀπολύσιμον ἐπιστολὴν Ὑακίνθῳ τινὶ σπάδοντι πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὃς λαβὼν διέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σαρδονίαν, καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύοντι ἀπέλυσε τοὺς μάρτυρας πλὴν τοῦ Καλλίστου. ὁ δὲ γονυπετῶν καὶ δακρύων ἰκέτευε καὶ αὐτὸς τυχεῖν ἀπολύσεως. δυσωπηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ὑακίνθος ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπίτροπον....., φάσκων θρέψας εἶναι Μαρκίας, τασσόμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον· ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀπέλυσε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον. οὐ παραγενομένου ὁ Οὐίκτωρ πάνυ ἤχθετο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ εὖσπλαγχνος ἦν, ἡσύχασε· φυλασσόμενος δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὄνειδον (οὐ γὰρ ἦν μακρὰν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετολμημένα), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Καρποφόρου ἀντιπίπτοντος, πέμπει αὐτὸν καταμένειν ἐν Ἀνθείῳ, ὀρίσας αὐτῷ μηνιαῖον τι ἐκτροφῆς. μεθ' οὗ κοίμησιν Ζεφυρίνος συναράμενον αὐτὸν σχὼν πρὸς τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ κλήρου, ἐτίμησε τῷ ἰδίῳ κακῷ, καὶ τοῦτον μεταγαγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθείου εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον κατέστησεν. ᾧ αἰεὶ συνὼν καί, καθὼς φθάσας προεῖπον, ὑποκρίσει αὐτὸν θεραπεύων, ἐξηφάνισε μῆτε κρῖναι τὰ λεγόμενα δυνάμενον μῆτε νοοῦντα τὴν τοῦ Καλλίστου ἐπιβουλὴν, πάντα αὐτῷ πρὸς ἃ ἦδετο ὀμιλοῦντος. οὕτω μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζεφυρίνου τελευτὴν νομίζων τετυχηκέναι οὗ ἔθρηάτο, τὸν Σαβέλλιον ἀπέωσεν ὥς μὴ φρονοῦντα ὀρθῶς, δεδοικὼς ἐμὲ καὶ νομίζων οὕτω δύνασθαι ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορίαν, ὥς μὴ ἄλλοτρίως φρονῶν. ἦν οὖν γόης καὶ πανοῦργος καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ συνήρπασε πολλούς. ἔχων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἐγκείμενον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐθέως μηδὲν φρονῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἰδούμενος τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν, διὰ τὸ δημοσίᾳ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν, δίθεοί ἐστε, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου συχνῶς κατηγορεῖσθαι ὡς παραβάντα τὴν πρώτην πίστιν, ἐφεῦρεν αἵρεσιν τοιάνδε, λέγων τὸν Λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον, ἐν δὲ ὃν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον· οὐκ ἄλλο εἶναι πατέρα, ἄλλο δὲ υἱόν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν· καὶ τὰ πάντα γέμειν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος τά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω· καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ σαρκωθὲν πνεῦμα οὐχ ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον· οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλεπόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ χωρηθὲν πνεῦμα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν πατέρα· οὐ γάρ, φησὶν, ἐρῶ δύο θεούς, πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἓνα. ὁ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος πατήρ προσλαβόμενος τὴν σάρκα ἐθεοποίησεν ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἓν, ὥς καλεῖσθαι πατέρα καὶ υἱόν ἓνα θεόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ὃν πρόσωπον μὴ δύνασθαι εἶναι δύο, καὶ οὕτως τὸν πατέρα συμπεπονθέναι τῷ υἱῷ· οὐ γὰρ θέλει λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐν εἶναι πρόσωπον..... ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα βλασφημίαν ὁ ἀνόητος καὶ ποικίλος, ὁ ἄνω κάτω σκεδάζων βλασφημίας, ἵνα μόνον κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας λέγειν δοκῇ, ποτὲ μὲν εἰς τὸ Σαβελλίου δόγμα ἐμπίπτων, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς τὸ Θεοδότου οὐκ αἰδέϊται.

τοιαῦτα ὁ γόης τολμήσας συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὕτως διδάξας, καὶ πρῶτος τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συγχωρεῖν ἐπενόησε, λέγων πᾶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίεσθαι ἁμαρτίας. ὁ γὰρ παρ' ἐτέρῳ τινὶ συναγόμενος καὶ λεγόμενος Χριστιανὸς εἴ τι ἂν ἁμάρτη, φασίν, οὐ λογίζεται αὐτῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία, εἰ προσδράμοι τῇ τοῦ Καλλίστου σχολῇ. οὐ τῷ ὄρῳ ἀρεσκόμενοι πολλοὶ συνείδησιν πεπληγότες ἅμα τε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἱρέσεων ἀποβληθέντες, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καταγνώσει ἐκβλητοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι, προσχωρήσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπλήθυναν τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ. οὗτος ἔδογμάτισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, μὴ δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρίγαμοι καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους· εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὦν γαμοίη, μένειν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὥς μὴ ἡμαρτηκότα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ φάσκων εἰρησθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ῥηθέν· σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἄλλότριον οἰκέτην; ἀλλὰ καὶ παραβολὴν τῶν ζιζανίων πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη λέγεσθαι· ἄφετε τὰ ζιζάνια συναυξεῖν τῷ σίτῳ, τούτεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Νῶε εἰς ὁμοίωμα ἐκκλησίας ἔφη γεγονέναι, ἐν ἣ καὶ κύνες καὶ λύκοι καὶ κόρακες καὶ πάντα τὰ καθαρά καὶ ἀκάθαρτα· οὕτω φάσκων δεῖν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοίως· καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν συνάγειν οὕτως ἡρμήνευσεν, οὐ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ἡσθόντες τοῖς δόγμασι διαμένουσιν ἐμπαίζοντες ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ πολλοῖς, ὦν τῷ διδασκαλεῖν συρρέουσιν ὄχλοι. διὸ καὶ πληθύνονται γαυριώμενοι ἐπὶ ὄχλοις διὰ τὰς ἡδονάς, ἃς οὐ συνεχώρησεν ὁ Χριστός· οὐ καταφρονήσαντες οὐδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν κωλύουσι, φάσκοιτες αὐτὸν ἀφίεναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία γε ἐκκαίοντο ἀναξίᾳ ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλονται καθαιρεῖν διὰ τὸ νομίμως γαμηθῆναι, ἔχειν ἓνα ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται τύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ ὁμῶ γεγαμημένην. ἔνθεν ἤρξαντο ἐπιχειρεῖν πισταὶ λεγόμεναι ἀτοκίους φαρμάκοις καὶ περιδεσμεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα καταβάλλειν, διὰ τὸ μήτε ἐκ δούλου βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τέκνον μήτε ἐξ εὐτελοῦς, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ ὑπέρογκον οὐσίαν. ὁρᾷτε εἰς ὅσῃν ἀσέβειαν ἐχώρησεν ὁ ἄνομος μοιχείαν καὶ φόνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διδάσκων· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἡγηρυσθριασμένοι καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ τινες νομίζοντες εὖ πράττειν συντρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπὶ τούτου πρῶτως τετόλμηται δεῦτερον αὐτοῖς βάπτισμα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Κάλλιστος συνεστήσατο, οὗ διαμένει τὸ διδασκαλεῖον φυλάσσειν τὰ ἔθη καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, μὴ διακρίνον τίσι δεῖ κοινωνεῖν, πᾶσι δ' ἀκρίτως προσφέρειν τὴν κοινωνίαν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος μετέσχον ἐπὶ κλήσιν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν πρωτοστατήσαντα τῶν τοιούτων ῥγων Κάλλιστον Καλλιστιανοί.

Τούτου κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηχηθείσης τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐνιδὼν τὴν πραγματείαν ἀνὴρ δόλιος καὶ ἀπονοίας γέμων, Ἀλκιβιάδης τις καλούμενος,

οίκων ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, γοργότερον ἑαυτὸν καὶ εὐφνέστερον ἐν κυβείαις κρίνας τοῦ Καλλίστου, ἐπῆλθε τῇ Ῥώμῃ φέρων βίβλον τινά, φάσκων ταύτην ἀπὸ Σηρῶν τῆς Παρθίας παρειληφέναι τινὰ ἀνδρα δίκαιον Ἑλχασαί.

(g) *Ref. Haer.* x. 1—5 (p. 310).

1. Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου·
2. ἐπιτομὴ πάντων τῶν φιλοσόφων,
3. ἐπιτομὴ πασῶν [τῶν] αἱρέσεων,
4. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, τίς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος.
5. τὸν λαβύρινθον τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐ βίᾳ διαρρήξαντες, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἐλέγχῳ ἀληθείας δυνάμει διαλύσαντες, πρόσμιεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν κ.τ.λ.

(h) *Ref. Haer.* x. 6 (p. 311).

Συμπεριλαβόντες τοίνυν τὰ πάντων τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι σοφῶν δόγματα ἐν τέσσαρσι βιβλίοις, τὰ δὲ τοῖς αἰρεσιάρχαις ἐν πέντε, νῦν τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον ἐν ᾧ ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀνακεφαλαιούμενοι πρῶτον τὰ πᾶσι δεδοκείμενα.

(i) *Ref. Haer.* x. 30 (p. 331).

Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ὅβ ἔθνη, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκτεθείμεθα ἐν ἐτέραις βίβλοις.

(k) *Ref. Haer.* x. 32 (p. 334).

Εἰ φιλομαθήσουσι καὶ τὰς τούτων οὐσίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς κατὰ πάντα δημιουργίας ἐπιζητήσουσιν, εἴσονται ἐντυχόντες ἡμῶν βίβλῳ περιεχούσῃ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἐκθέσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, ἃς οὐ γνόντες Ἑλληνες κομψῷ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μέρη τῆς κτίσεως ἐδόξασαν τὸν κτίσαντα ἀγνοήσαντες.

(l) *Ref. Haer.* x. 34 (p. 338).

Τοιοῦτος ὁ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀληθῆς λόγος, ᾧ ἄνθρωποι Ἑλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, Χαλδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες, Ἰνδοί τε καὶ Αἰθίοπες, Κελτοί τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες Λατῖνοι, πάντες τε οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντες, οἷς σύμβουλος ἐγὼ γίνομαι, φιλανθρώπου λόγου ὑπάρχων μαθητὴς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ὅπως προσδραμόντες διδαχθῆτε παρ' ἡμῶν, τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεός.

## 2. CHAIR OF HIPPOLYTUS [C. A.D. 236?].

The date of the statue of Hippolytus will be discussed hereafter. It is sufficient to say here that it must have been erected within a few years of his death. He is seated on a chair, of which the base is inscribed on the back and two sides. The inscription on the back, which is curved, is here marked A. It stands on the right-hand side



of this curved back to one facing the same way as the statue, and is mutilated. The left-hand side of the back was without any inscription. The inscriptions on the right and left sides (the spectator still facing the same way), which are straight, are here marked B, C, respectively. The positions of the inscriptions may be seen from the engravings of the chair in Fabricius I. p. 36 sq. For the inscriptions themselves see also Boeckh-Kirchhoff *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 8613 (IV. p. 280).

## A.

[ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΙΟΥΔΑ]ΙΟΥΣ  
 [ΠΕΡΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜ]ΙΑΣ  
 [ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ Ψ]ΑΛΜΟΥΣ  
 [ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΓ]ΓΑΣΤΡΙΜΥΘΟΝ  
 5 ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ  
    ΔΗΝΗ  
    ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ  
    ΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ  
    ΠΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ  
 10 ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟ  
    CIC  
    ΧΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ  
    ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ  
    ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΩΝΑ  
 15 Η ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ  
    ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ CΕ  
    ΒΗΡΕΙΝΑΝ  
    ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙC ΧΡΟΝΩΝ  
    ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ  
 20 ΚΑΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ  
    ΩΔΑΙ IC ΠΑΣΔC ΤΑC ΓΡΑ  
    ΦΑC  
    ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥ̅ ΚΑΙ CΑΡΚΟC  
    ΑΝΑΣΤΑCΕΩC  
 25 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
    ΠΟΘΕΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΝ

In l. 2 the remaining letters might be part of *-μαs* or *-μαs* or *-νιαs*. In l. 14 *ατωνα* is obviously an error for *πλατωνα*. In l. 20 *κατα* is apparently an error for *κατα τα* and not for *καθα* (as taken by Kirchhoff). In l. 21 if the first word is correctly read *ωδαι*, the second *is* is an itacism for *eis*.

## B.

ΕΤΟΥΣ Α ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΓΕ  
 ΝΕΤΟ Η ΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΕΙΔΟΙΣ ΑΠΡΕΙΛΙΑΙΣ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩ ΕΜ  
 ΒΟΛΙΜΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΞΗΣ ΕΤΕΣΙΝ ΚΑΘ  
 ΩΣ ΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΚΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΩ  
 ΧΗΚΟΣΙΝ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΕΣΧΗΜΕΙΩΤΑΙ ΑΠΟΝΗΤΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ  
 ΔΕΙ ΟΥ ΑΝ ΕΝΠΕΣΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ

After this follow the tables for the calculation of the Passover according to a cycle of sixteen years. The times of the celebrations of the Passover mentioned in the Old Testament are noted by the side of the respective days from the *εξοδος* down to the *παθος* *χριστου*. Seven cycles are given so as to exhibit the relations of the days of the week to the days of the month.

## C.

ΕΤΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ  
 ΤΩ Α ΑΡΧΗ  
 ΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΤΟΣ  
 ΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟΥΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΣΠΡΟΕΞ.

Then follows a table in which the days of the month on which Easter Day falls are given for 112 (i.e.  $16 \times 7$ ) years, i.e. from A.D. 222 to A.D. 333, calculated in accordance with the above cycle. The *δὲς* *πρὸ* *ξξ* is the *bissextum*, and the *παρακεντήσεις* ('marks in the margin') here promised are omitted by the carelessness of the stone-cutter, though the leap-years are marked in the previous table of cycles by SS.

## 3. EUSEBIUS [c. A.D. 325].

(a) *Histor. Eccles.* ii. 25.

Οὐδὲν δ' ἦντον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ, Γάϊος ὀνόματι, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ῥωμαίων γεγονώς ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προΐσταμένῳ γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατίθεται, φησὶν·

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀστίαν, εὕρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσάμενων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

(b) *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 28.

Κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους ἐτέρας αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Κήρινθον παρειλήφαμεν. Γάϊος, οὗ φωνὰς ἤδη πρότερον παρατίθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσεται ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γράφει·

Ἄλλα καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψειν ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένως ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς θέλων πλανᾶν λέγει γίνεσθαι.

(c) *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 31.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαίου δέ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, διαλόγῳ Πρόκλος, πρὸς ὃν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν, περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ γελυτῆς συνᾶδων τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν οὕτω φησίν·

Μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ προφήτιδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγέννηται ἐν Ἱερὰ τολεῖ τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· ὁ τάφος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.

(d) *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 20.

Ἦκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ἃς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραττον, ἔτι νῦν σωζομένας εὐρεῖν ὕπορον. αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατ' Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ πρὸς τοῦ τηρικᾶδε τὴν αὐτόθι διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείσῃ, ἢ φ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτο συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα. τοῦτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ συγγραμμάτων διαφόρους φιλοκαλίας καταλέλοιπεν. ἐπίσκοπος δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας πού καὶ αὐτὸς προστῶς ἐκκλησίας. ἦλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαίου λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς διάλογος πρὸς Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρέσεως ὑπεριαχοῦντα κεκινημένος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειάν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν.

(e) *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 22.

Τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰππόλυτος συντάττων μετὰ πλείστων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα πεποιήται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ᾧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐκθέμενος καὶ τινὰ κανόνα ἐκκαίδεκαετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα προθεῖς ἐπὶ ὁ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοκράτορος τοὺς χρόνους περιγράφει. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶ τάδε· εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον, εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον, πρὸς μαρκίωνα, εἰς τὸ ἄσμα, εἰς μέρη τοῦ ἱεζεκιήλ, περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς αἱρέσεις· πλείστα τε ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὖροις ἂν φωζόμενα.



## 4. LIBERIAN CHRONOGRAPHER [A.D. 354].

(a) *Depositio Martyrum* (see above, I. p. 251).

Idus Aug. Ypoliti in Tiburtina et Pontiani in Calisti.

There is reason to believe that this notice is not later than A.D. 335 (see I. p. 250, 264) and may have been much earlier.

(b) *Catalogus Episcoporum* (see above, I. p. 255).

Et tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbiter exoles sunt deportati in Sardinia in insula nociva, Severo et Quintiano cons. [A.D. 235].

This notice in all probability dates from about A.D. 255 (see I. p. 263).

## 5. EPIPHANIUS [c. A.D. 375].

*Haeres.* xxxi. 35 (p. 205).

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκεσθέντες τοῖς τε παρ' ἡμῶν λεχθεῖσιν ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας συγγραφέων τούτων λεχθεῖσι τε καὶ συνταχθεῖσι, καὶ ὁρῶντες ὅτι ἄλλοι πεπονήκασι, φημὶ δὲ Κλήμης καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Ἰππόλυτος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, οἱ καὶ θαυμαστῶς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήνται ἀνατροπὴν, οὐ πάνν τι τῷ καμάτῳ προσθεῖναι, ὥς προεῖπον, ἡθελήσαμεν, ἱκανωθέντες τοῖς προεξημένοις ἀνδράσι κ.τ.λ.

## 6. APOLLINARIS? [c. A.D. 370].

*Mai Script. Veter. Nov. Collect.* I. p. 173.

Ἀπολινάριον... Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης ἀπεικάζουσι τὴν προκειμένην τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὄρασιν τῇ τοῦ προφήτου Δανιὴλ ὀπτασίᾳ.

A comment on Daniel ii. 34 in a Catena; see Lagarde p. 171. Reasons will be given below (p. 431 sq) for questioning the ascription to Apollinaris.

## 7. DAMASUS [A.D. 366—384].

(a) *Inscriptio in Coemeterio Hippolyti.*

HIPPOLYTUS FERTVR PREMERENT CVM JVSSA TYRANNI  
PRESBYTER IN SCISMA SEMPER MANSISSE NOVATI  
TEMPORE QVO GLADIVS SECVIT PIA VISCERA MATRIS  
DEVOTVS CHRISTO PETERET CVM REGNA PIORVM  
QVAESISSET POPVLVS VBINAM PROCEDERE POSSET  
CATHOLICAM DIXISSE FIDEM SEQVERENTVR VT OMNES  
SIC NOSTER MERVIT CONFESSVS MARTYR VT ESSET  
HAEC AVDITA REFERT DAMASVS PROBAT OMNIA CHRISTVS

This inscription is preserved in a S. Petersburg MS (formerly of Corbei, and afterwards of S. Germain des Près) which contains a sylloge of inscriptions, and is described in *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1881, p. 5 sq. The sylloge is printed in De Rossi's *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 82, where also (p. 72 sq) it is described. A full account of this particular inscription, which appears on fol. 24 sq, is given in the same *Bull.* l.c. p. 26 sq. It is headed *In scō hypolito martyrae*, and by an error of the scribe the last line of another inscription, belonging to the martyr Gordianus (see pp. 14, 39), 'Praesbiter ornavit renovans vicencius ultro' has been attached to it. In 1425 the reigning Pope Martin V issued an order that marble and other materials might be taken from the desolate and ruined suburban churches to construct the pavement of S. John Lateran; and accordingly De Rossi has found and deciphered three fragments of this very Damasian inscription from the cemetery of Hippolytus embedded in the pavement of this distant basilica.

(b) *Inscriptio altera in eodem Coemeterio.*

LAETA DEO PLEBS SANCTA CANAT QVOD MOENIA CRESCVNT  
ET RENOVATA DOMVS MARTYRIS [HIPP]OLITI  
ORNAMENTA OPERIS SVRGV[NT AVCTORE DAM]ASO  
NATVS QVI ANTISTES SEDIS A[POSTOLICAE]  
INCLITA PACIFICIS FACTA ES[T HAEC AVLA TRIUMPHIS]  
SERVATVRA DECVS PERPETV[AMQUE FIDEM]

HAEC OMNIA NOVA QVAEQVE VIDIS LE[O PRESBYT]ER HORNAT,

where the first six lines give an acrostich LEONIS, and *quaeque* is contracted into qq in the inscription itself. Damasus is described as 'natus antistes,' because his father had been 'exceptor, lector, levita, sacerdos,' as Damasus wrote in another inscription (*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1881, p. 48); and thus he himself was, as it were, born to his future high office in the Church.

This inscription is given by De Rossi in the *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1883, p. 60 sq (comp. *ib.* 1882, p. 176). It was found in the vestibule leading to the crypt of S. Hippolytus.

8. HIERONYMUS [A.D. 378—400]

(a) *De Vir. Ill.* 59.

Gaius sub Zephyrino, Romanae urbis episcopo, id est, sub Antoino, Severi filio, disputationem adversus Proculum, Montani sectatorem, valde insignem habuit arguens eum temeritatis super nova prophetia defendenda, et in eodem volumine epistulas quoque Pauli trede-

cim tantum enumerans quartam decimam, quae fertur ad Hebraeos, dicit non eius esse; sed apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur.

(b) *De Vir. Ill. 61.*

Hippolytus, cuiusdam ecclesiae episcopus—nomen quippe urbis scire non potui—in *ratione paschae et temporum canone* scripsit et usque ad primum annum Alexandri imperatoris sedecim annorum circulum, quem Graeci ἑκκαίδεκαετηρίδα vocant, repperit, et Eusebio, qui super eodem pascha decem et novem annorum circulum, id est, ἑννεακαίδεκαετηρίδα composuit, occasionem dedit. Scripsit nonnullos in scripturas commentarios, e quibus haec repperi: in *Hexaemeron*, in *Exodum*, in *Canticum Canticorum*, in *Genesim*, in *Zachariam*, de *Psalmis*, in *Esaïam*, de *Daniele*, de *Apocalypsi*, de *Proverbiis*, de *Ecclesiaste*, de *Saul et Pythonissa*, de *Antichristo*, de *Resurrectione*, contra *Marcionem*, de *Pascha*, adversus *Omnes Hereses*, et προκομιλίαν de *Laude Domini Salvatoris*, in qua praesente Origene, se loqui in ecclesia significat. Huius aemulatione Ambrosius, quem de Marcionis heresi ad veram fidem correctum diximus, cohortatus est Origenem in scripturas commentarios scribere, praebens ei septem et eo amplius notarios eorumque expensas et librariorum parem numerum, quodque his maius est, incredibili studio cottidie ab eo opus exigens. Unde et in quadam epistula ἐργοδιώκτην eum Origenes vocat.

(c) *Epist. xxxvi. 16 ad Damasum* (i. p. 169, Vallarsi).

Quoniam autem polliciti sumus et de eo quid significaret in figura adjungere, Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus, a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat; non quod omnia plenius executus sit, sed quod possit occasionem praebere lectori ad intelligentiam latiore; 'Isaac portat imaginem Dei Patris, Rebecca Spiritus Sancti, etc.'

After this follows a long quotation from Hippolytus in which the history of Esau and Jacob is figuratively explained. The letter was written A.D. 384.

(d) *Epist. xlviii. 19 ad Pammachium* (i. p. 232, Vallarsi).

Scilicet nunc enumerandum mihi qui ecclesiasticorum de impari numero disputarent, Clemens, Hippolytus, Origenes, Dionysius, Eusebius, Didymus, nostrorumque Tertullianus, Cyprianus, etc.

Jerome is defending himself against a charge of misinterpretation affecting the odd and even days in the account of the Creation in Genesis. This letter was written A.D. 393.

(e) *Epist. lxx. 4 ad Magnum* (i. p. 429, Vallarsi).

Hunc [Clementem] imitatus Origenes decem scripsit *Stromateas*,



Christianorum et philosophorum inter se sententias comparans...Scripsit et Miltiades *contra Gentes* volumen egregium. Hippolytus quoque et Apollonius, Romanae urbis senator, propria opuscula condiderunt.

Jerome is defending himself against the charge of desecrating theology by illustrations from secular literature. This letter was written A.D. 397.

(f) *Epist.* lxxi. 6 ad Lucinium (i. p. 434, Vallarsi).

De sabbatho quod quaeris, utrum ieiunandum sit; et de eucharistia, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romana ecclesia et Hispaniae observare perhibentur, scripsit quidem Hippolytus vir disertissimus; et partim diversi scriptores e variis auctoribus edidere.

This letter was written in the year following the preceding, A.D. 398.

(g) *Epist.* lxxxiv. 7 (i. p. 529).

Nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexaemeron illius [Origenis] compitavit, ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basilique sequeretur.

This letter is assigned to A.D. 400.

(h) *Comm. in Daniel.* ix. 24 (v. p. 689).

Hippolytus autem de eisdem hebdomadibus opinatus est ita; Septem hebdomadas ante reditum populi etc.'

(i) *Comm. in Matt.* i. praef. (vii. p. 7).

Legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Matthaeum Origenis viginti quinque volumina...et Theophili Antiochenae urbis episcopi commentarios; Hippolyti quoque martyris et Theodori Heracleotae, etc.

This commentary was written A.D. 398.

(k) *Chronicon* ii. p. 179 (ed. Schöne).

Geminus presbyter Antiochenus et Hippolytus et Beryllus episcopus Arabiae Bostrenus clari scriptores habentur.

A notice under Ann. Abr. 2244, Alexandr. 6.

## 9. RUFINUS [† A.D. 410].

*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16.

Unde et nos, ut fateamur quod verum est, totius huius operis nostri et historiae conscribendae materiam sumpsimus. Erat ergo inter caeteros et Beryllus scriptorum praecipuus, qui et ipse diversa opuscula dereliquit. Episcopus hic fuit apud Bostram Arabiae urbem maximam. Erat nihilominus et Hippolytus, qui et ipse aliquanta scripta dereliquit episcopus.

This passage corresponds to *H. E.* vi. 20 of Eusebius (see above, p. 327). The rest of Rufinus' translation may be passed over. This extract alone is given here, because its looseness has apparently been the occasion of much error respecting the see of Hippolytus.

10. PRUDENTIUS [c. A.D. 407].

*Peristephanon*; *De Passione S. Hippolyti* (p. 440 sq, ed. Dressel).

- Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe  
 Vidimus, O Christi Valeriane sacer.  
 Incisos tumulis titulos et singula quaeris  
 Nomina? difficile est ut replicare queam.  
 5 Tantos iustorum populos furor inpius hausit,  
 Cum coleret patrios Troia Roma deos.  
 Plurima litterulis signata sepulcra loquuntur  
 Martyris aut nomen aut epigramma aliquod.  
 Sunt et muta tamen tacitas claudentia tumbas  
 10 Marmora, quae solum significant numerum.  
 Quanta virum iaceant congestis corpora acervis,  
 Nosse licet, quorum nomina nulla legas.  
 Sexaginta illic defossas mole sub una  
 Reliquias memini me didicisse hominum;  
 15 Quorum solus habet comperta vocabula Christus,  
 Utpote quos propriae iunxit amicitiae.  
 Haec dum lustris oculis, et sicubi forte latentes  
 Rerum apices veterum per monumenta sequor;  
 Invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam schisma Novati  
 20 Presbyter attigerat, nostra sequenda negans,  
 Usque ad martyrii provectum insigne tulisse  
 Lucida sanguinei praemia supplicii.  
 Nec mirere, senem perversi dogmatis olim  
 Munere ditatum catholicae fidei.  
 25 Cum iam vesano victor raperetur ab hoste,  
 Exsultante anima carnis ad exitium,  
 Plebis amore suae multis comitantibus ibat;  
 Consultus, quaenam secta foret melior,  
 Respondit: Fugite, o miseri, exsecranda Novati  
 30 Schismata; catholicis reddite vos populis.  
 Una fides vigeat, prisco quae condita templo est;  
 Quam Paulus retinet, quamque cathedra Petri.  
 Quae docui, docuisse piget: venerabile martyr  
 Cerno, quod a cultu rebar abesse Dei.

- 35 His ubi detorsit laevo de tramite plebem,  
 Monstravitque sequi, qua via dextra vocat,  
 Seque ducem recti, spretis anfractibus, idem  
 Praebuit, erroris qui prius auctor erat :  
 Sistitur insano rectori Christicolas tunc  
 40 Ostia vexanti per Tiberina viros.  
 Illo namque die Roma secesserat, ipsos  
 Peste suburbanos ut quateret populos.  
 Non contentus humum celsae intra moenia Romae  
 Tingere iustorum caedibus assiduis.  
 45 Ianiculum cum iam madidum, fora, Rostra, Suburram,  
 Cerneret eluvie sanguinis affluere :  
 Protulerat rabiem Tyrrheni ad littoris aram,  
 Quaeque loca aequoreus proxima Portus habet.  
 Inter carnifices et constipata sedebat  
 50 Officia, exstructo celsior in solio.  
 Discipulos fidei, detestandique rebelles  
 Idolii, ardebat dedere perfidiae.  
 Carcereo crinita situ stare agmina contra  
 Iusserat, horrendis excrucienda modis.  
 55 Inde catenarum tractus, hinc lorea flagra  
 Stridere ; virgarum concrepitare fragor.  
 Ungula fixa cavis costarum cratibus altos  
 Pandere secessus et lacerare iecur.  
 Ac iam lassatis iudex tortoribus ibat  
 60 In furias, cassa cognitione fremens.  
 Nullus enim Christi ex famulis per tanta repertus  
 Supplicia, auderet qui vitiare animam.  
 Inde furens quaesitor ait : Iam, tortor, ab unco  
 Desine : si vana est quaestio, morte agito.  
 65 Huic abscede caput ; crux istum tollat in auras,  
 Viventesque oculos offerat alitibus ;  
 Has rape praecipites, et vinctos coniice in ignem :  
 Sit pyra, quae multos devoret una reos.  
 En Tibi, quos properes rimosae imponere cumbae,  
 70 Pellere et in medii stagna profunda freti ;  
 Quos ubi susceptos rabidum male suta per aequor  
 Vexerit, et tumidis caesa labarit aquis.  
 Dissociata putrem laxent tabulata carinam,  
 Conceptumque bibant undique naufragium.  
 75 Squamea coenoso praestabit ventre sepulcrum



- Bellua consumptis cruda cadaveribus.  
 Haec persultanti celsum subito ante tribunal  
 Offertur senior nexibus implicitus.  
 Stipati circum iuvenes clamore ferebant  
 80     Ipsum Christicolis esse caput populis:  
 Si foret extinctum propere caput, omnia vulgi  
 Pectora Romanis sponte sacranda deis.  
 Insolitum lethi poscunt genus, et nova poenae  
 Inventa, exemplo quo trepident alii.  
 85     Ille supinata residens cervice, Quis, inquit,  
        Dicitur? affirmant dicier Hippolytum.  
 Ergo sit Hippolytus, quatiat, turbetque iugales,  
 Intereatque feris dilaceratus equis.  
 Vix haec ille: duo cogunt animalia freni  
 90     Ignara, insueto subdere colla iugo:  
 Non stabulis blandive manu palpata magistri,  
 Imperiumque equitis ante subacta pati:  
 Sed campestre vago nuper pecus e grege captum,  
 Quod pavor indomito corde ferinus agit.  
 95     Iamque reluctantes sociarant vincula bigas,  
        Oraque discordi foedere nexuerant.  
 Temonis vice funis inest, qui terga duorum  
 Dividit, et medius tangit utrumque latus,  
 Deque iugo in longum se post vestigia retro  
 100     Protendens trahitur, transit et ima pedum.  
 Huius ad extremum sequitur qua pulvere summo  
        Cornipedum refugas orbita trita vias;  
 Crura viri innectit laqueus, nodoque tenaci  
 Astringit plantas, cumque rudente ligat.  
 105     Postquam composito satis instruxere paratu  
        Martyris ad poenam verbera, vincla, feras:  
 Instigant subitis clamoribus atque flagellis,  
 Illaque infestis perfodiunt stimulis.  
 Ultima vox audita senis venerabilis haec est:  
 110     Hi rapiant artus; tu rape, Christe, animam.  
 Prorumpunt alacres, caeco et terrore feruntur,  
 Qua sonus atque tremor, qua furor exagitant.  
 Incendit feritas, rapit impetus, et fragor urget:  
        Nec cursus volucer mobile sentit onus.  
 115     Per silvas, per saxa ruunt: non ripa retardat  
        Fluminis, aut torrens oppositus cohibet.

Prosternunt sepes et cuncta obstacula rumpunt :

Prona, fragosa petunt ; ardua transiliunt.

Scissa minutatim labefacto corpore frusta

120 Carpit spinigeris stirpibus hirtus ager.

Pars summis pendet scopulis ; pars sentibus haeret ;

Parte rubent frondes ; parte madescit humus.

Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo

Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.

125 Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris,

Effigians tracti membra cruenta viri.

Rorantes saxorum apices vidi, optime papa,

Purpleasque notas vepribus impositas.

Docta manus virides imitando effingere dumos

130 Luserat et minio russeolam saniem.

Cernere erat, ruptis compagibus, ordine nullo

Membra per incertos sparsa iacere situs.

Addiderat caros gressu lacrymisque sequentes,

Devia quo fractum semita monstrat iter.

135 Moerore attoniti atque oculis rimantibus ibant,

Implebantque sinus visceribus laceris.

Ille caput niveum complectitur, ac reverendam

Canitiem molli confovet in gremio.

Hic humeros truncasque manus et brachia et ulnas

140 Et genua et crurum fragmina nuda legit.

Pallioli etiam bibulae siccantur arenae,

Nequis in infecto pulvere ros maneat.

Siquis et in sudibus recalenti aspergine sanguis

Insidet, hunc omnem spongia pressa rapit.

145 Nec iam densa sacro quidquam de corpore silva

Obtinet, aut plenis fraudat ab exsequiis.

Cumque recensitis constaret partibus ille

Corporis integri qui fuerat numerus,

Nec purgata aliquid deberent avia toto

150 Ex homine, extersis frondibus et scopulis :

Metando eligitur tumulo locus ; Ostia linquunt :

Roma placet, sanctos quae teneat cineres.

Haud procul extremo culta ad pomperia vallo

Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis.

55 Huius in occultum gradibus via prona reflexis

Ire per anfractus luce latente docet.

Primas namque fores summo tenus intrat hiatu

- Illustratque dies limina vestibuli.  
 Inde, ubi progressu facili nigrescere visa est  
 160 Nox obscura, loci per specus ambiguum,  
 Occurrunt caesis immissa foramina tectis,  
 Quae iaciunt claros antra super radios.  
 Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus  
 Arcta sub umbrosis atria porticibus:  
 165 Attamen excisi subter cava viscera montis  
 Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.  
 Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis  
 Cernere fulgorem, luminibusque frui.  
 Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis,  
 170 Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.  
 Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque  
 Custos fida sui martyris apposita,  
 Servat ad aeterni spem vindicis ossa sepulcro,  
 Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.  
 175 Mira loci pietas, et prompta precantibus ara  
 Spes hominum placida prosperitate iuvat.  
 Hic corruptelis animique et corporis aeger  
 Oravi quoties stratus opem merui.  
 Quod laetor reditu, quod te, venerande sacerdos,  
 180 Complecti licitum est, scribo quod haec eadem,  
 Hippolyto scio me debere; Deus cui Christus  
 Posse dedit, quod quis postulet, annuere.  
 Ipsa, illas animae exuvias quae continet intus,  
 Aedicula argento fulgurat ex solido.  
 185 Praefixit tabulas dives manus aequore laevi  
 Candentes, recavum quale nitet speculum.  
 Nec Pariis contenta aditus obducere saxis,  
 Addidit ornando clara talenta operi.  
 Mane salutatum concurritur: omnis adorat  
 190 Pubis; eunt, redeunt, solis adusque obitum.  
 Conglobat in cuneum Latios simul ac peregrinos  
 Permixmap populos religionis amor.  
 Oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo;  
 Balsama diffundunt; fletibus ora rigant.  
 195 Iam cum se renovat decursis mensibus annus,  
 Natalemque diem passio festa refert,  
 Quanta putas studiis certantibus agmina cogi,  
 Quaeve celebrando vota coire Deo?



Urbs augusta suos vomit effunditque Quirites,  
Una et patricos ambitione pari.  
Confundit plebeia phalanx umbonibus aequis  
Discrimen procerum, praecipitante fide.  
Nec minus Albanis acies se candida portis  
Explicat, et longis ducitur ordinibus.  
Exsultant fremitus variarum hinc inde viarum;  
Indigena et Picens plebs et Etrusca venit;  
Concurrit Samnitis atrox habitator et altae  
Campanus Capuae, iamque Nolanus adest.  
Quisque sua laetus cum coniuge, dulcibus et cum  
Pignoribus, rapidum carpere gestit iter.  
Vix capiunt patuli populorum gaudia campi,  
Haeret et in magnis densa cohors spatii.  
Angustum tantis illud specus esse catervis  
Haud dubium est, ampla fauce licet pateat.  
Stat sed iuxta aliud quod tanta frequentia templum  
Tunc adeat, cultu nobile regifico,  
Parietibus celsum sublimibus, atque superba  
Maestate potens, muneribusque opulens.  
Ordo columnarum geminus laquearia tecti  
Sustinet, auratis suppositus trabibus:  
Adduntur graciles tecto brevior recessus,  
Qui laterum seriem iugiter exsinuent.  
At medios aperit tractus via latior alti  
Culminis exsurgens editiore apice.  
Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal  
Tollitur, antistes praedicat unde Deum.  
Plena laborantes aegre domus accipit undas,  
Arctaque confertis aestuat in foribus,  
Maternum pandens gremium, quo condant alumnos  
Ac foveat fetos accumulata sinus.  
Si bene commemini, colit hunc pulcherrima Roma  
Idibus Augusti mensis, ut ipsa vocat  
Prisco more diem quem te quoque, sancte magister,  
Annua festa inter dinumerare velim.  
Crede, salutigeros feret hic venerantibus ortus,  
Lucis honoratae praemia restituens.  
Inter solemnes Cypriani vel Celedoni,  
Eulaliaeque dies currat et iste tibi.

- Sic te pro populo cuius tibi credita vita est,  
 240 Orantem Christus audiat omnipotens.  
 Sic tibi de pleno lupus excludatur ovili,  
 Agna nec ulla tuum capta gregem minuat.  
 Sic me gramineo remanentem denique campo  
 Sedulus aegrotam pastor ovem referas.  
 245 Sic, cum lacteolis caulas compleveris agnis,  
 Raptus et ipse sacro sis comes Hippolyto.

## 11. PALLADIUS [C. A.D. 421].

*Hist. Lausiac.* 148 (*Patrol. Graec.* xxxiii. p. 1251, Migne).

Ἐν ἄλλῃ βιβλιδάρῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων εὖρον διήγημα τοιοῦτον.

Εὐγενεστάτῃ τις καὶ ὠραιστάτῃ παρθένος ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ κ.τ.λ.

## 12. THEODORET [A.D. 446].

(a) *Dialogus* i (iv. p. 54 sq, Schulze).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος, ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸ Κύριος ποιμαίνει με  
 καὶ κιβωτὸς δὲ ἐκ ξύλων κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἑλκανδὴν καὶ τὴν ἄνναν.

Ἄγε δὴ μοι, ὦ Σαμουήλ, κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἡσαίου.  
 Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τὸν κόσμον ἀπέικασε κ.τ.λ.

(b) *Dialogus* ii (iv. p. 130 sq).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος, ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὴν τῶν ταλάντων διανομὴν.

Τούτους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους φήσειεν ἂν τις γειννῶν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς βασιλίδαν τινὰ ἐπιστολῆς.

Ἀπαρχὴν οὖν τοῦτον λέγει τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἅτε πρωτότοκον τῶν νεκρῶν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἑλκανδὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄνναν.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρεῖς καιροὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ προετυπῶντο εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν σωτήρα κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὴν ᾠδὴν τὴν με-  
λῆν.

Ὁ τὸν ἀπολωλότα ἐκ γῆς πρωτόπλαστον ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ β' ψαλμοῦ.

Οὗτος ὁ προελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐφανερώθη κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸν κγ' ψαλμόν.

Ἐρχεται ἐπὶ τὰς οὐρανίας πύλας, ἄγγελοι αὐτῷ συνοδεύουσι κ.τ.λ.

(c) *Dialogus* iii (iv. p. 232 sq).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τῆς  
ῥοῦς βασιλίδας τινὰ ἐπιστολῆς.

Ἀπαρχὴν οὖν τοῦτον λέγει τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἅτε πρωτότοκον τῶν  
κρῶν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἰς τοὺς δγ' ληστὰς.

Ἀμφότερα παρέσχε τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα τῷ κόσμῳ, αἶμα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ  
ὡρ τὸ ἅγιον κ.τ.λ.

(d) *Haereticae Fabulae* ii. 3 (iv. p. 330).

κατὰ τούτου δὲ [τοῦ Κηρίνου] οὐ μόνον οἱ προρρηθέντες συνέγραψαν,  
ἀλλὰ σὺν ἐκείνοις καὶ Γάϊος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος.

(e) *Haereticae Fabulae* ii. 5 (iv. p. 331).

καὶ Θεόδοτος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος ὁ σκυτεὺς ταῦτα τούτῳ [τῷ Ἀρτέμῳ]  
φρονηκῶς ἐτέρας ἡγήσατο φρατρίας. τοῦτον δὲ ὁ τρισμακάριος Βίκτωρ  
τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος ἀπεκήρυξεν, ὡς παραχαράξει πειραθέντα τῆς ἐκκλη-  
σίας τὰ δόγματα. κατὰ τῆς τούτων αἵρέσεως ὁ μικρὸς συνεγράφη  
Βύρινθος, ὃν τινες Ὠριγένους ὑπολαμβάνουσι ποίημα, ἀλλ' ὁ χαρακτήρ  
ἔχει τοὺς λέγοντας. εἴτε δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἴτε ἄλλος συνέγραψε, τοιόνδε ἐν  
τῷ διηγέται διήγημα. Νατάλιον ἔφη τινὰ, κ.τ.λ.

(f) *Haereticae Fabulae* iii. 1 (iv. p. 340 sq).

κατὰ τούτων [τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν] καὶ ὁ προρρηθεὶς συνέγραψε Κλήμης καὶ  
Ἰρηναῖος καὶ Ὠριγένης καὶ Ἱππόλυτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυρ.

(g) *Haereticae Fabulae* iii. 3 (iv. p. 342).

κατὰ δὲ Προκλου τῆς αὐτῆς αἵρέσεως [τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας] προστατεύ-  
ωντος συνέγραψε Γάϊος, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν.

(h) *Epistolae* 145 (iv. p. 1252).

καὶ οἱ τούτων πρεσβύτεροι Ἰγνάτιος καὶ Πολύκαρπος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος  
καὶ Ἰουστίνος καὶ Ἱππόλυτος, ὧν οἱ πλείους οὐκ ἀρχιερέων προλάμπουσι  
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων διακοσμοῦσι χορόν.



## 13. GELASIUS [A.D. 492—496].

*Bibl. Patr.* viii. p. 704 (Lugdun.) : see Lagarde, p. 90 sq.

HIPPOLYTI EPISCOPI ET MARTYRIS ARABUM METROPOLIS IN MEMORIA  
HAERESIVM;

‘Hic procedens in mundum Deus et homo apparuit etc.’

## 14. ANDREAS OF CÆSAREA [c. A.D. 500?].

(a) *In Apocalypsis. Synops.* (Cramer’s *Catena*, p. 176).

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος  
ὁ θεῖος τὸν λόγον καὶ Κύριλλος καὶ Παπίας καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Μεθόδιος καὶ  
Ἰππόλυτος, οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πατέρες, ἐχέγγυοι πιστώσασθαι.

(b) *In Apocalypsis.* xiii. 1.

Τοῖς δὲ ἀγίοις Μεθοδίῳ καὶ Ἰππολύτῳ καὶ ἑτέροις εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν  
ἀντίχριστον τὸ παρὸν θηρίον ἐξείληπται, ἐκ τῆς πολυταράχου τοῦ βίου  
τούτου θαλάσσης καὶ πολυκύμονος ἐξερχόμενον κ.τ.λ.

Hippolytus is also quoted on xiii. 18 and on xvii. 10 (comp.  
Cramer’s *Catena*, p. 385).

## 15. LIBER PONTIFICALIS [c. A.D. 530, A.D. ?].

On the two recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis* and their respective  
dates see above, I. p. 303 sq.

A. *Relating to S. Hippolytus.*

(a) *Vita Pontiani* [A.D. 230—235] I. pp. 62, 145 (Duchesne).

Eodem tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbiter exilio  
sunt deputati ab Alexandro in Sardinia insula Bucina, Severo et Quintiano  
consulibus.

The same in both recensions, but ‘deportati’ for ‘deputati’ in the later (see above,  
I. p. 255).

The date of the exile does not fall during the reign of Alexander, but of Maximinus. The text of the Liberian Catalogue has ‘insula nociva’ (see above, I. p. 255), which is doubtless correct (see Duchesne’s note, p. 146); but there was an island ‘Bucina’ or ‘Bucinna,’ one of the Ægates; Pliny *N. H.* iii. 8, § 92, Steph. Byz. s.v. The latter however wrongly calls it a ‘city’ of Sicily.

(b) *Vita Gregorii III* [A.D. 731—741] I. p. 419.

Item in ecclesia beati Genesii martyris tectum noviter restauravit;  
ubi et altare erexit in nomine salvatoris Domini Dei nostri etc.

(c) *Vita Hadriani* [A.D. 772—795] I. p. 511.

Simul et cymiterium beati Yppoliti martyris juxta sanctum Laurentium, quae a priscis marcuerant temporibus, noviter restauravit. Pari modo et ecclesiam beati Christi martyris Stephani, sitam juxta praedictum cymiterium sancti Yppoliti, similiter restauravit.

(d) *Vita Leonis III* [A.D. 795—816] II. p. 12.

Fecit autem hisdem almificus pontifex in basilica beati Yppoliti martyris in civitate Portuense vestes de stauraci duas, unam super corpus ejus et aliam in altare majore.

(e) *Vita Leonis IV* [A.D. 847—855] II. p. 115 sq.

Ipsa vero a Deo protectus et beatissimus papa multa corpora sanctorum... infra hujus alme urbis moenia congregavit mirifice. Nam et corpora sanctorum martyrum IIII Coronatorum sollerti cura inquirens peperit; pro quorum desiderabili amore basilicam quae sanctorum fuerat homini consecrata... in splendidiorem pulcrioremque statum perduxit... eorumque sacratissima corpora cum Claudio, Nicostrato... Ypolito videm, cum suis familiis numero XVIII... pariter sub sacro altare condens locavit.

## ib. II. p. 125.

Obtulit et in ecclesia beati Ipoliti martiris, qui ponitur in insula Portuensi, quae nuncupatur Arsis, vestem de fundato habentem gamadias ex argento textas I, vela de fundato numero IIII.

There seems to be some confusion between this notice and the last in Döllinger 38. We read of 'insulam quae dicitur Assis (*v.l.* Arsis), quod est inter Portum et ostia,' *Vita Silvestri* I. p. 184. The island between the two branches of the Tiber clearly meant; but why it was so called, does not appear; see Duchesne's note, 199.

B. *Relating to S. Laurentius.*(a) *Vita Silvestri* [A.D. 314—335] I. p. 181.

Eodem tempore fecit [Constantinus Augustus] basilicam beato Laurentio martyri via Tiburtina in agrum Veranum supra arenario Ipytae et usque ad corpus Laurenti martyris fecit gradus ascensionis et descensionis. In quo loco construxit absidam et exornavit marmoribus porphyriticis et desuper loci conclusit de argento, et cancellos de argento purissimo ornavit, qui pens. lib. I, et ante ipsum locum in Ipyta posuit etc.

(b) *Vita Xysti III* [A.D. 432—440] I. p. 233 sq.

Item fecit Xystus episcopus confessionem beati Laurenti martyris

cum columnis porphyriticis et ornavit platomis transendam, et altare et confessionem sancto martyri Laurentio de argento purissimo, pens. lib. l, cancellos argenteos supra platomas purphyreticas, pens. lib. ccc.

Absidam supra cancellos cum statua beati Laurenti martyris argenteam, pens. lib. cc.

Fecit autem basilicam sancto Laurentio, quod Valentinianus Augustus concessit, ubi et optulit etc.

(c) *Vita Pelagii II* [A.D. 579—590] I. p. 309.

Hic fecit supra corpus beati Laurenti martyris basilicam a fundamento constructam et tabulis argenteis exornavit sepulchrum ejus.

(d) *Vita Hadriani* [A.D. 772—795] I. p. 500.

Fecit in aecclesia beati Laurenti martyris foris muros, scilicet ubi sanctum eius corpus requiescit, vestem de stauracim; et in aecclesia maiore aliam similiter fecit vestem. Nam et tectum eiusdem beati Laurenti basilicae maiore, qui iam distectus erat et trabes eius confracte, noviter fecit.

(e) *ib.* p. 504.

In ecclesia vero beati Laurentii martyris atque levite foris muros huius civitatis Romae fecit vela etc.

(f) *ib.* p. 505.

Item ipse ter beatissimus praesul in basilica maiore, quae appellatur sancte Dei genetricis, qui aderat iuxta basilicam sancti Laurentii martyris adque levite ubi eius sanctum corpus requiescit, foris muros huius civitatis Romae, obtulit vela de stauracim etc.

(g) *ib.* p. 508.

Immo et porticus quae ducit ad sanctum Laurentium foris muros a porta usque in eadem basilicam noviter construxit. Hic idem almi-ficus vates eandem basilicam sancti Laurentii martyris ubi sanctum eius corpus quiescit, adnexam basilicae maioris quam dudum isdem praesul construxerat, ultro citroque noviter restauravit. Immo et aecclesiam sancti Stephani iuxta eas sitam, ubi corpus sancti Leonis episcopi et martyris quiescit, similiter undique renovavit una cum cimiterio beatae Cyriacae seu ascensum eius.

(h) *ib.* p. 511.

Fecit autem idem praesagus antistes in confessione beati Laurentii foris muros imaginem ex auro purissimo in modum evangeliorum, eiusdem beati Laurentii effigies continentem, etc.



## 16. CYRILLUS OF SCYTHOPOLIS [c. A.D. 555].

*Vita S. Euthymii* p. 82 (Hippol. *Op.* i. p. ix sq, Fabricius).

Ἔτους πέμπτου ἐξηκοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφέντας χρόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων Ἰππολύτου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τῶν ἱποστόλων καὶ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Κυπριώτου κ.τ.λ.

## 17. GREGORY OF TOURS [c. A.D. 577].

*Hist. Franc.* i. 30 (i. p. 47 sq, ed. Arndt et Krusch).

Sub Decio vero imperatore...Xystus Romanae ecclesiae episcopus et Laurentius archidiaconus et Hyppolitus ob dominici nominis confessionem per martyrium consummati sunt.

## 18. EUSTRATIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE [c. A.D. 578].

*Adv. Psychopannychitas* 19 (Hippol. *Op.* ii. p. 32, Fabricius).

λέγει τοίνυν ἱππόλυτος ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ῥώμης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ εἰς τὸν δανιὴλ τοιαῦτα.

Τότε μὲν οὖν συστάς Ἀζαρίας ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς δι' ὕμνου κ.τ.λ.

## 19. STEPHANUS GOBARUS [c. A.D. 575—600?].

Photius *Bibliotheca* 232 (p. 291 B).

Ἔτι δὲ ποίας ὑπολήψεις ἔσχεν Ἰππόλυτος καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος περὶ Νικολάου οὗ ἐνός τῶν ζ' διακόνων καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ καταγινώσκουσιν, κ.τ.λ.

Ὅτι Ἰππόλυτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου ἔκ ἐκείνου εἶναι φασι.

Τίνας ὑπολήψεις εἶχεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Ἰππόλυτος περὶ τῆς τῶν Μοντανιστῶν ἡρέσεως, καὶ τίνας ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις τῆς Νύσσης Γρηγόριος.

## 20. LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM [c. A.D. 620].

(a) *De Sectis* Act. iii. § 1 (*Patrol. Graec.* LXXXVI. p. 1213, Migne).

Ἐγένοντο δὲ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου διδάσκαλοι καὶ πατέρες οἶδε· Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος, Εἰρηναῖος, Ἰουστίνος φιλόσοφος καὶ μάρτυς, Κλήμης καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ἐπίσκοποι Ῥώμης, κ.τ.λ.

(b) *c. Nestorium et Eutychem* Lib. i (*ib.* p. 1312).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τῶν ῥηγορῶν τοῦ βαλαάμ.

Ἰνα δειχθῇ τὸ συναμφότερον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ κ.τ.λ.

## 21. CHRONICON PASCHALE [c. A.D. 630].

p. 12 sq (ed. Bonn.).

Ἰππόλυτος τοῖνυν ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας μάρτυς, ἐπίσκοπος γεγωνὼς τοῦ καλουμένου Πόρτου πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἀίρέσεις συντάγματι ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως.

Ὅρῳ μὲν οὖν ὅτι φιλονεικίας τὸ ἔργον. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔπαθεν· διὸ καὶ δεῖ, ὃν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν, οὕτω ποιεῖν· πεπλάνηται δὲ μὴ γινώσκων ὅτι ὃ καιρῷ ἔπασχεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγε τὸ κατὰ νόμον πάσχα, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τὸ τελειούμενον τῇ ὠρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πάσχα συγγράμματος εἴρηκεν οὕτως·

Οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κ.τ.λ.

Wordsworth (pp. 51, 267) ascribes this passage to Peter of Alexandria, and so apparently did Bunsen (Wordsworth p. 51, Döllinger p. 19) in his earlier work, but in his second edition (1854) he does not say anything of the kind (1. p. 420). The authorship of Peter of Alexandria could only be maintained on the supposition that the whole passage after the mention of his name (p. 4) is his; but this is impossible for two reasons; (1) The writer quotes from 'the great Athanasius the luminary of the Alexandrian Church' (p. 9), who was only a very little child when Peter flourished; (2) He uses such language as ἀειπαρθένου καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεοτόκου Μαρίας (p. 10), which would be an anachronism in the mouth of Peter. A better case might be made out for Athanasius, but the author is probably the writer of the *Chronicon Paschale* himself.

## 22. CONCILIUM LATERANENSE [A.D. 649].

Labbe. *Conc.* vii. p. 287 (ed. Coleti).

τοῦ ἀγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ θεολογίας λόγου.

Τὸ θέλειν ἔχει ὁ Θεός, οὐ τὸ μὴ θέλειν, κ.τ.λ.

ib. vii. p. 293.

τοῦ ἀγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὸ πάσχα ἐξηγήσεως.

Ὅλος ἦν [ἐν] πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ, γεμίσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν κ.τ.λ.

## 23. ANASTASIUS APOCRISIARIUS [A.D. 665].

*Epist. ad Theodos. Gangren.* (*Patrol. Lat.* cxxix. p. 664 sq, Migne).

Praeterea misi ad praesens cum hac epistola mea Deo honorabilibus vobis...rotulam habentem testimonia ex dictis sancti Hippolyti episcopi

Portus Romani ac martyris Christi Dei nostri...Hunc quippe librum Byzantii nobis antequam passi fuisset delatum, cum hunc totum vellemus transcribere, subito juxta consuetudinem suam insistentes adversarii latronum more rapuerunt, et non valuimus ex ipso plusquam haec octo testimonia tollere.

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου πόρτου, ἡγοῦν τοῦ λι-  
μένος ῥώμης, καὶ μάρτυρος τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ  
ἡρώωνος καὶ ἡλίκος (v. l. ἡλικίωνος) τῶν αἰρετικῶν περὶ  
θεολογίας καὶ σαρκώσεως κατὰ στοιχεῖον λόγου, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,  
ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαώθ, ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ βοῶντα τὰ σεραφίμ τὸν  
θεὸν δοξάζωσι·

Ἀπειροδυνάμω γὰρ θελήσει τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.

24. ANASTASIUS SINAITA [c. A.D. 680].

(a) *Hodegus* 23 (*Patrol. Graec.* LXXXIX. p. 301, Migne).

ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀναστάσεως  
αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίας λόγου.

Ἔσονται, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οἱ ἄνθρωποι κ.τ.λ.

(b) *Quaestiones* 41 (p. 592, Migne).

ἱππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄσμα ἁγμάτων.

Καὶ τοῦ πᾶσα ἡ πλουσία αὐτῇ γινώσκει; τοῦ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια κ.τ.λ.

(c) *Quaestiones* 48 (p. 604, Migne).

ἱππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν δαυὶδ.

Τῶν γὰρ σιδηρῶν κνημῶν τῶν νῦν ἐπικρατουσῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔχνη τῶν ποδῶν  
κ.τ.λ.

25. PSEUDO-JOHN OF DAMASCUS [c. A.D. 700?].

(a) *Sacra Parallela Rupef.* (*Op.* II. p. 787, Lequien).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ῥώμης.

ταῦτα δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἔχομεν διηγήσασθαι, ὅπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, κ.τ.λ.

(b) *Sacra Parallela Rupef.* (*Op.* II. p. 781).

ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου ῥώμης περὶ χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀντι-  
ρίστου.

ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐν προοιμίᾳ εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ εἰρημένων.

26. GERMANUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE [c. A.D. 720].

*Rerum Eccl. Contempl.* (*Patrol. Graec.* xcvi. p. 417, Migne).

Τοῦτο καὶ Ἰππόλυτος Ῥώμης καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κύριλλος λέγουσιν ἐν τοῖς



περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου λόγοις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει τὴν μέλλουσαν παρουσίαν ἔσεσθαι.

See Overbeck *Quaest. Hippol.* p. 30 sq.

27. PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM [A.D. ?].

*De Pseudo-prophetis* (Chrysost. *Op.* viii. app. p. 79).

Ποῦ Ἰγνάτιος τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον; ποῦ ὁ Διονύσιος τὸ πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; ποῦ Ἰππόλυτος ὁ γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος;

This work is manifestly spurious. The reference to Dionysius the Areopagite in this very passage is a sufficient evidence. We have no means of ascertaining its date; but it was evidently many generations later than Chrysostom.

28. GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS [A.D. 792].

(a) *Chronographia* p. 674 (ed. Bonn.).

Ἰππόλυτος ἱερὸς φιλόσοφος ἐπίσκοπος Πόρτου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην σφόδρα διαπρεπῶς ἦνθαι ἐν τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλοσοφίᾳ, πλείστα ψυχωφελῆ συντάττων ὑπομνήματα. εἰς τε γὰρ τὴν ἑξαήμερον καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον, εἰς πολλὰ τε τῶν προφητῶν, μάλιστα ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ δαυιδ τῶν μεγάλων, ἔτι μὴν εἰς τὰ ἄσματα καὶ εἰς ἄλλας παντοίας παλαιὰς καὶ νέας γραφάς, ἐν οἷς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν πάτμῳ τοῦ θεολόγου ἀποκάλυψιν, πρὸς μαρκίωνα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰρέσεις, καὶ τὸν ἑξκαιδεκαετηρικὸν τοῦ πάσχα κανόνα ἐξέθετο περιγράφας εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μαρμαίως τοῦτου, καὶ συντόμως φάναι θεοφραδῆς ποταμὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ζώντων ναμάτων γέγονε, τὸν μαρτυρικὸν περιθέμενος στέφανον πρὸς τῷ τέλει.

(b) *Chronographia* p. 685 (ed. Bonn.).

πάνν γὰρ ὀλίγον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦσδε τοὺς χρόνους ἱερῶν καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων ἐπιμνησθεῖς, Κλήμεντος λεγομένου Στρωματέως, Ἰππολύτου τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος, Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, Διονυσίου τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ ἄλλων.

29. NICEPHORUS [† A.D. 828].

*Antirrhetica* ii. 13 (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 347).

τοῦ ἁγίου ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου πόρτου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ βήρωνος καὶ ἡλικίωνος τῶν αἰρετικῶν λόγου οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος.

Τὸ γὰρ ἄπειρον κατ' οὐδένα λόγον ἢ τρόπον κ.τ.λ.

## 30. GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS [c. A.D. 810].

*Chronicon* iii. 134, p. 336 (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cx. p. 521).

Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰππόλυτος Ῥώμης περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ τῆς τελειώσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων διεξιὼν ἔφη· Ἰωάννης [δὲ] ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὸν λόγον [τοῦ εὐαγγελίου] ἐξωρίσθη ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ βασιλέως Ῥώμης, κακείμενος πάλιν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας ἀνακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Νερβά καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον συγγραψάμενος, ἐνθα καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν θεασάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὗ τὸ λείψανον ζητηθὲν οὐχ εὑρέθη.

## 31. PHOTIUS [c. A.D. 850].

(a) *Bibliotheca* 48.

Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωσήπου περὶ τοῦ παντός, ὃ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνέγνων ἐπιγραφόμενον περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας. ἔστι δὲ ἐν δυσὶ λογιδίοις. δείκνυσι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν στασιάζοντα Πλάτωνα, ἐλέγχει δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ὕλης καὶ ἀναστάσεως Ἀλκινούν ἀλόγως τε καὶ ψευδῶς εἰπόντα, ἀντεισάγει δὲ τὰς οἰκείας περὶ τούτων τῶν ὑποθέσεων δόξας, δείκνυσί τε πρεσβύτερον Ἑλλήνων πολλῶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος. δοξάζει δὲ συγκείσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔτι ἐκ πνεύματος, ὃ καὶ ψυχὴν ὀνομάζει. περὶ οὗ πνεύματος αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτω φησί.

Τούτου τὸ κυριώτερον ἀνελόμενος ἅμα τῷ σώματι ἔπλασε, καὶ διὰ παντός μέλους καὶ ἄρθρου πορείαν αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν· ὃ τῷ σώματι συμπλασθὲν καὶ διὰ παντὸς δικνούμενον τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει τοῦ βλεπομένου σώματος τετύπεται, τὴν οὐσίαν δὲ ψυχρότερον ὑπάρχει πρὸς τὰ τρία, δι' ὧν τὸ σῶμα συνήρμωσται.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἀναξίως τῆς τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ ἀνθρώπου φυσιολογίας ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσκήσεως, διέξεισι καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμογονίας κεφαλαιωδῶς. περὶ μέντοι Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ὡς ἔγγιστα θεολογεῖ, κλησὶν τε αὐτὴν ἀναφθεγγόμενος Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς ἄφραστον γέννησιν ἀμέμπτως ἀναγράφων. Ὅ τινες ἴσως καὶ ἀμφιδοξεῖν, ὡς Ἰωσήπου εἶη τὸ συνταγμάτιον, ἀναπίπτειεν. οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ τῆς φράσεως αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδεῖ.

Εὗρον δὲ ἐν παραγραφαῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος Ἰωσήπου, ἀλλὰ Γαίτου τινὸς πρεσβυτέρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντος, ὃν φασι συντάξαι καὶ τὸν Λαβύρινθον· οὗ καὶ διάλογος φέρεται πρὸς Πρόκλον τινὰ ὑπέρμαχον τῆς τῶν Μοντανιστῶν αἱρέσεως. ἀνεπιγράφου δὲ καταλειφθέντος τοῦ λόγου φασὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἰωσήπου ἐπιγράψαι, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος, ἄλλους δὲ Εἰρηναίου, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Λαβύρινθόν τινες ἐπέγραψαν Ὠριγένους. ἐπεὶ

Γαίον ἐστὶ πόνημα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ συντεταχότος τὸν Λαβύρινθον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου διεμαρτύρατο ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας λόγον. εἰ δ' ἕτερος καὶ οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐπω μοι γέγονεν εὐδηλον. τοῦτον τὸν Γαίον πρεσβυτερόν φασι γεγενῆσθαι τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ Οὐίκτορος καὶ Ζεφυρίνου τῶν ἀρχιερέων, χειροτονηθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον. συντάξει δὲ καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ἰδίως κατὰ τῆς ἀρτέμωνος αἰρέσεως, καὶ κατὰ πρόκλογ δὲ σπουδαίου Μοντανοῦ σπουδαίαν διάλεξιν συντεταχέναι, ἐν ᾗ τρισκαίδεκα μόνας ἐπιστολὰς ἀριθμεῖται Παύλου, οὐκ ἐγκρίνων τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους.

(b) *Bibliotheca* 121.

ἱΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΑἰΡΕΣΕΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΔΑΡΙΟΝ.

Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Ἱππολύτου μαθητῆς δὲ Εἰρηναίου ὁ Ἱππόλυτος. ἦν δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα κατὰ αἰρέσεων λβ', ἀρχὴν ποιούμενον Δοσιθεαγούς, καὶ μέχρι Νοητοῦ καὶ Νοητιανῶν διαλάμβανον. ταύτας δὲ φησιν ἐλέγχοις ὑποβληθῆναι ὁμολοῦντος Εἰρηναίου, ὧν καὶ σύνοψιν ὁ Ἱππόλυτος ποιούμενος τότε τὸ βιβλίον φησὶ συντεταχέναι. τὴν δὲ φράσιν σαφὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπόσεμνος καὶ ἀπέρητος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀττικὸν οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται λόγον. λέγει δὲ ἄλλα τέ τινα τῆς ἀκριβείας λειπόμενα, καὶ ὅτι ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου. λέγεται δὲ οὗτος καὶ προσομιλεῖν τῷ λαῷ κατὰ μίμησιν Ὀριγένους, οὗ καὶ συνήθης μάλιστα καὶ ἐραστὴς τῶν λόγων ὑπῆρχεν, ὡς καὶ προτρέψασθαι αὐτὸν τὴν θεῖαν ὑπομνηματίσαι γραφὴν, ἐγκαταστήσας αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπογραφείας ἑπτὰ ταχυγράφους καὶ ἑτέρους τοσοῦτους γράφοντας εἰς κάλλος, ὧν ἦν καὶ τῆς δαπάνης αὐτὸς χορηγός· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπηρετούμενος αὐτῷ ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπαραιτήτως τὸ ἔργον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐργοδιώκτην ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν παρὰ Ὀριγένους κληθῆναι, πλείστα δὲ καὶ οὗτος λέγεται συγγεγραφέναι.

(c) *Bibliotheca* 202.

ἱΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ Εἰς τὸν ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ· ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἱππολύτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Δανιήλ. κατὰ λέξιν μὲν οὐ ποιεῖται τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν, πλὴν τὸν νοῦν γε, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐ παρατρέχει· πολλὰ μέντοι ἀρχαιοτρόπως καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ ὕστερον διηκριβωμένον καταλέγει. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων οὐκ ἂν εἴη δίκαιος λόγον ὑπέχειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχὴν θεωρίας καταβαλλομένους οὐ δίκας ἀπαιτεῖν τῶν παρεμμένων, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μάλιστα αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν καταλήψως τῶν διασκοπομένων προχωροῇ. τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε συντέλεια ἴσταται, μήδε τοῖς μαθηταῖς δεομένοις τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀποκαλύψαντος, εἶτα αὐτῶν ταύτην πεντακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ὑπαχθέντα περιγράψασθαι, ὡσανεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ πρώτης τοῦ



κόσμου καταβολῆς ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν συντελουμένων, καὶ τὴν διάλυσιν αὐτοῦ ἐφ'εστάναι, τοῦτο καὶ θερμότερας ἂν εἴη τοῦ προσήκοντος γνώμης, καὶ ἡ ἀπόφασις ἀνθρωπίνης ἀγνοίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιπνοίας τῆς ἀνωθεν διελέγχει. ἡ δὲ φράσις αὐτῷ τὸ σαφές ὅτι μάλιστα οἰκειομένην πρέπει ἂν ἐρμηνεῖα, εἰ καὶ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς οἱ τι μάλα θεσμονὺς δυσωπεῖται.

Συνανενγνώσθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος περὶ χριστοῦ καὶ ἀντιχρίστου, ἐν ᾧ ἡ τε αὐτῇ τῶν λόγων ἰδέα διαπρέπει, καὶ τὸ τῶν νοημάτων ἀπλούστερόν τε καὶ ἀρχαιότροπον.

### 32. EECUMENIUS [c. A.D. 990?].

*In Apocalypsis. Praef.* (Cramer's *Catena* p. 173).

Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ἰππολύτῳ τῷ Ῥώμης προέδρῳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ εἰς ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ἑρμηνείᾳ λόγου.

### 33. ZONARAS [c. A.D. 1120?].

(a) *Annal.* vi. 4 (p. 267).

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, ὃς κατὰ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ἐπιγέγραπται περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας, οὗ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Δαμάσκηνος μνεῖαν πεποιῖται ἐν τῇ πονηθείσῃ αὐτῷ βίβλῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Παράλληλα, ταῦτά φησι· πάντες γὰρ δίκαιοι τε καὶ ἄδικοι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, κ.τ.λ.

(b) *Annal.* xii. 15 (p. 620).

Τότε Οὐρβανοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως προεστῶτος καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ἦνθι ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ σοφώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ κατὰ Ῥώμην Πόρτου γενόμενος, ὃς καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα συνεγράψατο, διάφορα τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐξηγησάμενος.

### 34. SUIDAS [c. A.D. 1100?].

p. 1058, ed. Bernhardt.

Ἰππόλυτος· οὗτος ἔγραψεν εἰς τὰς ὁράσεις τοῦ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ὑπόμνημα καὶ εἰς τὰς παροιμίας ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

### 35. NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS [c. A.D. 1300].

*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 31.

Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ Σελῆρον χρόνοις καὶ Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Πόρτου τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος γεγονὼς ἀκμάζων ἦν. καὶ δὴ πολλῶν ὑπομνημάτων συνετῶς αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων, καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐκτίθεται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ᾧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐκθέμενος καὶ τινα κανόνα ἐκκαϊδεκαετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα προθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου περιγράφει τοὺς χρόνους.

τά γε μὴν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα ταῦτά εἰσι· βιβλίον εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον· ἕτερον εἰς τὰ μετὰ ἑξαήμερον· ἀντιρρητικὸς πρὸς μαρκίωνα· εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων· εἰς μέρη τοῦ ἰεζεκιήλ· περὶ τοῦ πάσχα· σύνταγμα πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις βιωφελέστατον· περὶ τῆς παροργίας τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου· περὶ ἀναστάσεως· καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα· εἰς ζαχαρίαν· περὶ ψαλμῶν· εἰς τὸν ἡσαΐαν· εἰς τὸν δαυὶδ· περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως· περὶ παροιμιῶν· περὶ σαοῦλ καὶ γύθωνος· περὶ ἐπαίνων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ· ἐν οἷς παρόντος Ὀριγένους ὠμίλησε. τινὰ δὲ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐπιλήψιμα ἔχων, τῷ περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τελειωθείς τὸν τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀπετρίψατο μῶμον. ἐξ ὧν φασι καὶ Ὀριγένην ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι ταῖς θείαις ἐπιβάλλειν γραφαῖς. τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἱππολύτου.

## 36. EBED-JESU [c. A.D. 1300].

*Catalogus c. vii (Assemanus Bibliotheca Orientalis III. p. 15).*

Κύριος Ἱππόλυτος μάρτυς

καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἔγραψε βιβλίον

περὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ ἐρμηνείαν

Δανιὴλ τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Σουσάννας

καὶ κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαῖον

καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποκαλύ-  
ψεως

καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰωάννου

τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ.

ܟܝܬܘܐ ܘܥܡܠܐܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ

ܟܕܐܐ ܚܘ ܟܕܐܥܡܐܬܐ

ܡܬܬܐܐ : ܟܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܕܐܢܐ

: ܚܬܐܐ ܟܝܬܐ ܕܟܝܬܐ

: ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܬܬܐܐ ܕܟܝܬܐ

ܟܝܬܐ ܕܕܐܢܐ ܘܥܡܠܐܬܐ

ܡܬܬܐܐ ܕܟܕܐܝܬܐ

ܟܕܐܥܡܐܬܐ ܕܟܝܬܐ

Though this Catalogue was originally written in Syriac, I have thought it worth while to translate the passage into Greek, so as to show its correspondences with other lists of Hippolytus' writings.

There can be no reasonable doubt that *οἰκονομίας* (ver. 3) is the right translation, the corresponding Syriac word being an ordinary rendering of *οἰκονομία* in its technical sense referring to the Incarnation; see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* s. v. p. 818. The expression 'the little Daniel,' if the epithet be correctly so translated rather than 'young,' occurs again *Bibl. Orient.* iv. p. 6, where Assemani explains it of the apocryphal additions to Daniel, i.e. the history of Susanna, the Song of the Three Children, and Bel and the Dragon, though Susanna is mentioned separately in the preceding line. On the other hand Wright

(*Catal. of Syr. MSS of Brit. Mus.* i. p. 19) gives an account of a MS containing the prophets of the Old Testament and other matter, which between Susanna and Baruch has 'Daniel the youth (so he translates it) concerning our Lord and the end of the world.'

37. INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO RELIQUES.

(a) *Inscriptio in Basilica S. Laurentii.*

CONTINET HOC TEMPLUM SANCTORUM  
 CORPORA PLURA  
 A QUIBUS AUXILIUM SUPPLEX HIC  
 POSCERE CURA  
 CUM XISTO JACET HIC LAURENTIUS  
 IGNE CREMATUS  
 ET PROTOMARTIR STEPHANUS LEVI  
 TA BEATUS  
 POST HOS IPOLITUS COLLIS RE  
 10                   LIGATUS EQUORUM  
 CUM NUTRICE SUA CUM CUNC  
 TA PLEBE SUORUM  
 ROMANUS MILES TRIPHOMIA  
 VIRGO CIRILLA  
 ET QUADRAGINTA QUOS PASSIO  
 CONTINET ILLA  
 JUSTINUSQUE SACER DEFUNCTOS  
 QUI TUMULABAT  
 CIRIACE VIDUA QUE SANCTOS  
 20                   CLAM RECREABAT  
 CUJUS MATRONE FUT HEC  
 POSSESSIO CARA  
 IPSIUS NOMEN SPECIALITER  
 OPTINET ARA  
 MARTIR IRENEUS QUI TECUM  
 MARTIR ABUNDI  
 DECEDENS SPREVIT FALLACIS  
 GAUDIA MUNDI  
 VLARUS ET ZOSIMUS PELAGIUS  
 30                   HIC RETINENTUR  
 TERTIUS ET XISTUS CUM MULTIS  
 QUI RETICENTUR



This inscription was found in the narthex of the lower basilica of S. Laurentius in 1853. It is given in De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1881, p. 87. The alternate (shorter) lines are in red. It belongs to the XIIIth century. For the reference in 'passio illa' see below, p. 473. In the inscription itself, l. 13 MILES is written MILEX, and in l. 29 YLARVS is XLARVS.

(b) *Inscriptio in Ecclesia S. Silvestri.*

✠ IN N̄ DNI HEC EST NOTICIA NATALICIORUM  
SCŌRUM HIC REQUIESCENTIUM

\* \*

MENSE AUGUSTO DIE VIII NA SCŌRŪ  
QUIRIACI LARGI ET SMARAGDE ARCHEL  
DIE XIII M̄ SS̄ NĀ SCI YPPOLITI,

where M̄ SS̄ means mensis suprascripti (i.e. August). This table of the inscription, relating to the male saints, was known long ago, and will be found in Muratori *Nov. Thes.* p. MCMLXVI.

✠ INN. DNĪ. HAEC. NOT. NAT. SC[ARUM]  
HIC REQUIESCENT[IUM]

\* \*

MENSE AŪG. D. VIII. N̄. SCĀR. MEMMIAE  
ET JULIANAE  
D̄. VIII. M̄. SS̄. N̄. SCĀE ARTHEMIAE  
D̄. XII. M̄. SS̄. N̄. SCĀE CONCORDIAE  
MENSE SEPT̄. D̄. XXX. N̄. SCĀR SOFIAE  
PISTIS. HELPIS. ET. AGAPE  
MENSE OCT̄. D̄. XIII. N̄. SCĀE CONCHYLE  
D̄. XVIII. M̄. SS̄. N̄. SCĀE TRIFONIAE  
D̄. XXVIII. M̄. SS̄. N̄. SCĀE CYRILLAE

This table, relating to the female saints, has been pieced together recently by De Rossi; see *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 39 sq.

These were the reliques taken from the demolished and rifled suburban cemeteries and placed by Paul I between A.D. 757—761 in his monastery of S. Silvester in Capite.

38. ITINERARIES.

These extracts are taken from De Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* i. p. 144 sq, where the documents are described and their dates fixed. The extracts are on pp. 178, 179.

(a) *Itinerarium Codicis Salisburgensis* [A.D. 625—638].

Postea illam viam demittis et pervenies ad S. Ypolitum martyrem qui requiescit sub terra in cubiculo, et Concordia mulier eius martyr ante fores, altero cubiculo S. Triphonia regina et martyr, et Cyrilla filia eius et martyr, quas meditus Decius interfecit uxorem et filiam, et S. Genisius martyr. Postea pervenies ad ecclesiam S. Laurentii; ibi sunt magnae basilicae duae in quarum quis speciosiore et pausat, et est parvum cubiculum extra ecclesiam in hoc occidentur. Ibi pausat S. Abundius et Herenius martyr Via Tiburtina; et ibi est ille lapis quem tollent digito multi homines nescientes quid faciunt. Et in altera ecclesia sursum multi martyres pausant. Prima est Cyriaca sancta vidua et martyr, et in altero loco S. Justinus, et iuxta eum Crescentius martyr, et multitudo sanctorum, longe in spelunca deorum S. Romanus martyr. Postea ascendes ad ecclesiam S. Agapiti martyris et diaconi S. Syxti papae.

In l. 4 for 'meditus' read 'Messius'; in l. 6 for 'in quarum...pausat' read probably 'in quarum quae speciosior est pausat'; and in l. 7 'occidentur' should be read 'occidente,' even if some greater correction is not needed.

This is the itinerary attached to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.

(b) *Epitome Libri de Locis Sanctorum Martyrum* [A.D. 635—645].

Juxta Viam Tiburtinam (prope murum civitatis ecclesia est S. Januarii episcopi et martyris, eademque via) ecclesia est S. Agapiti cultum honorabilis martyrum corporibus. Et prope eandem viam ecclesia est S. Laurentii maior, in qua corpus eius primum fuerat humatum, et ibi basilica nova mirae pulchritudinis, ubi ipse modo requiescit. Ibi quoque sub eodem altare Abundus est depositus et lapis in portico lapis est, qui aliquando in collo eiusdem Abundi pendebat in puteum missi: ibi Hereneus, Julianus, Primitivus, Tactus, Gemeseus, Eugenius, Justinus, Crescentianus, Romanus sunt sepulti, et S. Cyriaca, S. Simferosa, et Justina cum multis martyribus sunt sepulti. Inde in boream sursum in monte basilica S. Hippolyti est, ubi ipse cum familia sua tota xviii martyres iacet. Carcer ibi est in quo fuit Laurentius. Ibi est Triphonia uxor Decii Caesaris et Cyrilla filia eius: inter utrasque Concordia et S. Geneseus, et multi martyres ibi sunt.

In l. 1, 2, the words in brackets are in a later hand. In l. 11 read 'sepultae'.

(c) *Notitia Portarum Viarum Ecclesiarum* [A.D. 648—682].

Sexta porta et via Tiburtina, quae modo dicitur S. Laurentii, iuxta hanc viam iacet S. Laurentius in sua ecclesia et Habundius martyr. Et ibi prope in altera ecclesia pausant hi martyres, Ciriaca, Romanus,

Justinus, Crescentianus, et ibi non longe Ipolitus vel basilica S. Ippolyti, ubi ipse cum familia sua pausat, id est xviii [v. l. xxviii]. Et ibi requiescunt beata Triphonia uxor Decii et filia eius Cirilla et Concordia nutrix eius. Et in altera parte viae illius est ecclesia Agapiti martyr.

(d) *Topographia Einsiedlensis* [after A.D. 750].

In via Tiburtina foris murum in sinistra S. Ypoliti, in dextera S. Laurentii.

(e) *Liber Mirabilium Urbis Romae* [later, various recensions].

Coemeterium in agro Verano ad S. Laurentium.

### 39. WESTERN SERVICE BOOKS.

(a) *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Muratori *Liturgia Romana Vetus* i. p. 400).

Idibus Augusti.

NATALE SANCTORUM HIPPOLYTI ET PONTIANI.

Tibi enim, Domine, festiva solemnitas agitur, tibi dies sacrata celebratur, quam Sancti Hippolyti martyris tui sanguis in veritatis tue testificatione profusus magnifico nominis tui honore signavit.

(b) *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Muratori ii. p. 112).

Idibus Augusti.

NATALE SANCTI HIPPOLYTI.

Da nobis, omnipotens Deus, ut beati Hippolythi martyris tui veneranda solemnitas et devotionem nobis augeat et salutem.

(c) *Missale Mixtum Mozarabicum* (*Patrol. Lat.* LXXXV. p. 816 sq.).

Hunc [Laurentium] Hipolitus dum sibi traditum asservaret custodia militari etc.

With more to the same effect. So again p. 818.

SANCTI HYPOLITI SOCIORUMQUE EJUS.

But this document has been added to from time to time, and contains saints of the 13th century, e.g. Thomas Aquinas.

(d) *Breviarium Gothicum Sanctorale* (*Patrol. Lat.* LXXXVI. p. 1134 sq.).

Aug. xiii. In festo sancti Hippolyti Martyris.

Ferreis percalidus unguibus artifex

Armat spiniferi spicula cardui;

Corrupta penitus viscera martyris

Perfundunt rosei flumina sanguinis.



Hinc ad cornipedum terga ferocium  
Innexu religant; tractus in aspera.

\* \* \*

Christe Domine omnipotens, qui sanctum martyrem tuum Hippolytum, dum equina feritate per spinarum traheretur acumina, etc.

There is no trace of any connexion with S. Laurentius here, and no mention of any companions.

See more on this subject in De Rossi *Bullettino* p. 30 sq (1882).

40. CALENDARS AND MARTYROLOGIES.

(a) *Liberian Chronographer* [A.D. 354].

*Successio episcoporum* (Mommsen, p. 635; see above, I. p. 255).

Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Yppolitus presbyter exoles  
sunt deportati in Sardinia, in insula nociva, Severo et Quintiano  
cons. [A.D. 235];

*Depositio Martyrum* (Mommsen, p. 632 sq).

viii Idus Aug. Xysti in Calisti

iiii Idus Aug. Laurenti in Tiburtina

Idus Aug. Ypoliti in Tiburtina  
et Pontiani in Calisti

Non. Sept. Aconti in Porto, et Nonni et Herculani et Taurini.

(b) *Ancient Syriac Martyrology* [c. A.D. 350?] ed. Wright, pp. 4, 8.

Jan. 30. In the city of Antioch, Hippolytus.

Aug. 1. On the same day, the commemoration of Xystus, bishop  
of Rome.

(c) *Calendar of Polemius Sylvius* [A.D. 448].

iiii Idus Aug. Natalis S. Laurentii mart.

ii Idus Aug. Hyppoliti mart.

(d) *Consular Fasti* [A.D. 493].

Decio II et Rustico [A.D. 251].

His coss. passus S. Laurentius iii Idus Augusti.

(e) *Kalendarium Carthaginense*.

viii Idus Aug. sancti Systi episcopi et martyris Romae.

iiii Idus Aug. sancti Laurenti.

Idus Aug. sancti Hippoliti.

(f) *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Hieron. *Op.* xi. pp. 551, 585 sq.).

- iv Kal. Febr. In Tursia, Constanti, Hippolyti episcopi de antiquis.
- iii Kal. Febr. In Antiochia, passio sancti Hippolyti martyris.
- Prid. Kal. Febr. In Alexandria, Tarsici, Zotici... Gelasi, Hippolyti, Ursini, Tyrsi.
- viii Idus Aug. Romae in coemeterio Calesti, via Appia natalis Sixti episcopi, et Felicissimi... Laurentii, Hippolyti, et militum centum sexaginta duorum.
- iv Idus Aug. Romae via Tiburtina, natalis sancti Laurentii archidiaconi et martyris. In via Appia Felicissimi. Et alibi Crescentiani... Pontiani.
- Idus Aug. Romae, natalis sanctorum, Hippolyti martyris, Pontiani episcopi, Cornelii, etc.
- xiii Kal. Sept. In Portu Romano, natalis sancti Hippolyti martyris. In Sardinia natalis sancti Luxurii, etc.
- xi Kal. Sept. Et in portu Romano peregrinorum martyrum.
- x Kal. Sept. In portu urbis Romae natalis sancti Hippolyti qui dicitur Nunnus cum sociis suis. In Ostia natalis sancti Quiriaci, Archelai.

(g) *Martyrologium Vetus Romanum* (*Patrol. Lat.* cxxiii. pp. 147, 165, Migne).

- iii Kal. Febr. Antiochiae, passio sancti Hippolyti.
- viii Id. Aug. Romae, via Appia, Xisti papae et martyris.
- vi Id. Aug. Romae, via Ostiensi, Cyriaci martyris cum aliis xxi quando viii die mensis Augusti reconditi sunt.
- v Id. Aug. Romae, Romani militis  
Vigilia sancti Laurentii.
- iv Id. Aug. Romae Laurentii archidiacon. martyris et militum clxv.
- Idus Aug. Romae, Hippolyti martyris cum familia sua, et S. Concordiae nutricis ejus.

On the relations of the older Roman Martyrologies see *Ignat. and Polyc.* 1. p. 554 (ed. 1), p. 570 (ed. 2).

#### 41. FLORUS-BEDA [C. A.D. 870].

*Patrol. Lat.* xciv. pp. 827, 999 sq.

- iii Kal. Febr. [Vacat].
- viii Kal. Aug. Romae S. Xysti episcopi.

- vi Idus Aug. Natalis S. Cyriaci.
- v Idus Aug. Vigilia S. Laurentii. Eodem die Romae S. Romani militis, qui confessione S. Laurentii compunctus petiit ab eo baptizari; et mox iubente Decio cum fustibus exhibitus ac decollatus est.
- iv Idus Aug. Natale S. Laurentii sub Decio; qui post plurima tormenta carceris, verberum diversorum, laminarum ardentium, ad ultimum in craticula ferrea assatus martyrium complevit.
- Idibus Aug. Romae S. Ypoliti, qui tempore Decii ligatus pedes ad colla indomitorum equorum sic per carduos tribulosque tractus emisit spiritum; et Concordiae nutricis ejus, quae ante ipsum plumbatis caesa martyrizatur; et aliorum de domo ejus decem et novem, qui simul decollati sunt.

## 42. ADO OF VIENNE [† A.D. 874].

*Martyrologium* (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII. pp. 224, 318 sq, Migne).

III KAL. FEBR.

Passio sancti Hippolyti martyris qui Novati schismate aliquantulum deceptus, operante gratia Christi correctus ad charitatem ecclesiae rediit; pro qua et in qua illustre martyrium postea consummavit.

VIII IDUS AUG.

Romae, via Appia, in coemeterio Callisti, natale S. Sixti episcopi et martyris et in coemeterio Praetextati sanctorum Felicissimi et Agapiti diaconorum ejusdem, sub Decio imperatore, Valeriano praefecto; qui tenuit beatissimum senem Sixtum episcopum Romanum cum omni clero suo et reclusit eos in custodia publica etc.

[Sixtus, Felicissimus, and Agapitus, are beheaded with others.]

V ID. AUG.

Vigilia sancti Laurentii.

Eodem die Romae, sancti Romani militis qui in confessione sancti Laurentii compunctus petiit ab eo baptizari, et mox iubente Decio cum fustibus exhibitus ac decollatus est.

IV ID. AUG.

Romae natale sancti Laurentii archidiaconi et martyris sub Decio. Cui beatus Sixtus omnes facultates ecclesiae et thesauros, pergens ad coronam martyrii, tradidit.

[Hippolytus his gaoler, seeing the miracle of giving sight to the blind wrought by Laurentius, is converted and baptized. Laurentius is



brought before the tyrant Decius, ordered to surrender the treasures of the Church, and put to torture.]

Tunc unus ex militibus, nomine Romanus, credidit Domino Jesu Christo et dixit beato Laurentio: Video ante te hominem pulcherrimum stantem cum linteo et extergentem membra tua; adjuro te per Christum qui tibi misit angelum suum, ne me derelinquas. Levatus igitur beatus martyr de catasta et solutus, redditus est Hippolyto tantum in palatio. Veniens autem Romanus offerens aquam misit se ad pedes beati Laurentii ut baptizaretur; qui benedicta aqua baptizavit eum: quod factum audiens Decius jussit eum sibi exhiberi cum fustibus. Non interrogatus coepit clamare, Christianus sum. Et jubente Decio eductus foras muros portae Salariae decollatus est quinto Idus Augusti. Cujus corpus noctu collegit Justinus presbyter et sepelivit in crypta in agro Verano.

[Laurentius then undergoes martyrdom, being roasted alive on a gridiron.]

Mane autem primo adhuc crepusculo rapuit corpus ejus Hippolytus et condivit cum linteis et aromatibus; et hoc factum mandavit Justino presbytero. Tunc beatus Justinus et Hippolytus plorantes et multum tristes tulerunt corpus beati martyris et venerunt in via Tiburtina, in praedium matronae viduae Cyriacae in agro Verano, ad quam ipse martyr fuerat noctu, cui et linteum dedit, unde pedes sanctorum exterserat, et illud ibi jam hora vespertina sepelierunt iv Idus Augusti. Et jejunaverunt agentes vigiliis noctis triduo, et multitudine Christianorum. Beatus autem Justinus presbyter obtulit sacrificium laudis, et participati sunt omnes.

Eodem die Romae, militum centum et sexaginta quinque. Tunc passi sunt Claudius, Severus, Crescentio, et Romanus, ipso die quo beatus Laurentius, post tertium post diem passionis sancti Sixti.

#### ID. AUG.

Romae, sancti Hippolyti martyris, sub Decio imperatore, Valeriano praefecto. Hunc beatum Hippolytum vicarium sanctus Laurentius, cum apud eum esset in custodia, baptizavit. Qui de sanctis exsequiis martyris post tertium diem ad domum suam rediens dedit pacem omnibus servis suis et ancillis, et communicavit de sacrificio altaris beati Laurentii martyris. Et posita mensa, priusquam cibum sumeret, venerunt milites et tenuerunt et perduxerunt ad Decium. Quem ut vidit, subridens dixit ei: Numquid et tu magus effectus es, quia corpus Laurentii abstulisse diceris? Sanctus Hippolytus respondit; Hoc feci non quasi magus, sed quasi Christianus. Decius furore repletus jussit ut cum lapidibus os ejus contunderetur. Et exspoliavit eum veste qua

induebatur habitu Christiano et dixit ei: Sacrifica, et vives; sin aliter, peries per tormenta sicut Laurentius. Sanctus Hippolytus dixit; Exemplum merear beati Laurentii martyris fieri, quem tu, miser, ausus fuisti ore polluto nominare. Extensus igitur fustibus et cardis diu caesus est, donec caedentes deficerent. Inde levatus est a terra, et iussit eum Decius vestiri militari veste qua gentilis utebatur, et dixit ei: Recole militiam, et esto noster amicus, et in conspectu nostro utere militia pristina quam semper habuisti. Cumque beatus martyr dixisset; Militia mea haec est, Christianum firmum militare, unde cupio ad celerem palmam cum fructu venire; iracundia plenus Decius dixit Valeriano; Accipe omnes facultates ejus, et interfice eum crudeli exanimatione. Valerianus itaque, exquisita omni facultate ejus, invenit in domo Hippolyti omnem familiam Christianam, quam conspectui suo praesentari fecit. Et iussit beatum Hippolytum foras muros portae Tiburtinae cum familia sua duci. Beatus vero Hippolytus confortabat omnes, dicens; Fratres, nolite metuere, quia ego et vos unum Deum habemus. Et decollati sunt promiscui sexus numero decem et novem. Beatus vero Hippolytus ligatus pedes ad colla indomitorum equorum, sic per carduetum et tribulos tractus, emisit spiritum. Nocte venit beatus Justinus presbyter, et collegit corpora, et sepelivit in campo eodem juxta Nympham, ad latus agri Verani, Idibus Augusti.

Eodem die natale sanctae Concordiae, nutricis ejusdem beati Hippolyti. Cum Valerianus ad familiam beati Hippolyti sibi praesentatam dixisset, Considerate aetates vestras, ne simul pereatis cum Hippolyto domino nostro (z. vestro); respondit beata Concordia, Nos desideramus potius cum domino nostro pudice mori quam impudice vivere. Ad hoc Valerianus; Genus, inquit, servorum nisi cum suppliciis non emendatur. Et iussit ut beata Concordia cum plumbatis caederetur. Et cum caederetur, emisit spiritum, corpusque ejus est in cloacam projectum. Cumque diu quaereret illud sanctus Justinus, et non inveniret, ita tristis redditur ut non cessarent flere oculi ejus. Tertio decimo vero die post passionem sancti Hippolyti, venit quidam miles Porphyrius nomine, ad Irenaeum cloacarium qui occulte Christianus erat, et dicit ei; Si secretum possis custodire, divulgabo arti tuae multum ad quaestum; ante hos dies iussit Valerianus praefectus in conspectu suo quamdam creditariam Hippolyti plumbatis deficere, et corpus ejus in cloacam jactari: haec in vestibus suis spero quod margaritas habet absconsas vel aurum. Audiens haec Irenaeus, intimavit secreto beato Justino presbytero; qui flectens genua gratias egit Deo. Porphyrius autem noctu veniens cum Irenaeo invenit corpus sanctum; sed in vestimentis nihil invenerunt. Beatus autem Irenaeus vocavit ad se

quemdam Christianum Abundium nomine, et tulerunt corpus ejus et perduxerunt ad beatum Justinum; qui gratias agens Deo illud suscepit, et juxta corpora martyrum Hippolyti et aliorum sepelivit, viii Kalendas Septembris.

XV KAL. OCT.

Item Romae via Tiburtina, ad sanctum Laurentium, natale beati Justini presbyteri, quem beatus Sixtus ordinavit.

[After speaking of the relations of Justinus with S. Laurentius and S. Cyriaca, the account concludes:]

Hic sanctum Hippolytum et Concordiam, Irenaeum, Abundium, Cyrillam filiam Decii Caesaris, martyres, et alios plurimos sepulturis condivit. Et persecutione Decii, Galli, et Volusiani, confessionis gloria insignissimus fuit.

Romae, in crypta arenaria, sanctorum martyrum Narcissi et Crescensionis.

VII KAL. SEPT.

Item natalis sanctorum Irenaei et Abundi Romae; quos Deciana persecutione jussit Valerianus incloacari eo quod corpus beatae Concordiae cloacam missum levaverunt. Et ipsorum quoque corpora levavit Justinus presbyter et sepelivit in crypta juxta beatum Laurentium.

XV KAL. NOV.

Item Romae sanctae Triphoniae uxoris Decii Caesaris; quae, viro suo post interfectionem beatorum Sixti et Laurentii divinitus punito, petiit baptizari cum filia Decii Cyrilla a Justino presbytero; et alia die defuncta est ac juxta Hippolytum in crypta sepulta quinto decimo Kal. Novembris.

VIII KAL. NOV.

Ipsa die Romae via Salaria natalis quadraginta et octo militum, qui simul baptizati a beato Dionysio papa; et mox jubente Claudio imperatore decollati sunt. Quorum corpora noctu collegerunt beatus Justinus presbyter et Joannes, et sepelierunt in crypta cum multitudine Christianorum in via Salaria in clivum Cucumeris viii Kal. Novembris, ubi positi sunt et alii martyres centum viginti et unus. Inter quos fuerunt quatuor milites Christi, Theodosius, Lucius, Marcus, et Petrus. Hi videntes ad se venire armatos, rogabant ut primi decollarentur. Scriptum in passione sanctorum martyrum Sixti, Laurentii, et Hippolyti.

V KAL. NOV.

Romae sanctae Cyrillae filiae Decii Caesaris quae sub Claudio principe jugulata et necata est gladio, ac sepulta a Justino presbytero cum matre sua juxta sanctum Hippolytum.



## 43. MENÆA [A.D. ?].

Jan. 30 (p. 230; ed. Venet. 1877).

\* Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰππολύτου πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Κενσουρίνου, Σαβαΐνου, Χρυσῆς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν·

Τόλμῃ θάλασσαν Ἰππόλυτος εἰσδύνει

οἷα κροαίνων ἵππος ἐν λείῳ πέδῳ

\* \* \*

Ἰππόλυτον πόντου τριακοστῇ ἔκτανε ῥεύμα.

Αὕτη ἡ ἱερὰ ὁμήγυρις ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κλαυδίου, ἡγεμονεύοντος βικαρίου τοῦ καὶ Οὐλπίου Ῥωμύλου καλουμένου· καὶ ὁ μὲν Κενσουρίνος, μάγιστρος ὢν καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀγαπώμενος, ἐσέβετο τὸν Χριστὸν λεληθότως καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπερησπίζετο· γνωσθεὶς δὲ ἀπεκλείσθη ἐν φυλακῇ· ἔνθα νεκρὸν ἀναστήσας ἔπεισε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας πιστεῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ· οἵτινες προστάξει τοῦ τυράννου ἀπεκεφαλίσθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡ μακαρία Χρυσῇ καὶ ὁ ταύτης ὑπουργὸς Σαβαΐνος, πρότερον πολλὰς ὑπομείναντες τιμωρίας διὰ τὸ διακονεῖν τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τοὺς ἰχῶρας αὐτῶν ἐκμάσσειν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀλείφειν.

Ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ μακαριώτατος πάπας Ἰππόλυτος, ζήλῳ θεῷ κινηθεὶς, ἦλθε καὶ ἤλεγε τὸν τύραννον κατὰ πρόσωπον. ὁ δὲ ὑπερξέσας τῷ θυμῷ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐβασάνισε μετὰ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· εἶτα δήσας αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔρριψε, καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθησαν.

This is found also in the *Menologium* of Basil (*Patrol. Graec.* cxvii. p. 285, Migne) almost *verbatim*; but the words τοῦ καὶ Οὐλπίου Ῥωμύλου καλουμένου are omitted. Hippolytus however is called πάπα simply without the addition of Ῥώμης.

August 10th (p. 53).

Τῇ ι' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Λαυρεντίου ἀρχidiaκόνου, Ξύστου πάπα Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἰππολύτου.

\* \* \*

Τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἱπποδέσμιον βλέπω

ἐναντίον πάσχοντα τῇ κλήσει πάθος.

ᾤπησαν δεκάτῃ Λαυρέντιον ἥντε ἰχθύν.

[The charge of Xystus to Laurentius and the Martyrdom are then recorded as in the Latin Acts.]

Εἰσαχθεὶς δὴ Λαυρέντιος ὁ ἀρχidiaκονος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀπαιτούμενος, αἰτήσας ἀμάξας καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς χωλοὺς καὶ ἀναπήρους, οἷς διένειμε τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐπιστιβάσας, ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα· οὓς

ιδὼν καὶ ὀργισθεὶς κελεύει τὸν ἅγιον Λαυρέντιον τυφθῆναι σφοδρῶς, εἴτα βληθῆναι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. ἐν ᾗ γενόμενος ἰάτο πάντας ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφοίτων, ᾧ ἂν ἕκαστος κατέχετο νοσήματι. ἅπερ ὁ τριβούνος Καλλίνικος βλέπων, ὁ καὶ τῇ εἰρκτῇ ἐπιστατῶν, ἐπίστευσε τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ παρίσταται ὁ ἅγιος Λαυρέντιος τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐπὶ ἐσχάρας ἀπλοῦται, κάτωθεν ὑφαπτομένου πυρός· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστήσας ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ κηδείας τῆς ὀφειλομένης παρὰ τοῦ Ἰππολύτου τυγχάνει.

Τοῦτο γνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε κινάrais σιδηραῖς μαστιγωθῆναι, εἴτα ἵπποις προσδεθῆναι ἀγρίοις· ὑφ' ὧν ἐπὶ πολλῷ συρόμενος τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πνεῦμα παρέθετο. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τὸν ἅγιον Ἰππόλυτον Δέκιος καὶ Οὐαλλεριανὸς καθημένοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐξέπνευσαν, κράξας ὁ Δέκιος ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· Ὡ Ἰππόλυτε, ὡς αἰχμάλωτον οὕτω δεδεμένον ἀπάγεις με; ἔκραξε δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐαλλεριανός· Πυρίαις με κατήναις οὕτως ἔλκεις; τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον γέγονε καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ πάντες ἐστερεώθησαν τῇ πίστει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

The same account is given in a much abridged form in the Menologium of Basil (*Patrol. Graec.* cxvii. p. 580, Migne).

#### 44. S. PETRUS DAMIANUS [c. A.D. 1060].

*Epistola ad Nicolaum II* (Hippol. *Op.* i. p. xi, ed. Fabricius).

Beatus quoque Nonus martyr, qui et Hippolytus, memoriae nostrae non praetereundus occurrit; qui nimirum postquam triginta millia Sarcenorum ad Christi fidem efficacissima praedicatione convertit, postquam beatam quoque Pelagiam de lupanaribus ad ecclesiae pudicitiam provocavit, postquam denique nonnullos sanctarum expositionum libros luculenter explicuit, tandem episcopatum deseruit, de Antiochenis partibus unde erat oriundus abscessit, Romanos fines appetiit: cumque beata Aurea apud Ostiam civitatem saxo cervicibus alligato in marinis fluctibus martyrium consummasset, beatus Nonus sanctum cadaver pia devotione collegit et cum omni diligentia tumulavit. Quem mox idem persecutor, qui dicebatur Ulpius, juxta Tyberis alveum in foveam aquis plenam mergi praecipit; cujus postmodum corpus consummato triumphali martyrio in civitate, quae Portus dicitur, Christiana devotio sepelivit. Illico audita vox veluti infantium per unam fere horam clamantium, *Deo gratias*. Qui ergo talem vitae meruit clausulam, liquido patuit quia episcopatum deserens coram Deo non incurrit offensam.

## 45. PASSIO SANCTI SIXTI LAURENTII HIPPOLYTI.

*Hippolytus Romanus* p. xiii, ed. Lagarde.

Xystus igitur Romae urbis episcopus apud Athenas natus et doctus, prius quidem philosophus, postea vero Christi discipulus, audiens Decium Caesarem Romam esse venturum ait;

[He gives instructions in the face of the coming persecution; entrusting his archdeacon Laurence with 'universas facultates ecclesiae'. The treasures are sold by the archdeacon and distributed to the poor. Decius arrives, bringing with him two Persians, Abdo and Sennes, bound for the name of Christ. The tyrant puts Abdo and Sennes to death. Their bodies]

noctu a Christianis sublata sunt et posita in cimiterio Pontiani die iii Kal. Augusti. Post haec autem iussit ad se adduci Xystum urbis episcopum.

[Xystus is then condemned to death.]

Decollatus est autem extra muros urbis via Appia in loco qui appellatur clivus martyrum. Rapuerunt autem Christiani corpus ejus et posuerunt in cimiterio Calisti die octavo Id. Aug. Eodem namque die Decius Caesar adduci in conspectum suum beatum Laurentium praecepit et ait; Ubi sunt thesauri ecclesiae quos penes te esse cognovimus? Cui beatus Laurentius dicit; Biduo mihi dentur induciae, ut ex omnibus ecclesiis universa deferam. Tunc Caesar iussit ut sub custodia Hippolyti ducis Laurentius ageret.

[Laurentius converts his guard Hippolytus by his words and deeds. He is then handed over to Valerianus the Prefect of the city, and put to death by roasting on a gridiron.]

Die vero eadem rapuit corpus ejus Hippolytus et condivit aromatibus et posuit in crypta abditissima quarto iduum augustarum, fecitque illic biduum jejunans et orans. Egressus autem tertia die Hippolytus venit ut ingrederetur domum, et priusquam caperet cibum, a militibus comprehensus est et perductus ad Caesarem. Cui Caesar ait: Numquid et tu magus effectus es, ut corpus Laurentii abstulisse dicaris? Sanctus Hippolytus, cujus jam gloriae corona parata erat, ad laudem intrepidus respondens dixit: Hoc feci non quasi magus sed ut Christianus. Quo audito Decius Caesar ira commotus iussit os ejus contundi lapidibus et exui eum vestem quam habuit et extensum ad cardos ferreos caedi. Post haec autem seminecem iussit duci extra urbem et pedes ejus ligari pedibus equorum indomitum et dimitti



in cardeto. Dum autem eum traherent, reddidit spiritum. Tunc corpus ejus rapuerunt Christiani et posuerunt in crypta, quae est juxta agrum praetorianum die id. aug. Post diem autem septimum passionis ejus dedit munera Decius et sedit in curru una cum Valeriano praefecto urbis; ut jam descenderent et amphitheatrum introirent, uno momento ambo expiraverunt. Clamabat autem Decius in hora mortis suae dicens: O Hippolyte, quasi captivum me vinctum ducis. Valerianus autem clamabat: O Laurenti, igneis me catenis vinxisti et trahis.

46. ACTA SS. CYRIACI, HIPPOLYTI, AUREAE, ETC.

*Hippolytus Romanus*, p. v (ed. Lagarde).

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟῦ ἁΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟῦ, ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΥ, ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ,  
ΧΡΥΣΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΙΠΩΝ.

Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κλαυδίου τοῦ παρανόμου βασιλέως, παρόντος βικαρίου Οὐλπίου Ῥωμύλλου, μέγιστος ἀνήφθη διωγμὸς τοῖς τηλικαῦτα οὖσιν Χριστιανοῖς. ἦν οὖν τις ἀνὴρ Κενσουρίνος κ.τ.λ.

[Then follows the account of the good confession of Censurinus who is accordingly imprisoned at Ostia, where he is visited and looked after by one Chryse of royal race, who had undergone many persecutions for Christ. The priest Maximus and the deacon Archelaus offer spiritual ministrations. The guards of Censurinus are struck by a miracle wrought and by exhortations spoken by Maximus.]

Τότε ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες αὐτῶν, ὃ τε Φηλιξ, Μάξιμος, Ταυρίνος, Ἐρκουλιανός, Νεβέριος, Στοράκινος, Μῆνας, Κομμόδιος, Ἐρμῆς, Μαῦρος, Εὐσέβιος, Ῥωστίκιος, Μονάκριος, Ἀμανδίνος, Ὀλύμπιος, Κύπριος, καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τριβούνος, ἔβαλον ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Μαξίμου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου.

[They are all baptized and looked after by Chryse; and Cyriacus the bishop anoints and seals them. Then follows the story of the shoemaker, who having lost his son, a child of twelve years, is converted to Christ. The child is restored to life and christened Faustinus. Owing to this resurrection, Chryse is accused of magic, and tortured on the wheel and in other ways. Cyriacus, Maximus, and Archelaus are put to death, as are also the soldiers. Cyriacus and Maximus are burned by the presbyter Eusebius on the Ostian Way, on vi Id. Aug. The other soldiers are laid near them.]

Ταυρίνον δὲ καὶ Ἐρκουλιανὸν ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ Ῥώμης κατέκρυσεν.

[Then Romulus commands Chryse to be brought before him. She confesses Christ boldly. In a fury he orders her to be beaten with leaden bullets, but to no effect.]

Ἐκέλευσε δὲ πάλιν λίθον μέγαν δεσμευθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῆς αἱ οὕτως κρεμασθῆναι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἥστινος τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα περιήλθεν ἕως οὗ αἰγιαλοῦ· ὅπερ ὁ μακαριώτατος Νόνος ὁ καὶ μετονομασθεὶς Ἰππόλυτος συνήγαγεν, καὶ τοῦτο κατέβαψεν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς χωρίῳ, ἔνθα καὶ κατῴκει, ἕω τῶν τειχέων τῆς Ὀσσησίας πόλεως τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα Καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων.

[Then follows the apprehension of Sabinianus a Christian, the procurator (ἐπιμελητῆς) of that district, who is ordered to discover the whereabouts of Chryse's treasures. Romulus orders him to be cruelly tortured.]

Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ μακαριώτατος Ἰππόλυτος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐλθὼν ἔστηνώπιον τοῦ Ῥωμύλου καὶ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ εἶπεν· ὦ ἄθλιε κ.τ.λ.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἀσεβέστατος Ῥώμυλος ἐθυμώθη σφόδρα καὶ προσέταξε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένον εἰς βόθυνον κατακρημνισθῆναι. οὐδ' οὖν μακαρίου Ἰππολύτου βυθιζομένου ἐν τῷ τείχει εἰς τὸν βόθυνον πόρτον ὃν ἀναγορευόμενον Πόρτον (sic), ἄφνω φωνὴ ἠκούσθη ὥσπερ διαστήματος ὕρας μιᾶς, καθάπερ νηπίων λεγόντων εὐχαριστίας τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ ἐν τῷ ταῦτα εἶπεν ἀφήκεν τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Κυρίῳ τῇ πρὸ δεκαμῖας Καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων.

[The rest of the story is taken up with the martyrdom of Sabinianus which is placed v Kal. Febr.]

## § 2.

### MODERN LITERATURE.

There is no complete edition of the works of Hippolytus. Of the *Philosophumena*, as a whole, the best and most convenient text is that of Duncker and Schneidewin, but the first book has been edited with special care by Diels; of the other Greek remains, that of Lagarde. The fragments preserved in Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic, must be sought elsewhere. Migne's edition of the Greek works (without the *Philosophumena*) is very convenient as containing a reprint of the most important parts of Fabricius and De Magistris, besides other materials from older writers.

Of the several lists of the literature connected with Hippolytus the fullest is in Richardson's *Bibliographical Synopsis of Antenicene*

*Literature*, Buffalo 1887. The plan of my own list differs from his. My aim is not completeness, but usefulness. For this reason I have struck out a large number of works which have been superannuated either by the discovery of the *Philosophumena* or from other causes. On the other hand I have introduced very many (e.g. a complete list of De Rossi's articles in the *Bullettino*, which bear directly or indirectly on the subject), because I have found them of great use, even where they did not bear the name of Hippolytus on their face. For this same reason also I have mentioned a few of the principal works on the *Muratorian Canon*, because in the subsequent discussions (see below, p. 405 sq) I have connected it with Hippolytus.

#### A. Editions.

BARDENHEWER *Des Heiligen Hippolytus v. Rom Commentar zum Buche Daniel* (Freiburg im Br. 1877).

CANISIUS *Lectiones Antiquae* II. p. 218 (ed. Basnage 1725). The *Chronica* in one Latin version (see above I. p. 259), reprinted in Du Cange *Chron. Pasch.* II. p. 23 (ed. Bonn).

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## § 3.

## NAMESAKES OF S. HIPPOLYTUS.

Among these stands foremost the hero of Greek story, who has bequeathed not only his name, but also the myth of his death, to the Christian theologian and bishop. I need not however dwell now on this inherited legend, of which I shall have to speak hereafter. I would only remark on one other point of contact, which (over and above the name) might suggest the propriety of adapting the legend of the earlier Hippolytus to the later. The son of Theseus was the type and embodiment of continence in Greek mythology. The opponent of Zephyrinus and Callistus was the champion of purity in the Church—the severe opponent of any laxity which might endanger the virgin discipline of the Christian brotherhood.

But my business now is rather with those contemporaries or nearly contemporaries—real or imaginary persons—who have been blended with the hero of the Tiburtine Way, and thus have confused his personality and involved his history in endless perplexity. Of such namesakes I single out five.

(1) *Hippolytus the martyr of Antioch*. Döllinger (p. 51 sq) supposed that he had read the riddle of this Antiochene martyr's creation; and indeed his solution seemed, with the imperfect knowledge which they then possessed, to be highly plausible. He supposed that the same passage of Eusebius which, as translated by Rufinus, had bestowed on Hippolytus the see of Bostra (see below, p. 428), had also, as adopted by Jerome<sup>1</sup>, transformed him into a presbyter of Antioch. The notice in the *Chronicon* of Jerome (Euseb. *Chron.* II. p. 179) under the year 227 is 'Geminus presbyter Antiochenus et Hippolytus et Beryllus episcopus Arabiae Bostrenus clari scriptores habentur.' Döllinger postulates the omission of 'et' in some copies, so that the connexion 'presbyter Antiochenus Hippolytus' would be established. In the *Hieronymian Martyrology* we have under iii Kal. Febr. (Jan. 30)

In Antiochia passio sancti Hippolyti martyris.

Moreover on the previous day (Jan. 29) we have

iv Kal. Feb. Hippolyti episcopi de antiquis,

and on the succeeding (Jan. 31) there is also a mention of a Hippolytus. These all doubtless represent the same person, the notices having been derived from different but allied sources. Accordingly in the *Old Roman Martyrology* there is a similar notice on the same day

Antiochiaie passio sancti Hippolyti,

and consequently his name occurs in this place in Ado and the later Latin Martyrologies. But Döllinger's hypothesis offers no explanation of the difference of the day, iii Kal. Feb. in place of Id. Aug.

The publication of Wright's Syriac Martyrology shows that this Antiochene Martyr Hippolytus was a real person celebrated on this day from the beginning.

Later Kanun [Jan.] 30 In the city of Antioch, Hippolytus.

Here, as elsewhere, the contents of this ancient list have found their

<sup>1</sup> See *AR.* 8. k. So far as regards Hippolytus and Beryllus this notice is taken from Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 20; but Eusebius does not mention Geminus. Jerome himself however devotes a few lines

to him elsewhere (*Vir. Illustr.* 64), where he describes him as 'Antiochenae ecclesiae presbyter,' who flourished under the emperor Alexander.

way into the Roman Martyrologies through the so-called *Hieronymian*. But they can tell us nothing about him; except that they transfer to him the notice ascribing the lapse into Novatianism and recantation which belongs first to the Roman Hippolytus. The Greek books are equally ignorant of any circumstances relating to the life or martyrdom of this Antiochene Hippolytus. But the *Menæa*, like the later Latin Martyrologies, clothe him with borrowed plumage taken from the martyr of the Tiburtine Way—adopting however not the Novatianism but the incidents of the Chryse legend as told in the Roman story (see *AR.* 44). But both Eastern and Western Martyrologies preserve for this Antiochene Hippolytus his proper day.

This Hippolytus therefore is a real person distinct from any Roman Hippolytus, as the Syriac Martyrology (p. 646) shows; and it is strange that a modern critic, Erbes, should have confused the two and imagined that he had found support for his theory of the Antiochene origin of the Roman Hippolytus. But he does not seem to have seen the notice in the Syriac Martyrology, which is the key to the whole position. I may mention by the way that the expression, ‘of the ancients,’ *de antiquis*, is characteristic of this Syriac Martyrology and designates those martyrs and confessors who perished in some earlier persecution than the last under Diocletian, which was recent when the list was first drawn up.

(2) *Hippolytus, the Alexandrian connected with Dionysius*. In his account of the letters of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 249—265), the historian Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 46) mentions among others one addressed to the Romans, which he describes as *διακονική διὰ Ἱππολύτου*. This Hippolytus therefore must have been the delegate who was charged with delivering the letter. What may have been the purport of this letter *διακονική*, *de ministeriis* or *de diaconis*, we cannot say. But as we are told on contemporary authority (see I. p. 255) that Fabianus bishop of Rome († A. D. 250) about that time ‘regiones divisit diaconibus,’ it is a reasonable conjecture that the letter had some reference to these arrangements. Cornelius the successor of Fabianus informs us (*H. E.* vi. 43) that there were in the Roman Church in his time ‘seven deacons and seven subdeacons.’ We may therefore believe that there is some truth in the notice of the *Liber Pontificalis* (I. p. 64) found even in its earlier form (c. A.D. 530), which adds to the contemporary notice above quoted ‘et fecit vii subdiaconos qui septem notariis imminerent ut gesta martyrum fideliter colligerent.’ At all events this division of the city by Fabianus among the seven deacons was sufficiently important in the eyes of the contemporary chronicler to



entitle it to a special notice which is unique of its kind in his chronicle. But however this may be, Hippolytus is a fairly common name, and we should want better evidence than we possess that the Roman Hippolytus was living and able to take a long journey at so very late a date; nor is there any notice which connects him even remotely with Alexandria.

(3) *Hippolytus the Greek captain of brigands.* In the *Notitia Portarum, Viarum, Ecclesiarum*, or guide book of the close of the 7th century, which William of Malmesbury has appended to his *Gesta Anglorum*, there is a notice referring to the papal crypt on the Appian way, 'non longe pausant martyres Hippolitus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Maria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria, Marcellus' (*Rom. Sott.* i. p. 181). The portion of the Acts of these Greek martyrs is extant in a single Latin MS, of which the text has been carefully edited by De Rossi (*Rom. Sott.* III. p. 201 sq. Baronius, who had first published them, took considerable liberties with the MS, so that his text is worthless. The heading is; 'Pridie Kl. Decembris festivitas sanctorum martyrum, Eusebii presbyteri, Marcelli diaconi, Hippolyti, Hadrias, Paulinae, Neon et Mariae, Maximi, Martanae, et Valeriae.' The date given is 'Valeriano et Lucullo consulibus'<sup>1</sup> [A.D. 265], but the persecuting emperor is represented to be Decius [A.D. 250—252] and the Roman bishop Stephen [A.D. 254—257]. They begin by describing how 'Hippolytus the monk' lived in the crypts ('in cryptis') where he gathered together the believers in secret. The place is more than once called 'arenarium.' Paulina, the wife of Hadrias, is the sister of Hippolytus, and Maria and Neon are their children, aged thirteen and ten respectively. They are all converted and undergo martyrdom, though not at the same time. Paulina suffers first, together with Eusebius the priest and Marcellus the deacon, and they are buried by Hippolytus in the 'arenarium' at the first mile-stone from the city. Then Neon and Maria; and they too are buried, vi Kal. Nov., 'in ipsa via Appia milliario ab urbe Roma primo in arenario ipso ubi consueverant convenire.' A few days afterwards Hadrias and Hippolytus are seized and beaten to death. Their bodies are left 'in eodem loco juxta insulam Lycaoniam'; but a certain deacon<sup>2</sup> comes by night and reverently deposits them in the same 'arenarium' with the rest v Id. Nov. Nine months later two

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi has been able to explain how a false consular date became attached to this persecution, *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1887, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> The present text says 'venit quidam Hippolytus diaconus noctu'; but obviously the transcriber through carelessness has substituted the wrong name.

Greek Christian ladies, Martana and her daughter Valeria, arrive in Rome. They also die as confessors, apparently starved to death; and are buried in the same place iv Id. Dec.

Though these Acts are free from the accumulation of horrors and of miracles which condemn so many other accounts of martyrdom, their chronological inconsistencies, not to mention other signs, show that they cannot be a contemporary or nearly contemporary record. De Rossi (*R. S.* III. p. 200) contents himself with stating that in their present form they ought not to be placed later than about the eighth century.

We have however older evidence for the story than these Acts in two inscriptions which were read by the medieval pilgrims in the cemetery of Callistus in the neighbourhood of the papal crypt. They run as follows;

NATA MARIA SIMUL CARO CUM FRATRE NIONE  
GAUDENTES SACRAM PROMERUERE FIDEM  
DIVITIAS PROPRIAS CHRISTI PRAECEPTA SECUTI  
PAUPERIBUS LARGA DISTRIBUERE MANU  
QUORUM PRECLARIS MONITIS MULTOQUE LABORE  
ACCESSIT SUMMO SANCTA CATERVA DEO  
POST ANIMAS CHRISTO TRADENTES SANGUINE FUSO  
UT VITAM CAPERENT NON TIMUERE MORI  
HORUM VIRTUTES QUEM PASSIO LECTA DOCEBIT  
RITE SUIS FAMULIS DISCET ADESSE DEUM

OLIM SACRILEGAM QUAM MISIT GRAECIA TURBAM  
MARTYRII MERITIS NUNC DECORATA NITET;  
QUAE MEDIO PELAGI VOTUM MISERABILE FECIT  
REDDERE FUNEREO DONA NEFANDA IOVI  
YPOLITI SED PRIMA FIDES CELESTIBUS ARMIS  
RESPUIT INSANAM PESTIFERAMQUE LUEM.  
QUEM MONACHI RITU TENUIT SPELUNCA LATENTEM  
CHRISTICOLIS GREGIBUS DULCE CUBILE PARANS  
POST HUNC ADRIAS SACRO MUNDATUS IN AMNE  
ET PAULINA SUO CONSOCIATA VIRO.

xiii K. JUN.

These inscriptions are given by De Rossi *Rom. Sott.* III. p. 194 (comp. i. p. 263) and in *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 66 sq. For reasons which seemed satisfactory, but which it is unnecessary to repeat here,

De Rossi had inferred that these inscriptions must be anterior to the 7th century and were probably written in the 5th or at the latest in the 6th (III. p. 197). A few letters of the first inscription itself have been discovered very recently (*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1887, p. 60 sq), which fully confirm this surmise. They suggest the age of Symmachus as the date of the inscription. The fragment contains the date v Id. Nov. at the heading, which is the day of Hippolytus' martyrdom.

Our evidence however goes much farther back than this date. In the inscription which pope Damasus (A.D. 366—384) placed in or near the papal crypt he enumerated the illustrious dead who were buried there (see *Rom. Sott.* II. p. 23; comp. *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 66); and among these are specified

HIC POSITUS LONGA VIXIT QUI IN PACE SACERDOS

HIC CONFESSORES SANCTI QUOS GRAECIA MISIT,

where we have evidently a reference to this same group of Greek martyrs and confessors of whom this Hippolytus was the chief; though he does not tell us any particulars about them. To one of this group, possibly to Hippolytus himself, may refer the Damasian verses *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 108, where he apostrophizes a certain martyr 'quod fama refert, te Graecia misit,' but it throws no additional light on the subject.

Comparing the extant Acts with the inscriptions above cited, which once were read in the cemetery of Callistus, we see that these Acts take up the story at a late point, after the conversion of Hippolytus. They must therefore have lost their beginning; or at all events they presuppose some previous document giving an account of the earlier history. This story related how Hippolytus was the captain of a band of Greek robbers; how on his voyage he had vowed a vow to Stygian Jove (funereo Jovi) or Pluto; how arrived at Rome he had established himself in an arenarium or disused cave whence sand had been extracted; how he had been converted to the Christian faith and exchanged the life of a free-booter for the life of a recluse ('monachi'); how he had been instrumental in the conversion of his companions and gathered together a Christian congregation in this cave; and how finally he had left this arenarium as a catacomb ('dulce cubile') for Christian folk—he himself and his companions being buried there.

These are doubtless the martyrs who are commemorated in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* under xiii Kal. Jul., where the notice as corrected by De Rossi (*Rom. Sott.* I. p. 264; comp. III. p. 197) from a comparison of MSS runs



Romae in coemeterio Hippolyti sanctorum Honorii, Evodii, Petri, Valeriae, etc.<sup>1</sup>

thus giving xiii Kal. Jul. where the inscription (as transcribed) has xiii Kal. Jun., so that there must be an error in the one or the other. This is a very common form of blunder, see e.g. *Ignat. and Polyc.*, i. p. 666, ed. 1; p. 683, ed. 2.

On this notice De Rossi points out that the consuls of the year 386, Honorius and Evodius, are mixed up with the names of the martyrs, probably (as he suggests, III. p. 197) because the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, commemorated on this same day (xiii Kal. Jul.), were discovered in this year. Marcellus is connected with these Greek martyrs in the Acts, as we have seen; but of Petrus, here associated with them, no account has been given. Of Maria and Neon there are some traces though very corrupt in this *Martyrology* under vi Kal. Nov. The bodies of Hippolytus, Adrias, Maria, Neon and Paulina were deposited in S. Agatha of the Suburra under Leo IX (A. D. 1048—1054); but whether they were translated thither straight from their original resting place we do not know.

A description of the catacomb supposed by De Rossi to be the arenarium of Hippolytus to the N.E. of the cemetery of Callistus is given in *Rom. Sott.* III. p. 213 sq, p. 301 sq (see Tav. xlii—xlv). He places it in the second half of the third and beginning of the fourth century. From this sanctuary on the Appian Way, not from the more famous cemetery on the Tiburtine, was taken in the year 1646 the sepulchral inscription bearing the words AT EPOLITV (ad Hippolytum); see *Rom. Sott.* III. p. 215, *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 48.

(4) *Hippolytus the soldier, the warder of S. Laurence.* Much has been written on the supposed confusion of Hippolytus the theologian and Hippolytus the soldier; and not a few critics have found in this confusion the key to most of the perplexities which confront us in the story of Hippolytus. I shall have occasion to discuss the whole subject at a subsequent point; and it will then be shown that this was not a case of confusion. There was no Hippolytus the warder of S. Laurence distinct from Hippolytus the famous divine: but at a very late period in his legendary career popular opinion transformed him from a cleric into a soldier, connecting him at the same time with S. Laurence.

<sup>1</sup> In the Berne MS, generally our best authority for the text of this *Martyrology*, the scribe has inserted VIA TIBURTINA, thus confusing this arenarium on the Ap-

pian way with the more famous Cemetery of the more famous Hippolytus; see *Rom. Sott.* II. p. 198.

(5) *Hippolytus of Thebes*, a writer of the eleventh century; on whom see Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 198 sq, ed. Harles. Fragments of this writer are included in Fabricius Hippol. *Op.* i. App. p. 43 sq. He is quoted by Michael Glycas as Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θηβαῖος. In Niceph. Call. *H. E.* ii. 3 a fragment of this writer is given as from Hippolytus ὁ Πόρτου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος ἐτύχχανεν ὧν. He was the author of a *Chronicle* (χρονικὸν σύνταγμα). The accounts *De Duodecim Apostolis* and *De Septuaginta Discipulis*, which have sometimes been included in the works of our Hippolytus, are his.

## § 4.

## GAIUS OR HIPPOLYTUS?

Gaius, the Roman presbyter, plays an important part in the literary history of Christianity at the opening of the third century. If the ravages of time have spared only fragments of his works, he has not been more hardly treated in this respect than many famous writers of the Antenicene Church. Even without the important fragment designated the Muratorian Canon, and the elaborate Refutation of all Heresies discovered in our own generation, both of which works have been ascribed to him by some modern critics, the literary remains bearing his name with the accompanying notes occupy some thirty pages in Routh's collection. Will it be thought audacious if I venture to question the existence of such a person?

The works attributed to Gaius by ancient writers and included under his name by Routh are the following:

(1) The *Dialogue with Proclus*, directed against the Montanists. It is quoted several times by Eusebius, who mentions Gaius as the author (*H. E.* ii. 25, iii. 28, 31, vi. 20).

(2) A treatise on the *Cause of the Universe*, directed against the Platonic doctrine. Photius (*AR.* 32. a) states that certain persons attribute it to Gaius. A considerable fragment of this work is extant.

(3) The *Little Labyrinth*, from which long quotations are given by Eusebius, and which is mentioned by name by Theodoret (*AR.* 12 e). Of the relation of this work to the *Labyrinth* of Photius I shall have something to say hereafter (p. 378 sq).

(4) A treatise *Against the Heresy of Artemon*, mentioned by Photius (*AR.* 32. a) as assigned to Gaius.

But besides the works above enumerated, of whose literary parentage some account must be given, before we can dispose of Gaius, certain facts are recorded of his life, which seem at first sight to give him a substantial existence and to resist any attempt to annihilate him.

We learn from Eusebius that he was a member of the Catholic Church (ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ); that he was a man of great learning (λογιώτατος); that he resided at Rome; that he held the dialogue with the Montanist Proclus during the pontificate of Zephyrinus; and that he received only thirteen Epistles of S. Paul, thus excluding the Epistle to the Hebrews. Jerome, as usual, derives all his knowledge from Eusebius, and repeats the same statements somewhat more loosely. Theodoret only knows Gaius as the writer of the Dialogue against Proclus. Photius (*AR.* 32. a) is somewhat fuller. 'This Gaius,' he writes, 'is reported to have been a presbyter of the Church in Rome during the pontificate of Victor and Zephyrinus, and to have been ordained bishop of the Gentiles.'

I have already alluded to the fact that the 'Refutation of all Heresies,' which was brought to light less than forty years ago, was added to the literary achievements of Gaius by several able critics. This fresh honour was the immediate occasion of his downfall. The Refutation is now ascribed by pretty general consent to his learned contemporary Hippolytus. On this point the representatives of the most opposite schools—Bunsen, Wordsworth, Döllinger—are agreed; and the coincidence with respect to the authorship is the more striking, because the work affords material for manifold theological controversy.

Unhappily for the fame of Gaius the Refutation cannot stand alone. Its author must have written all the treatises ascribed by ancient authorities to this learned Roman presbyter with the exception of the Dialogue with Proclus.

The *Treatise against Artemon* may be conveniently taken first. There cannot be much doubt that this treatise is identical with the *Little Labyrinth* mentioned by Theodoret (*AR.* 12. e). For though the extant fragments are directed chiefly against Theodotus, another leading monarchian, yet Eusebius, to whom we are indebted for their preservation, says that the work was written 'against the heresy of Artemon' (*H. E.* v. 28); and Theodoret, after mentioning both Artemon and Theodotus, says 'against the heresy of these men was composed the *Little Labyrinth*.'

The testimony of Photius (*AR.* 32. a) requires careful scrutiny. After discussing the authorship of the *Treatise on the Universe* he men-



tions marginal notes (ἐν παραγραφαῖς) to the effect that it was written by Gaius, an elder living in Rome, who they say composed *The Labyrinth* also, and of whom a *Dialogue* is extant against a certain Proclus, champion of the Montanist sect; which (treatise *On the Universe*) being left anonymous has been ascribed to diverse persons, just as *The Labyrinth* has been ascribed by one to Origen. But 'in truth,' he continues, 'it is the work of Gaius who composed *The Labyrinth*, as he himself testifies that the *Treatise on the Nature of the Universe* is his.' 'They say that this Gaius,' he adds, 'composed another treatise also specially directed against the heresy of Artemon, and an important *Dialogue against Proclus*, a champion of Montanus.'

What does Photius mean by this *Labyrinth*? Shall we identify it with the *Little Labyrinth* of Theodoret? Our first impulse is to identify the two; but, if so, Photius must have given an incorrect account, for he obviously contemplates two separate works. This however he might very well have done, since he seems not to have seen the *Little Labyrinth*. But another solution offers itself, which deserves more consideration. There is every reason to believe that the Summary comprising the 10th book of the *Philosophumena* was circulated separately from the main portion of the treatise, and fell into the hands of some who were unacquainted with the rest. Now in the opening words of this 10th book Hippolytus says that after 'breaking through the Labyrinth of Heresies,' he will proceed to the Demonstration of the Truth. It would seem therefore that this summary was known as the *Labyrinth* from the opening words. This explains the further statement of Photius that 'at the close of the *Labyrinth* he testifies that he wrote the treatise *On the Nature of the Universe*'; for in one of the final chapters the author of the *Philosophumena* (x. 32) refers his readers to this work, as his own.

But though different works are probably indicated by the *Little Labyrinth* and the *Labyrinth*, the nomenclature points to the identity of authorship. The same person, who would describe a general work on heresies as penetrating a labyrinth, would select as the appropriate title for a special treatise dealing with a particular group of heresies the *Little Labyrinth*. Thus the reference in the *Philosophumena* gives an additional confirmation of the Hippolytean authorship of the treatise *Against Artemon*. Even before the discovery of the *Philosophumena*, Routh had suggested this as the probable inference from the facts before him<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Journal of Philology* p. 98 sq. where this essay *Gaius or Hippolytus* appeared in its original form, I had identified the *Little Labyrinth* of Theo-

The *Little Labyrinth*. The comparison of Eusebius with Theodoret leaves no doubt that by this name the treatise *Against Artemon* is meant as I have just shown. Gaius therefore is deprived of the credit of the authorship of this work. Indeed the identification of the two supplies additional grounds for turning to Hippolytus as the true author.

To Hippolytus also must be assigned the *Nature of the Universe*. For this ascription there are abundant reasons, as I shall show below (p. 395 sq). It is sufficient to say here that the author of the *Refutatio* distinctly claims it as his own work; and no case has been made out for denying the *Refutatio* to Hippolytus. Indeed we may consider this latter point as established irrefragably, whatever doubt may have been entertained among critics at an earlier date.

[The above paragraphs are taken partly from an article which I wrote in 1868 in the *Journal of Philology* i. p. 98 sq, in which I was disposed to maintain that Gaius was only the double of Hippolytus, and that *all* the works ascribed to the former belong rightly to the latter. Only here and there a correction of statement has been rendered necessary in the foregoing paragraphs by further knowledge. So far I adhere to my former opinions. But in the light of recent discovery, as I shall explain presently, I feel myself no longer able to maintain this extreme view. It is now quite certain that there was a certain Gaius, against whom Hippolytus wrote. Yet my former discussion seems to me worth while reproducing in part, because it brings out many difficulties attending the question which have never been solved and because it offers some suggestions which may not be useless in other ways even in the light of further knowledge. If we could suppose the writer against the Montanists to be Hippolytus, and the opponent of the Apocalypse some unknown person of the name, we should have a solution of our difficulties; but I feel that I have no right to suggest this solution, except provisionally, with the evidence now before me.]

Thus stripped of his borrowed plumage, Gaius retains only the Dialogue with Proclus the Montanist. Of this work a brief notice is given by Eusebius, who also preserves two or three short fragments. It appears from these that the dialogue professed to have been held in Rome during the pontificate of Zephyrinus; that Gaius was the orthodox

doret with the *Labyrinth* of Photius, as writers before me had done; but the investigations of subsequent critics, showing the separate use of the Summary in

the 10th book of the *Philosophumena* gives another aspect to the question. The two can no longer, I think, be treated as titles of the same work.



and Proclus the Montanist disputant ; that in defending the prophesyings of his sect Proclus appealed to the four daughters of Philip, who with their father were buried at Hierapolis ; and that, as a set-off against these precious reliques, Gaius offered to show his antagonist the tombs of St Peter and St Paul, the one at the Vatican, the other on the Ostian Way. Moreover, a passage is quoted (obviously from a speech of Gaius), which, as the exact expressions have an important bearing on the subject of this paper, I shall here quote at length :

“But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations purporting to have been written by a great apostle, lyingly imposes upon us marvellous prodigies which he professes to have been shown him by angels, saying that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ is an earthly kingdom, and again that men shall live in Jerusalem in the flesh and be the slaves of lusts and pleasures. And, being an enemy to the scriptures of God, he would fain deceive, and says that a tale of a thousand years is to be spent in marriage festivities<sup>1</sup>.”

Having thus given the facts which bear upon the decision, I will state my hypothesis. Unless I am mistaken, it explains all the phenomena better than they have hitherto been explained ; and, if so, it may fairly claim a hearing.

Gaius is simply an interlocutor in a dialogue against the Montanists written by Hippolytus. By this person, who takes the orthodox side in the discussion, Hippolytus may have intended himself, or he may have invented an imaginary character for dramatic purposes. In other words, such a dialogue may really have taken place, or the narrative may be fictitious from beginning to end. In the former case, we may suppose that Gaius was his own prænomen ; for then he would naturally style himself in the dialogue, just as Cicero appears under the name of Marcus in his own writings. Not being a slave and being in some sense a Roman, Hippolytus must almost necessarily have had two names, if not more ; just as his Alexandrian contemporary is styled in full T. Flavius Clemens, and his African contemporary Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus. Such a combination as Gaius Hippolytus is natural in itself, and indeed occurs in an extant inscription found at Alacentia ; Q. POBLICIO L.L.C. HIPPOLYTUS<sup>2</sup>. On the latter supposition

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* III. 28 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡρῆθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ὡν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμέναις εὐδόκῳ ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν πάστασιν ἐπὶ λείον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ

Χριστοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτενομένην δουλεύειν, καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἐορτῆς θέλων πλανᾶν λέγει γενέσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Gruter, DCCCLXXXIX. 4.



(that Gaius is an imaginary person), we may appeal to the legal formula 'Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia,' as suggesting that Hippolytus might avail himself of the name which corresponds to the anonymous N. or M. of our own formularies<sup>1</sup>. Of the former kind of dialogue, where the author himself is the orthodox disputant, the work of Justin against Trypho may be taken as a type: of the latter, where a fictitious person maintains the right cause, the dispute between Jason and Papiscus by Ariston of Pella will serve as an example<sup>2</sup>.

I suppose then that the copies of the Dialogue in general circulation were anonymous. The title may have run *Διάλογος Γαίου καὶ Πρόκλου* (or *πρὸς Πρόκλον*) ἢ κατὰ Μοντανιστῶν. A writer, into whose hands this Dialogue fell, would naturally infer, as Eusebius inferred, (and the analogy of Justin's work would favour the inference), that Gaius was the actual author of the book. The few particulars which Eusebius gives respecting the life of Gaius were doubtless drawn from the Dialogue itself. Those which are added by Photius came from the other writings attributed to Gaius, from the *Cause of the Universe* or the *Labyrinth*, or perhaps even from the *Refutation* itself. The critics, whom he quotes and to whom he is indebted for these particulars, had observed the cross references from one work to another and correctly inferred therefrom the identity of authorship. Among these cross references was one which connected the authorship of the *Dialogue of Gaius and Proclus* with the other works, just as these are connected among themselves and proved to belong to the same author. Hence Gaius assumed to be the author of the Dialogue was credited with the other works also.

This is the explanation of the fact that all the particulars, which are predicated of Gaius, are predicated or predicable of Hippolytus also. They both flourish during the same pontificates; they are both styled 'presbyters,' and both live in Rome; they both receive only thirteen Epistles as written by St Paul, excluding the Epistle to the Hebrews; they both are men of great learning, though the Roman Church for some generations before and after this time was singularly devoid of literary eminence. And lastly, we have here an explanation of the

<sup>1</sup> So Tertullian *Apol.* 3 'Nemo retractat, ne ideo bonus Gaius et prudens Lucius, quia Christianus'; *ib.* 48 'At enim Christianus, si de homine hominem ipsumque de Gaio Gaium repromittat.'

<sup>2</sup> The work of Minucius Felix stands midway between the two; for, while the

chief disputant on the right side is a third person, the writer himself is supposed to be present. Another instance of an early polemical writing thrown into the form of a dialogue is the dispute of Archelaus and Manes. (Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* v. p. 3 sq.)

herwise not very intelligible statement, that Gaius was appointed bishop of the Gentiles' (*AR.* 32. a); for Hippolytus in the *Refutation* speaks of himself as holding the episcopal office (*AR.* 1), and addresses the Gentiles more than once as though they were his special charge<sup>1</sup>. The designation 'bishop of the Gentiles' is not strictly correct, it was at least a very easy inference from his language in this work; and probably he expressed himself similarly elsewhere, when the occasion demanded, as for instance in the treatise on the Universe addressed to the Greeks.

To this identification of Gaius and Hippolytus another ancient notice also points. The extant manuscripts of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* profess to be derived ultimately from a copy which was 'transcribed from the writings (or manuscripts or lectures) of Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp by Gaius who also was intimate with Irenæus<sup>2</sup>.' Now I shall not stop to enquire whether this postscript to the account of Polycarp's martyrdom contains authentic matter or not; but in any case it would seem that the transcriber here intended was none other than our Gaius, the Roman presbyter; for he is the only notable personage of the name and age, whose attestation would be of value to credit the genuineness of the narrative. If so, it is remarkable that he is represented as a disciple of Irenæus. For Hippolytus also attended the lectures of this father, and was much indebted to them for the materials of his earlier *Compendium against Heresies*. In his later *Refutation* also he twice mentions Irenæus as 'the blessed elder,' and in the second of the two passages avows his great obligations to him (*Ref. Haer.* vi. 42, 45). May we suppose that Gaius in the Dialogue with Proclus expresses himself similarly with respect to this father?

Again, the hypothesis of an anonymous copy falls in with another class of facts mentioned above. The knowledge of Eusebius was limited in character and extent by the materials within his reach. To the library at Caesarea, collected by the diligence of his friend Pamphilus, we probably owe the valuable remains of early Christian literature which he has preserved to us; and, where this library was defective, his knowledge would be defective also. Now it appears to have contained some volumes bearing the name of Hippolytus; for, though he passes over

x. 31, 32, 34. In the close of the treatise, which is wanting, he may have alluded to his episcopate more directly, in connexion with the Gentiles to whom the peroration is addressed.

ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν

Εἰρηναίου μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ; or, as it appears in the Moscow MS, ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων Γάϊος μετεγράψατο (see *Ignat. and Polyc.* III. pp. 401, 403, ed. 2).



this father very lightly, he gives a list of several books written by him, adding, 'And you may find very many works besides still extant in the hands of many persons' (*H. E.* vi. 22). But, in addition to the works which he enumerates, the library also contained another stray volume, from which the writer's name was accidentally omitted, and of which Eusebius therefore did not recognise the authorship. This volume comprised the *Dialogue of Gaius and Proclus*, the *Little Labyrinth*, and the *Cause of the Universe*. The first of these Eusebius ascribes to Gaius (of whom he evidently knows nothing besides), because Gaius is the orthodox interlocutor. The second he quotes but quotes anonymously, not knowing who was the author. Of the third it is worth remarking this negative fact, that he has not included it in his list of the works of Hippolytus, though it is so included in the catalogue on the statue. From its subject it probably would not assist his historical researches, and he therefore does not quote from it, and probably did not read it. In the same form also—perhaps in a copy transcribed from the archetype in the Cæsarean library—the three anonymous treatises fell into the hands of the critic or critics mentioned by Photius. They saw from the cross-references that the three works must be ascribed to the same author; and, either following Eusebius or drawing the same easy but incorrect inference independently, they attributed the *Dialogue* against the Montanists to one Gaius. To Gaius therefore this anonymous volume was assigned.

But independently of the theory itself, are there reasons for supposing that Hippolytus ever did write against Montanism? There is at least a presumption, that so ruthless a scourge of heterodoxy in all its forms should not have left this type of error unassailed. Besides writing two general works against all the heresies—his earlier *Compendium*, the little book read by Photius, and apparently preserved (though not without considerable modifications) in the Latin treatise attached to the *Praescriptio* of Tertullian (see below, p. 413 sq), and his later and fuller work, the *Refutation*, first brought to light and published in our own generation—he likewise attacked in special treatises the more important heresies which were rife in his own age and church. We have seen how he refuted the monarchian doctrines of Theodotus and Artemon, by which the Roman community was assailed about this time. We have moreover an extant fragment of a work against Noetus (whether an independent treatise or not), whose heretical views also threatened this same church in his day. He wrote likewise against Marcion. It would seem strange therefore if so persistent a champion



of orthodoxy had been silent about Montanism, which was certainly one of the most formidable antagonists of the Catholic Church among the Roman Christians at this time.

On the other hand, in the *Refutation* he dismisses this heresy very briefly. Bunsen complains that 'the whole article is meagre,' and fails to fulfil the promise which Hippolytus made at the outset, that he would leave no form of error unanswered. I think this meagreness is easily explained on the hypothesis which I have put forward. Just as in a previous section Hippolytus had dismissed the heresy of Theodotus (though second in importance to none in its influence on the Christian history of his time) with a very few lines<sup>1</sup>, because he had controverted it in the *Little Labyrinth*, so now he disposes of Montanism with the same despatch, because he either has written, or intends to write, a special treatise on the subject. If the words which follow refer, as they perhaps do, not to the Noetians who are mentioned just before, but to the Montanists who are the main subject of the paragraph, this polemical work was still an unaccomplished project. 'Concerning these,' he says, 'I will write more in detail at a future time.' The supposition that the *Dialogue* was not yet written, though projected, is quite consistent with the fact, that the discussion which it reproduced purported to have been held during the pontificate of Zephyrinus. The *Refutation* indeed was not written till after the death of Callistus, the successor of Zephyrinus. But, as Callistus only held the see for four years (219—223), no long time need have elapsed between the supposed date of the discussion and the publication of the *Dialogue*, so that no dramatic propriety would be violated. But on either supposition, whether the *Dialogue* existed already, or was only planned in the author's mind, the fact would explain why he is satisfied with this very cursory notice of the Montanists in his great work.

From this *Dialogue* also Stephanus Gobarus (*AR.* 20) may have quoted, when, as represented by Photius, he stated 'what opinions the most holy Hippolytus held concerning the Montanists.' The account of these heretics in the *Refutation* is almost too short to explain this

<sup>1</sup> *Ref. Haer.* viii. 19. Another case in point is the article on the Quartodecimans (iii. 18), who are dismissed still more summarily. Hippolytus had discussed them in his treatise *On the Passover*. In all these three cases Bunsen (*Hippolytus* i. pp. 376, 382, 385) supposes that our manuscript has preserved only an abstract of what Hippolytus wrote.

The account I have given in the text seems to me much more probable. At the same time I am disposed to think that the *Refutation* was left unfinished by its author, and that he had intended to expand these meagre articles, making use of his special treatises for this purpose. This hypothesis will explain much which needs explanation in the form of the work.

language. And, if the Latin of the Pseudo-Tertullian at all adequately represents his earlier work, the *Compendium* also was equally brief. Indeed in the later work he does little more than repeat the statements of the earlier respecting these heretics.

It only remains to enquire, whether the extant fragments of the *Dialogue* are consistent with the hypothesis that Hippolytus was the author.

As regards style, the work might well have been written by this father; though any inference drawn from such scanty extracts can have but little value. The matter however presents some difficulty. The inference has been often drawn from the passage quoted above (see p. 381)<sup>1</sup>, that the writer of the *Dialogue* considered the Apocalypse of S. John to be a forgery of Cerinthus; and, if this inference were true, my hypothesis must be abandoned; for Hippolytus not only quoted largely from the Apocalypse as a work of S. John, but also, as we have seen, wrote a book in its defence. This adverse interpretation however may reasonably be questioned. It is difficult to see how an intelligent person should represent the Apocalypse as teaching that in the Kingdom of Christ 'men should live in the flesh in Jerusalem and be the slaves of lust and pleasures,' and again that 'a thousand years should be spent in marriage festivities<sup>2</sup>.' It is hardly less difficult to imagine how a man of great learning, as the author of the *Dialogue* is represented to have been, could have reconciled such a theory with the known history and tenets of Cerinthus. It must be confessed indeed that Dionysius of Alexandria appears so to have interpreted the language of Gaius in the *Dialogue*. At all events he speaks of some previous writers (τινὲς τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν) as maintaining that the Apocalypse was written by Cerinthus, and describes their views in language somewhat resembling the passage of the *Dialogue* (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25; comp. iii. 28); though he himself, while questioning the Apostolic authorship of the book, has the good sense and feeling to reject this solution as untenable. It is not so clear that Eusebius also understood the passage in the same way.

<sup>1</sup> Neander (ii. p. 441 Bohn's transl.) writes thus: 'Moreover it deserves consideration in this respect, that by Stephanus Gobarus the judgments of Hippolytus and of Gregory of Nyssa respecting the Montanists are set one against the other, so that we may conclude that the former belonged to the defenders of Montanism.' And others have attributed Montanizing views to Hippolytus. But we do not

know in what respect the opinions of these two fathers were contrasted by Stephanus, if they were contrasted. At all events Hippolytus in the *Refutation* speaks quite as strongly against the Montanists as the case justifies.

<sup>2</sup> The word γάμος however need not signify a marriage festival, as it is used elsewhere of festivities generally; e.g. LXX, Esth. iv. 22.

On the other hand Theodoret adopted a different interpretation. 'Cerinthus,' writes this father, 'also invented certain revelations pretending to have seen them himself (ὡς αὐτὸς τεθεαμένος). Against him not only have the above-named persons written, but with them also Gaius and Dionysius the Bishop of Alexandria (*AR.* 12 d.)' So interpreted, the passage signifies that Cerinthus set himself up for 'a great apostle' who had revelations<sup>1</sup>: and this is more in accordance with his attitude towards S. John as it appears in other ancient notices. But, whatever be the exact bearing of the words ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων, the description is inappropriate to the Apocalypse of our Canon. Nor indeed is it likely that an orthodox presbyter of the Roman Church should have so written of a book which a contemporary presbyter of the same Church revered as the genuine work of an inspired Apostle; for the author of the *Dialogue* does not write as one who is putting forward an opinion which would be contested by his own compeers.

If may be said, however, that at all events Gaius attacks the millenarians, whereas Hippolytus himself held millennial views. But both propositions involved in this statement are open to question. Gaius did indeed condemn a sensuous millennium, but it is by no means clear that the passage goes so far as to condemn Chiliastic doctrine in all its forms. On the other hand it is not certain that Hippolytus was a Chiliast at all, while it is quite certain that he must have scouted all Chiliastic views which wore a sensuous garb. As regards the first point, he does indeed maintain that the world will last six thousand years, corresponding to the six days of creation, and that afterwards will come the reign of Christ, of which the Sabbath is the type<sup>2</sup>, but the parallel is not pressed so far as to insist upon the same duration for his antitypical Sabbath as for his antitypical working-day; and he elsewhere speaks of the second Advent in such a way as to leave no room for a millennium. It is at least remarkable, that though he again and again enlarges on eschatological subjects he is wholly silent on this one point, even where the subject would naturally lead him to state the doctrine, if he held it<sup>3</sup>. But, if it is hardly probable that Hippolytus held Chiliastic opinions

<sup>1</sup> See the parallel given by Routh (*II.* p. 19) from Apollonius in Euseb. *H.E.* v. 18, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστόλου, καθολικὴν τινα ἐκταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν, speaking of one Cerinthus, a Montanist. The more natural interpretation of the words however seems to be, that Cerinthus palmed off his

forged Apocalypses under the name of some Apostle, perhaps S. Peter.

<sup>2</sup> Hippol. *Fragm.* 59 (on Daniel), p. 153 (Lagarde).

<sup>3</sup> See the treatise on Antichrist throughout (especially c. 44 sq), besides several fragments bearing on the subject.



of any kind, it is quite certain that he would have condemned, as strongly as any one, the sensuous conception of the millennium attributed by Cerinthus in the *Dialogue*. 'In the resurrection,' he writes, 'men shall be as angels of God: that is to say, in incorruption and immortality and immutability (ἀπευρία). For incorruptible being is not born, does not grow, does not sleep, does not hunger, does not thirst, does not toil, does not suffer, does not die, is not pierced by nails and spear, does not sweat, does not shed blood: such beings are those of the angels and of souls released from bodies; for both these are different in kind from (ἐτερογενεῖς), and alien to, the visible and corruptible creation of the (present) world!'

When the above essay was written, I had thought also that the *Heads against Gaius*, which are mentioned in Ebedjesu's list (*AR.* 37) might have been this very Dialogue of Gaius and Proclus, which Eusebius mentions; and that owing to a careless heading, or to a superficial impression derived from its opening sentences, it might have been taken to be written against Gaius, because the interlocutor Proclus, who perhaps opened the debate, was found arguing against him. Thus the last vestige of evidence for the existence of Gaius as distinct from Hippolytus would have disappeared. But only last year Prof. Gwynn of Dublin discovered and published from Dionysius Barsalibi several fragments from this very treatise, in which Hippolytus maintains against Gaius the genuineness and authority of the Apocalypse of S. John (see below, p. 394 sq). Gaius therefore is alive once more, though he seemed to me to be dead. But, whether this is really Gaius the Roman presbyter or another, may perhaps be still an open question.

### § 5.

#### THE LITERARY WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

With most writers the obvious order would be the life first and the works afterwards. The works are the fruit and consequence of the life; the works live and flourish after the life is ended. But with Hippolytus it is convenient to reverse the natural order. We know next to nothing about Hippolytus except what we learn from his own works; and, as the genuineness of the productions ascribed to him is beset in many cases with great difficulties, we are quite powerless to deal with the life, until the preliminary questions affecting these are first settled.

<sup>1</sup> Hippol. *Fragm.* 9, p. 90 (Lagarde).

In the following account I have been greatly assisted by J. A. Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 183 sq (ed. Harles); Bunsen *Hippolytus and His Age* i. p. 514 sq (1854); Caspari *Taufsymbol u. Glaubensregel* iii. p. 377 sq; and especially Salmon in Smith-Wace's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iii. p. 91 sq s. v. 'Hippolytus Romanus,' whose list is the most careful and complete.

His work may be divided conveniently for my purpose into four classes;

- (A) *Biblical and Exegetical*;
- (B) *Theological and Apologetic*;
- (C) *Historical and Chronological*;
- (D) *Heresiological*.

Where a strictly logical classification is impossible, and where in many cases either from the character of the writing itself or from the defect of our information we may doubt where to place any particular work, this rough division will suffice.

#### A. BIBLICAL AND EXEGETICAL.

1. *The Muratorian Canon.* The reasons for assigning this work to Hippolytus require to be stated in full, and are given in a separate section. See below, p. 405 sq.

2. *On the Hexaemeron.* This work on the days of Creation seems to have been well known in early times. It is mentioned in several lists, and Jerome (*AR.* 8. g) tells us more especially that S. Ambrose in his extant work on the same subjects made great use of it. Some fragments are given in Lagarde, p. 123—141. The reference of Jerome to the charge brought against himself of misinterpretation in explaining the odd and even days of Creation (*AR.* 8. d) must be to this work.

3. *On the Sequel to the Hexaemeron.* This work (εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον) is mentioned by Eusebius and others. The commentary *In Genesim*, included by Jerome in his list, is probably the same. It would deal with certain passages in the patriarchal history. Jerome elsewhere (*AR.* 8. c) gives a mystical interpretation of one of these from Hippolytus. Isaac symbolizes God the Father, Rebecca the Holy Spirit, etc.

4. *On Exodus*, only in Jerome's list. It is questionable whether ἡ φῶς ἡ μεγάλη in Theodoret's quotation (*AR.* 12. b) has anything to do with the Song of Moses *Exod.* 15.

5. *On the Benedictions of Balaam.* This work is quoted by Leon-

tius of Byzantium (*AR.* 21. b), but there is a v. l. Ἀβραάμ for Βαλαάμ (see Lagarde, p. 140). The blessings of Balaam are a more likely subject to have been chosen by Hippolytus; and a copyist would be tempted to substitute the commoner word Ἀβραάμ. The extract itself contains nothing which is decisive.

Fabricius (*II.* p. 33 sq) gives extracts from some Arabic mss at Oxford of a Catena on the Pentateuch, which contains numerous passages ascribed to 'Hippolytus the expositor of the Targum.' We are not encouraged either by the source of these extracts, or by their contents, to regard them as a genuine work of our Hippolytus.

6. *On Elkanah and Hannah.* This discourse is twice quoted by Theodoret (*AR.* 12. a, b).

7. *On Saul and the Witch of Endor* (περὶ Σαοὺλ καὶ πίθωνος) or, as it is described on the chair, [εἰς τὴν ἐγ]γαστρίμυθον. It is found also in Jerome's list. This same incident is made the subject of a discussion by Hippolytus' contemporary Origen; and his representation of it was considered so important that it was specially answered by Eustathius of Antioch. The two tracts have been recently edited together by Jahn in Gebhardt u. Harnack *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1886.

8. *On the Psalms.* Theodoret (*AR.* 12) quotes from the commentary on the 2nd, the 23rd, the 24th, and (if he means this by τὴν ὡδὴν τὴν μεγάλην), the 119th Psalm. See also in Migne (p. 611) a fragment on the 77th Psalm, published by Bandini (*Catal. Cod. Graec. Medic.* 1. p. 91). There is likewise a possibility that the *Demonstration against the Jews* may be a commentary on Ps. lxi.

There is also a long passage extant (Lagarde, p. 187 sq) entitled the 'hypothesis' or 'introduction of Hippolytus the bishop of Rome to the Psalms,' which seems to show the influence of Origen's Hexapla (Overbeck *Quaest. Hippol.* p. 6 sq). The genuine introduction of Hippolytus appears to be preserved in the corresponding Syriac (Lagarde's *Anal. Syr.* p. 83), and confirms Overbeck's view, as pointed out by Salmon ('Hippolytus Romanus,' p. 103). The writer of the extant Greek fragment has worked together materials of Hippolytus and Origen. We find a characteristic trait of Hippolytus which appears much more definitely in the Syriac than in the Greek. In the *Chronicon* he enumerated the 72 nations of the earth (25 from Shem, 15 from Japhet, and 32 from Ham); and in the *Philosophumena* (x. 20) he refers to his enumeration. Now in the Syriac fragment he tells how David's four chief singers had each 72 players of instruments under him, corresponding to the 72 nations, which again he distributes in the same way, 25 to Shem, 15 to Japhet, and 32 to Ham.



9. *On the Proverbs*, mentioned in several lists. Some fragments are given in Lagarde, p. 196; and one long additional passage in Migne p. 616 sq from Mai *Bibl. Nov.* vii. ii. p. 71 (1854).

10. *On Ecclesiastes*, mentioned by Jerome. A quotation is given by S. de Magistris as from Anastasius of Sinai, but it is not in the printed editions; comp. Lagarde p. 201.

11. *On the Song of Songs* in several lists: see Lagarde p. 200 sq. Apparently extant in a Syriac translation; *Assem. Bibl. Orient.* i. p. 607.

12. *On Isaiah*, mentioned by Jerome. Theodoret (*AR.* 12. a) quotes from the beginning of it. See Lagarde *Hippol.* p. 142 and *Anal. Syr.* p. 87.

13. *On Jeremiah*. At least Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. p. 607) mentions the existence of such a work, but does not state whether it is a complete commentary.

14. *On parts of Ezekiel*, in the list of Eusebius. The work on 'the four living creatures' is mentioned by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. p. 607) as extant in a Syriac translation.

15. *On Daniel*, in most of the lists, though not in Eusebius. Apparently a very popular work and several times quoted (*AR.* 8. h, 18, 32, 33, 35). This work is the subject of a careful monograph by Bardenhewer (1877), who had pointed out that the long and important Chigi fragment (Lagarde p. 151 sq) does not preserve the Commentary of Hippolytus in the original form. For the fragments known when this work was written see Lagarde p. 145 sq, Migne p. 633 sq. Quite recently a very important discovery has been made. Georgiades has published in the *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, May 1885 for the first time, *Anal. Syr.* *περὶ ἑρμηνείας τοῦ προφητοῦ Δανιὴλ λόγος δ'*, and is preparing a greater work for which he is collating in the libraries of Europe. Meanwhile Kennedy (Dublin 1888) has reprinted the Greek text with an English translation. As the fourth book contains the last six chapters, Georgiades infers that *λόγος α'* contained the History of Susannah, *λόγος β'* the Song of the Three Children, and *λόγος γ'* the earlier portion of the Canonical Daniel. On p. 13 *ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ σεσήμενται* we ought probably in the light of this new discovery to see a reference to the 3rd book, as the prophet was divided in Hippolytus. Hippolytus states (p. 42) that our Lord was born on viii Kal. Jan. on the 4th day, in the 55th year of Augustus being the 5500th year from Adam; and that He was crucified in His 33rd year, on viii Kal. Apr. on Friday (*παρασκευῇ*) in the 18th year of Tiberius, in the consulship of Rufus (Fufius) and Rubellio, or (as it is elsewhere expressed) 'duobus Geminis' (see i. p. 253). He thus places the Crucifixion on March 25 A.D. 29, and the Birth on

Dec. 25 B.C. 4, which he regards as the 42nd of Augustus. If this be the genuine text of Hippolytus (and there seems no reason to doubt it), the information is highly important. It shows that the date which we find elsewhere for the Crucifixion in the Liberian chronicle expresses Hippolytus' deliberate view. This date also of the Crucifixion is involved in the *Paschal Tables*. For the reasons which led Hippolytus to fix on this day, though not the real full-moon in A.D. 29, see Salmon in Smith-Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s.v. 'Chronicon Canisianum' i. p. 506; 'Hippolytus Romanus' iii. p. 92 sq; and *Hermathena* i. p. 96. But it has a still more important bearing. In the corresponding fragment in the Chisian fragment of Daniel (Lagarde p. 153) we have exactly the same statement *ἔπαθε δὲ τῷ τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει*, though without the same particulars. Salmon (*Hermath.* l.c.) expresses his surprise that, while Hippolytus defends the authenticity of the fourth Gospel and founds his chronology of the passover on S. John (see iii. p. 104), he has not in the *Paschal Tables* and in the *Chronicle* made the usual inference from S. John's account as to the duration of our Lord's ministry. This indeed would be the more surprising because his master Irenæus not only does this, but exaggerates the inference from S. John, alleging the tradition of the elders that Christ's ministry extended over many years and thus refuting the Valentinian argument for their thirty æons derived from the thirty years of Christ's earthly life<sup>1</sup>. He therefore supposes that 'thirty third' was a transcriber's correction in the Chisian fragment to improve the chronology. Now however that this new authority is discovered it seems impossible to maintain this view. If the crucifixion which he certainly places 'duobus Geminis' i.e. A.D. 29, and the duration of our Lord's life to His 33rd year, are both inconsistent with the reckonings of the *Chronicle* and the *Paschal Tables*, the inconsistency must be allowed. The real difficulty is with the *Paschal Tables*, where the *γενεσις*  $\chi\bar{c}$  is placed on iv Non. Apr. in the 2nd year of the first cycle, and the *παθος*  $\chi\bar{c}$  on viii Kal. April in the 16th year of the second, thus making an interval of 31 years within a few days between the two, it being assumed that the *γενεσις* means the visitation. As the Commentary on Daniel was apparently written much earlier than the other works, perhaps Hippolytus saw some way meanwhile of fitting in the three passovers of S. John into his later chronology. At all events he cannot have been unaware of the difficulty.

In the ordinary Greek Bibles Susannah precedes, the Song of the Three Children follows, and last comes the Book of Daniel proper.

<sup>1</sup> Iren. *Haer.* ii. 22; see *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 245 sq.

This was doubtless the case with the copy of Hippolytus. The long fragment (Lagarde p. 145 sq) relating to Susannah has every appearance of being the introduction to the whole work. Hippolytus begins by explaining why, though the events took place later, they are recorded at the beginning of the work (*ἡ ἱστορία γέγνηται ὕστερον, προεγράφη δὲ τῆς βίβλου πρώτης*); for it was customary, he adds, for the scribes to record things in reversed order (*ὕστερόπρωτα*), as we find with many visions of the prophets. It is needless to say that Susannah signifies the Church, and the two elders are the two peoples, the Jewish and the Gentile. This mystical interpretation constituted its great attraction to the fathers. But what is the *Little Daniel*, which according to Ebedjesu (*AR.* 36) Hippolytus commented on? It is commonly explained of the ordinary LXX apocryphal additions to Daniel (Susannah, the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon); but these would all be included ordinarily under Daniel; and in Ebedjesu's list Susannah is specially mentioned. In Wright's *Syriac MSS Brit. Mus.* i. p. 19 (see above, p. 350 sq) there is a fragment from the 'Daniel the less (or the youth) on our Lord and the end of the world.' It seems to be a distinctly Christian apocryphal writing. Daniel is represented as preaching the future judgment in the language of S. John's Gospel 'He will come to His own, and His own will not recognise Him...I am not able to explain who He is, but by the Spirit in a mystery. The servant is not able to overcome his master, but I give signs and preach concerning Him.'

The book recovered and published by Georgiades evidently preserves the Commentary of Hippolytus in its original form. Bardenhewer had surmised that in the long fragment of the Chisian ms (Lagarde p. 151—168) it was much compressed; and this new discovery has confirmed his suspicion.

Moreover this new discovery throws some light on the date of the work. Bardenhewer (p. 68), impressed by the language used of the persecutions of the Church, places it as early as 202. To this early date Salmon (*III.* p. 104) objects, calling attention to the fact that according to Eusebius (*H. E.* vi) Judas, writing on the 70 weeks of Daniel, brought his chronography down to the 10th year of Severus and maintained that the coming of Antichrist was imminent (*ἤδη τότε παρῆναι*), and he argues that at least a dozen years must have elapsed to 'allow the minds of the Christians to cool down.' But now that we have the complete words of Hippolytus, we see that the excitement was still at a red heat and that probably this treatise was written to calm men's fears. He mentions apparently this very Judas; 'I will relate,' he says, 'what took place not long ago (*τὸ συμβὰν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου*) in Syria,' where a



certain leader of the Church led himself and others astray, persuading 'many of the brethren with their wives and children to go out into the wilderness to meet Christ.' He adds that if his wife, who was also a Christian, had not been wiser than himself and prevailed upon the governor, he would have slain them all as robbers. He mentions also another ruler of a church in Pontus, whom I do not know whether it is possible to identify, 'a pious and humble man, but with no firm grasp (*μὴ προσέχων ἀσφαλῶς*) of the scriptures,' who, misled by visions, staked his credit on the immediate coming, and the people sold their lands accordingly.

16. *On Zachariah*, mentioned by Jerome.

17. *On S. Matthew*. This is not included in Jerome's list, but he himself (*AR.* 8. i) especially elsewhere mentions Hippolytus as having written on this Gospel. De Magistris has given an extract on *ἐπιούσιος* in the Lord's prayer, purporting to come from Hippolytus (Migne p. 700); and quite recently Gwynn has printed and translated from the Syriac of Dionysius Barsalibi (*Hermathena* vii. p. 137, 1889) a long and important comment on Matt. xxiv. 15—22, which may have come from this work. Indeed Barsalibi (p. 142) seems to state this 'in the Commentary on the Gospel,' as if distinguishing it from an earlier quotation taken from some other work. Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* i. p. 607) mentions Hippolytus as writing on the five persons omitted in S. Matthew's genealogy.

18. From the way in which they are quoted by Theodoret (*AR.* 12. b, c) *The Discourse on the Distribution of the Talents*, and *The Discourse on the Two Thieves* would seem to have been separate homilies, not portions of a Commentary.

What may be the source of the fragments relating to the early chapters of S. Luke (Lagarde p. 202), we do not know. There is no notice of any Commentary on this Gospel. They may have been taken from the *περὶ οἰκονομίας*, or from almost any of his theological works.

19. *Defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of S. John*. From the preposition (*ὑπέρ*, not *περί*) and from the association of the two works together, it is a safe inference that this was an apologetic work, directed against those persons who objected to both works alike, because they described our Lord as the *Λόγος*; but they must have contained much exegetical matter. Indeed we may suspect that Epiphanius borrowed the name *ἄλογοι* 'the irrational ones,' from Hippolytus; for these jokes are very much in his way; e.g. *νοητός*, *ἀνόητος* (ix. 10), and *δοκός*, *δοκεῖν*, *δοκηταί* (viii. 1). Dionysius Barsalibi states that Hippolytus, like Irenæus, holds the Apocalypse to have been written by John the Evangelist under Domitian (Gwynn *Hermathena* vii. p. 137).

The *Heads against Gaius* are mentioned in the list of Ebedjesu (*AR.* 37) as a separate work. But they have every appearance of being extracts from that part of this apologetic work which relates to the apocalypse. I have already considered what relation these bear to the notices of other writers relating to Gaius the Roman presbyter (p. 388).

## B. THEOLOGICAL AND APOLOGETIC.

20. *Demonstratio c. Judaeos* (Ἀποδεικτικὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους). A large portion of this treatise was first published by Fabricius (*II.* p. 2 sq) from Vatican MS communicated to him by Montfaucon.

But besides this Greek portion De Magistris (p. 435 sq) connected with it, as part of the same work, a Latin treatise commonly printed among the spurious works of Cyprian (e.g. Hartel's edition, *III.* 133 sq). So far as I can discover, he had no ground whatever except his own arbitrary assumption for assigning it to Hippolytus. At least he gives none. If there is no reason for assigning this work to Cyprian, it seems even less possible to maintain the Hippolytean authorship. Yet Bunsen (*I.* p. 450) accepts it without a question, describing it as 'far more interesting than the part preserved in the Greek text.' The connexion of this Latin tract with the Greek fragment is purely arbitrary. On this subject see Dräseke *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* *I.* p. 456 sq (1886).

This might seem at first sight to be part of his commentary on the 139th Psalm. But the mutilated title on the Chair cannot be so well applied as by [πρὸς τοὺς ἰουδαίους]. Moreover the Jews are directly addressed again and again, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι. Again, though it is largely taken up with the exposition of this one psalm, it is not wholly so. Lastly; the sequence of scriptural authorities quoted (p. 66 sq) (Agarde) Δαυὶδ ὁ σὸς χριστός, ὡς ὁ μέγας Ἰώβ, φέρω δὴ ἐς μέσον καὶ τὴν προφητείαν Σολομών, καὶ πάλιν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐν ψαλμοῖς, καὶ πάλιν Σολομών, points to a more general treatise than the exposition of an individual psalm.

21. *On the Nature of the Universe* or, as it is described on the Chair, *Against the Greeks* or *Against Plato* or *Concerning the Universe*. I may observe by the way, that according to the general arrangement of titles (see p. 325) χρονικῶν is a distinct work from πρὸς Ἑλλήνας &c., and that the two should not be fused, as is sometimes done. Thus the genuineness and identity of the work are established on the best possible authority. Nevertheless Photius (*AR.* 32. a) found it ascribed to his copy to Josephus; but he saw that this was impossible owing to

its distinctly Christian theology. He adds that he has found it stated in some notices that it was really written by Gaius the Roman presbyter, the author of the *Labyrinth*. This *Labyrinth*, as I have shown elsewhere (see above, p. 379), is probably the tenth book of the *Philosophumena*, in which Hippolytus distinctly mentions himself as having written a treatise *Concerning the Nature of the Universe* (Ref. x. 32). Photius further mentions the report that, having been left anonymous, it is assigned by some to Josephus, by others to Justin Martyr, and by others to Irenæus, just as some assign the *Labyrinth* to Origen. In the so-called John Damascene (*Sacr. Parallel.* II. pp. 755, 789) it is twice quoted, and ascribed in the one passage to Meletius, in the other to Josephus. By Joannes Philoponus (Lagarde, p. 124), who gives a few lines, it is ascribed to 'Josephus the Hebrew' and entitled *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας*. In the MS from which Hoeschel first printed the important fragment (Lagarde p. 68) in his notes to Photius (Phot. Op. IV. p. 362 Migne) it was ascribed to Josephus, and seems to have borne the title *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας ἢ οὐσίας*. The resemblances of language and substance bespeak the same authorship with the *Philosophumena*, even if we had not the author's own certification (see Wordsworth, p. 211 sq). Wordsworth (p. 306) gives the latter part of Hoeschel's fragment (from p. 27, l. 5, ὁ μέγας τῶν δικαίων κ.τ.λ. Lagarde, onward), where it is carried a few lines farther from an Oxford MS, *Barocc.* 26, which however had been previously printed by Hearne. This additional part contains the apocryphal quotation, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὐρω ὑμᾶς, ἐπὶ τούτοις κρινῶ, which is quoted by Justin Martyr and several fathers (Resch *Agrapha* p. 112 sq, 226 sq, 290 sq, in Gebhardt u. Harnack *Texte u. Untersuch.* v. Hft. 4, 1889). This is quoted as from Ezekiel (i.e. the pseudo-Ezekiel) by some of the fathers; and it is noticeable that Clem. Alex. *Quis div. Salv.* 40 (p. 957) after κρινῶ ends the quotation in the same way as Hippolytus, καὶ παρ' ἑκάστα βοᾷ τὸ τέλος πάντων.

In the long extant fragment Hippolytus addresses the Greeks more than once, and he mentions Plato by name (p. 70, Lagarde). Photius also says that he refutes Alcinoüs 'concerning the soul and matter and resurrection,' and shows after the manner of the Christian apologists generally, and indeed of Josephus, 'the much greater antiquity of the Jews than the Greeks' (*AR.* 32. a). Alcinoüs is not mentioned in the extant fragments.

In the passage of the *Philosophumena* (x. 32) he expounds briefly the cosmogony which was the foundation of this treatise. God was absolute and alone. He created from simple elements, fire, spirit,



water, and earth. Those creatures which are composed of more than one element are capable of dissolution. The soul is pure air or spirit (*πνεῦμα*). The great interest in the extant fragment is the application of his cosmogony to explain the intermediate state, which was a favourite subject of Hippolytus.

22. *An exhortation addressed to Severina* (*προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβήριναν*). This is mentioned on the Chair, and it is generally identified with *πρὸς βασιλῖδα τινὰ ἐπιστολὴ* twice quoted by Theodoret (*AR.* 12.

c). The fragments have reference to the Resurrection, and more especially to Christ as the *ἀπαρχή*. No princess bearing the name Severina is mentioned anywhere either in inscriptions or in literature. Munsen supposed that she was a daughter of Alexander Severus, but he only married in 229, and his daughter, if he even had one, can only have been four or five years old at Hippolytus' death. Le Moyne identified her with Severa the wife of Philippus; and Döllinger (p. 25) with Julia Aquilia Severa the second wife of Elagabalus. But no reason is given why either of these should have been called Severina. As no princess of the name is known, it is perhaps better to identify the *βασιλῖς* of Theodoret with Julia Mammæa the mother of Alexander.

22\*. *A letter to a certain princess* twice quoted by Theodoret (*AR.* 2. b, c). See the last section.

The quotation in *Anal. Syriac.* p. 87 sq (Lagarde) belongs not improbably to the same work. It runs as follows;

'OF HIPPOLYTUS BISHOP AND MARTYR *On the Resurrection to the Empress Mammæa*; for she was the mother of Alexander who was at that time emperor of the Romans.'

'Now the cause of the heresies of the Nicolaitans was first brought forward in like manner by Nicolas—he was one of the deacons who were elected at the first and is recorded in the Acts—when he was troubled by strange spirits saying that the resurrection had taken place; supposing that the resurrection was to believe in the Messiah and to be baptized, not meaning the resurrection of the flesh.'

To him Hippolytus goes on to trace the errors of Hymenæus and Philetus and of the Gnostics; and he couples with them the false teachers at Corinth, explaining S. Paul's language 'we have this treasure in earthen vessels' of the gift of immortality; for 'what is our dead flesh but these vessels before mentioned, into which the treasure of incorruption being put makes them immortal?'

This may be the passage to which Stephanus Gobarus refers (*AR.* 20), but the same opinion was expressed by Hippolytus in both his general works on Heresies.

23. *On the Resurrection*, mentioned by Jerome (*AR.* 8. b), and on the Chair (περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως).

24. *A Homily on the praise of our Lord and Saviour* (προσομιλία *de Laude Domini Salvatoris*) mentioned by Jerome as having been delivered before Origen. I shall have occasion to refer to this again, as it is one of our very few chronological land-marks (see below, p. 423). It is possible that this homily is the περὶ οἰκονομίας of the Chair and Ebedjesu (*A. R.* 37).

25. *On Christ and Antichrist*. This work is mentioned by Jerome under the title 'de Antichristo,' and under the further title περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἀντιχρίστου by Photius who read it.

A spurious work bearing the title περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ was published by Joannes Picus (Paris 1556), and still retains a place in the editions (e.g. Fabricius II. p. 4 sq, Lagarde p. 92); but it is universally condemned as spurious. It begins Ἐπειδὴ οἱ μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.

The genuine treatise, which was read by Photius, entitled περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου was first published by Gudius (Paris 1611), and will be found in Fabricius I. p. 4 sq and in Lagarde p. 1—36. It is apparently almost complete. It is addressed to one 'brother Theophilus,' possibly like the Theophilus whose name the Acts bears on the forefront, an imaginary person; and, as it deals with prophecy affecting the future of the Roman empire, Hippolytus not unnaturally cautions his friend in the language of S. Paul to Timothy to guard the deposit carefully, and only to commit it to faithful and discreet disciples. The general scheme of the world's history and the end of all things is the same which this father has evolved from Daniel's prophecy as described above; though in some respects it is more fully drawn out. He deals with the mystical number of the beast in the Apocalypse, mentioning the alternative explanations τεῖταν, εἰδανθας, and λατεινος, as Irenæus has done before him (*Haer.* v. 30. 1), and deciding in favour of the last (p. 26). For other obligations of Hippolytus to his master in the work on Antichrist see Overbeck p. 70 sq.

On the whole there seems to be reasonable ground for Overbeck's contention (p. 88 sq), that this work was written at a time of persecution, and therefore presumably in the age of Severus, about A.D. 200. The awe of the Roman power, and the warnings of caution, both point in this direction. The coincidences of interpretation, which he mentions between Hippolytus and Origen, are curious but not sufficient, I think, to establish on either side any direct obligation of the one from the other; which is improbable in itself.

26. *On the Holy Theophany* (εἰς τὰ ἅγια θεοφάνεια). This is a discourse on the Baptism of our Lord, preserved in a Gale ms Trin. coll. o. 5. 36 at Cambridge. It was probably addressed to candidates when they presented themselves for baptism (see Wordsworth, p. 224). Though it is nowhere quoted (at least under this name), so far as I am aware, by ancient writers, there is nothing which Hippolytus might not have written.

### C. HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL.

27. *Chronica*. This work is mentioned on the Chair, and even without this certification it contains unquestionable internal evidence of its authorship. The original Greek is lost; but it is extant in two Latin translations, of which the one first published by Canisius may be conveniently consulted in Ducange *Chron. Pasch.* II. p. 96 sq (ed. Bonn.) under the title *Liber Generationis*; the other, being incorporated in the collection of the Chronographer of 354, is admirably edited by Mommsen. In this latter connexion I have had occasion to speak of its length in my previous volume (I. p. 258 sq). It is brought down to A.D. 234 (the xiii<sup>th</sup> year of Alexander), when doubtless it was completed. It is not in any strict sense a chronicle, but is partly ethnography and partly chronography. One of its main purposes, as with most early apologists, was to show the superior antiquity of the Jews to the Classical nations of antiquity.

28. *Paschal Tables*<sup>1</sup>. This record is found inscribed in full on the sides of the Chair, where it is described as ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα τὰ [τὰ] ἐν τῷ πίνακι. The more important parts of it are given above (I.R. 2). It is a calculation of the times of Easter according to a cycle of sixteen years from A.D. 222—333. Salmon however has given strong reasons (*Hermathena* I. p. 88 sq; Smith-Wace *Dict. of Christ. Lit.* s.v. 'Hippolytus Romanus' III. p. 93) for supposing that it was used A.D. 224. It has received great attention from Scaliger, Bucher, Bianchini, and others; and more recently from De Rossi and from Olmon, who have rendered very efficient service. The table not only calculates the Easters for more than a century, but likewise fixes all those mentioned in the Old Testament. Thus it affords many tests for establishing the authorship of works ascribed to Hippolytus, as well as for the criticism of his life in other ways. I shall have occasion more than once to refer to it for these purposes.

This work is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, as well as by others, and seems to have excited considerable attention, though within a few years after its

construction the calculation was found to be incorrect, and it had to be abandoned in favour of other systems.



## D. HERESIOLOGICAL.

29. The *Compendium against all the Heresies*, an early work, founded on the lectures of Irenæus. This will be considered immediately in a section to itself. See below, p. 413 sq.

29\*. *Against Noetus*. Reasons will be given presently for supposing that this is only the peroration of the previous treatise; which is known to have ended with the heresy of Noetus.

29\*\*. *Against the Heresy of Artemon*. The reasons for assigning this work to Hippolytus have been given already (p. 377 sq).

Only one objection of apparent force to the Hippolytean authorship is alleged by Salmon (p. 98). The anonymous writer against Artemon (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28) speaks of Victor as the 13th bishop of Rome from Peter; whereas in the Liberian list Cletus and Anacletus are made two distinct persons, so that he would be the 14th. I have anticipated this objection, and shown already (i. p. 282 sq) strong reasons for believing that Hippolytus cannot be made responsible for these blunders in the earlier part of the papal list.

30. *Against Marcion*. This treatise is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome and by others, and seems to have been one of considerable importance. As the fundamental idea of Marcion's theory was the dual principle of good and evil (*Ref. Haer.* vii. 30 ἀντιπαράθεσις ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ, vii. 31 ἡ πρώτη καὶ καθαριωτὰτὴ Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσις ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ἔχουσα), there is every reason to think that this is the same treatise which is designated on the Chair 'Concerning the Good and whence cometh the Evil.'

31. *Concerning Spiritual Gifts* (χαρισμάτων) *the Apostolic Tradition*. This work is mentioned on the Chair, but its purport has been differently explained. For reasons which I have given in another instance (p. 395), we must regard this as a single title, and not, as has been suggested (see Caspari III. p. 390), separate it and regard it as giving two distinct works; (1) περὶ χαρισμάτων, and (2) ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. The Apostolic use of the word χαρίσματα seems to furnish the safest key to the purport of this work. In his discourses on the 'Witch of Endor' and the 'Blessings of Balaam' Hippolytus sought to explain some of the anomalies attending the bestowal of these graces, and it seems probable that in this treatise he attempted to give something like a systematic exposition of the whole subject based upon the Apostolic teaching. The vagaries of Montanism more especially would force it on his notice, as pressing for some reasonable treatment. How far and under what

circumstances was the presence of moral or intellectual obliquity consistent with the bestowal of such exceptional graces from above? In fact all those questions which are suggested by S. Paul's account of the abuses in the Corinthian Church, and many more which start up when we stir the question ourselves, must have been more rampant in early ages, when the disciples were face to face with similar phenomena in heathendom.

This I believe to have been the intention of our author's treatise respecting charismata. On the other hand a wholly different explanation has been sometimes given of it. It is supposed to have been a code of Church ordinances or constitutions regulating the appointment to ecclesiastical offices. Though this view does not commend itself at first sight, it can claim a large amount of traditional support of a certain kind. I cannot however reckon in this the statement of Jerome (*AR.* 8. f) who quotes Hippolytus as explicit on the point whether fasting should be observed on the sabbath and whether there should be a daily celebration of the eucharist. He might have delivered himself of such dicta in many other places, as in his treatise on the *Hexaemeron* or in his books on the *Paschal Festival* or in his *Demonstration against the Jews*. But there is extant in the Alexandrian Church a code of 38 Canons first published by Ludolf (A.D. 1691) and bearing the name of 'Abulides,' which is only another transliteration of Hippolytus, here styled 'first patriarch of the city of Rome' and 'chief bishop of the city of Rome'; though Wansleb who first called attention to these canons (1672, 1673) did not know who could be meant. These have been recently re-edited by Haneberg *Canones S. Hippolyti Arabice* (Monachii 1870), who has given reasons for supposing that they were originally written in Greek. Connected with these are the διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου, as they are called in the MS from which Lagarde has edited them (*Monac.* 380), and their designation is similar in others (see Caspari III. p. 387). Corresponding to the 8th Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* are two early elements in Greek, from which it was apparently compounded and amplified: (1) Διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων corresponding to *Apost. Const.* viii. 1, 2 (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.* p. 1 sq, Lagarde), which contains a sort of preface concerning spiritual gifts; and (2) Διατάξεις κ.τ.λ. as already given, corresponding to *Apost. Const.* viii. 4 sq (p. 5 sq) on ecclesiastical offices, etc. The name of Hippolytus is attached to this latter only. Yet here we have seemingly the explanation which we seek. Not improbably to these ecclesiastical rules were prefixed (with modifications) some remarks of the genuine Hippolytus from the work

whose title is given on the Chair; and in this way he came to be regarded as the author of the Canons themselves. It is hardly probable that even in their present comparatively simple form they can have been his product, as they are attributed to the several Apostles, 'I Peter first,' 'I the beloved of the Lord,' etc., and prefixed with the fiction 'We the twelve Apostles of the Lord met together in conjunction with Paul the vessel of election our fellow-Apostle and James the bishop and the rest of the presbyters and the seven deacons.' We have also Canons extant in Syriac designated 'Ordinances of the Apostles given through Hippolytus' (Wright's *Syriac Catal. of MSS of Brit. Mus.* II. pp. 949, 1033, 1037). All these Canons which are ascribed to Hippolytus are apparently simpler and allied forms of the ordinances in the present 8th Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. As against the supposition of the Hippolytean authorship however of the portion περὶ χαρισμάτων, Caspari (III. p. 389) observes that it presents no coincidences of conception with the parts of the genuine Hippolytus where we should expect to find them, the conclusions of the *Refutatio* and of the *Treatise against Noetus*; whereas several may be found with the other parts of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. On the other hand I note—what seems to me a more weighty consideration on the other side—that in this very short treatise consisting of five octavo pages great emphasis is laid on two topics which are characteristically Hippolytean; (1) The enumeration of the prophetesses, to which Hippolytus devotes a section in his *Chronicon* (Mommsen p. 641, Ducange II. p. 108); (2) The stress laid on the history of Balaam, which Hippolytus made the subject of a special treatise (see above, p. 389). We can imagine how Hippolytus, starting from the discussion of the χαρίσματα generally, might have been led to speak about some of the special gifts mentioned in S. Paul's two lists (1 Cor. xii. 28, Ephes. iv. 11), and that some later editor, working up the material of Hippolytus and others, would give to it the name of this father. The fact that Hippolytus is designated 'an acquaintance (γνώριμος) of the Apostles' by Palladius (*AR.* 11), as soon as the early decades of the fifth century, is significant in this connexion. It seems to indicate that some such work had been already attributed to him; and at all events it shows that a spurious progeny was fathered upon him as coeval with the Apostles. The next writer who so designates him, τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων (*AR.* 16), lived in the middle of the sixth century. There seems therefore to be some ground for the opinion of Bunsen (see esp. II. p. 412 sq) and others, that the treatise mentioned on the Chair lies at the root of the tradition respecting the authorship; but when with him we expunge the 'We the Apostles' and



other dramatic parts, we introduce a vital change into the document, which is altogether capricious, and we have no basis of criticism for the reproduction of the Canons of Hippolytus, if he drew up any.

This appears to me the most probable account. At the same time I do not wish to speak with any confidence; for this would not be justified without a thorough investigation of the origin and development of the *Apostolic Constitutions* such as I cannot pretend to have given.

32. *On the Passover*. This work must be carefully distinguished from the *Paschal Cycle* with the Paschal tables engraved on the Chair. It is mentioned separately in the lists both of Eusebius and of Jerome. From the reference in the Chron. Pasch. (*AR.* 22) we find that it consisted of more than one book. Along with Irenæus and (so far as we know) all the Asiatic fathers of the school of S. John<sup>1</sup>, Hippolytus maintained that our Lord Himself was the true Passover, suffering on the 14th Nisan, and thus superseding the legal Jewish passover. This position he took up also in both his general books against the heresies, the early *Compendium* and the later *Refutatio*. It may be regarded therefore as written to refute the *Quartodecimans*, as the fragments in the Chron. Pasch. (*AR.* 22) show.

33. The *Philosophumena* or *Refutation of All Heresies*, his final work, probably left incomplete at his death. This will demand a section to itself<sup>2</sup>.

#### SPURIOUS HIPPOLYTEAN WORKS.

(1) The treatise *Contra Beronem et Helicem* (?) *haereticos de Theologia et Incarnatione Sermo* is now almost universally allowed to be spurious, though accepted as genuine by Dorner (*Lehre v. der Person Christi* i. p. 536 sq) and by Bunsen (i. p. 448 sq) in our own generation, as at an earlier date it had been defended by Bull. Its rejection by most recent critics, e.g. Haenell, Kimmel, Fock, Döllinger, Overbeck, Caspari, Dräseke, and Salmon, has left it without a friend; and I have no intention of defending a hopeless cause.

Anastasius the Apocrisarius, or Papal Nuncio at Constantinople (A.D. 65), saw this work at Constantinople and made a few extracts from it, which are preserved (*AR.* 24). It is quoted also (*AR.* 30) by Nicephorus of Constantinople [† A.D. 828]. The manuscripts vary between "Ηλικος

<sup>1</sup> This is distinctly the case with Irenæus Apollinaris, whose language Hippolytus closely resembles; and there is no ground for separating him from the rest of the school; see *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 237 sq.

<sup>2</sup> [The section in question was never written.]

or Ἡλικίου (Ἡλικίωνος) as the companion heretic of Bero or Vero. But no Helix or Helicion is mentioned in the extant fragments; whereas in one place we read (p. 61, Lagarde) Βήρων τις ἐναγχος μεθ' ἐτέρων τινῶν τὴν Βαλεντίνου φαντασίαν ἀφέντες κ.τ.λ. There can be little or no doubt therefore that Fabricius (Hippol. *Op.* i. p. 225) was right in his conjecture ἡλικιωτῶν αἰρετικῶν for Ἡλικος τῶν αἰρετικῶν. On the title see Dräseke *Zahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* x. p. 342 sq.

Of this Vero or Bero we never hear in the heresiological writers of the fifth and earlier centuries. This would be astonishing if the treatise had been genuine or even early. Epiphanius and Philaster and Theodoret—the two former especially—are eager to make their list as complete as possible. Moreover all the three were acquainted with the writings of Hippolytus; and therefore their silence would be the more inexplicable; for nothing else so explicit or so important was written by Hippolytus on questions of Christology, and we should have expected frequent references and quotations to it.

Moreover, when we investigate the fragments themselves, the treatise condemns itself by its style and substance. It is much more philosophical in its language than Hippolytus itself. It uses terms and modes of thought which betoken a later stage of the Christological controversy. On this point however it should be observed that κένωσιν is probably a false reading and that we should probably read ἐνωσιν instead (Dräseke l.c. p. 344 sq). Bunsen, accepting the work as genuine, considers one expression only ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας to be interpolated (i. p. 448). If this had been the only difficulty, we should have agreed with him that it 'proves nothing against the authenticity of the work.' But, as Döllinger (p. 319 sq) points out, the terminology bristles with difficulties on the supposition that it was a work of the beginning of the first half of the third century. Fock and Döllinger connect it with the Monophysite disputes, and assign it to the sixth or seventh century. The subject has more recently been investigated by Dräseke (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* xxix. p. 291 sq, 1886), who would assign it to a somewhat earlier date. He ascribes it to the Apollinarian school, and supposes it to have been written not later than the early decades of the fifth century (p. 318). I need not pursue the subject further. It has no bearing on my theme, the life and opinions of Hippolytus, though not without an interest for the later stages of the Christological controversy.

(2) A story told at length by Palladius (*AR.* 11), in which a virgin was placed in great danger to her chastity by the iniquity of the magistrate, and only rescued by the continence and purity of a youth to whom her honour was to be sacrificed.

(3) The *Arabic Catena on the Pentateuch*, of which mention has been made already (p. 390).

(4) The treatise *De Consummatione Mundi*, which for some time took the place of the genuine work *De Christo et Antichristo*; see above, p. 398.

(5) The *Apostolical Canons*, which however are perhaps not without some foundation of fact; see above, p. 401 sq.

### § 6.

#### THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

In the early part of his work (*Haer.* i. 15, 16) Irenæus quotes, from one whom he describes as 'the divine elder and herald of the truth,' some verses (ἐμμέτρως) written against the Valentinian heretic Marcus. They run as follows;

Εἰδωλοποιε Μάρκε καὶ τερατοσκόπε,  
 ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης,  
 δι' ὧν κρατύνεις τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,  
 σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ πλανωμένοις,  
 ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐγχειρήματα,  
 ἃ σοι χορηγεῖ σὸς πατὴρ Σατὰν αἰὶ  
 δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν.  
 ἔχων σε πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας,

some slight corrections being made in the sixth line on which all critics are agreed, and which are suggested by the ancient Latin version. It will be observed that our poet is very fond of trisyllabic feet, and that more especially he affects anapæsts in the fourth and fifth places. I should add that, as the editors give his text, he does not shrink from a spondee *in quarto*; but we might easily relieve him of this monstrosity by reading δυνάμος in both cases, thus giving him no more of his favourite anapæsts instead.

In this instance the editors could not well go wrong; for they were warned by ἐμμέτρως that some verse was coming, and have printed accordingly. But elsewhere, where there was no such warning, they were altogether astray. Thus in *Haer.* iii. 17. 4 (a passage preserved only in the ancient Latin version) Irenæus is made to write;

'Aquae mixtum gypsum dans pro lacte seducat per similitudinem coloris, sicut quidam dixit superior nobis de omnibus qui quolibet



modo depravant quae sunt Dei et adulterant veritatem *In Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur,*

where the Claromontane ms has 'veritatem Dei, Lacte,' etc. This is the correct reading (*in* being a repetition of the previous *m*), but not the correct punctuation. The sentence should run,

'Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur,'

which in Greek is

Θεοῦ γάλακτι μέγνυται γύψος κακῶς,

so that the mixing of chalk and water with milk is not a discovery of modern civilisation. I may mention by the way that not a few of our homely proverbs are anticipated by the fathers. A lively writer like Jerome would furnish several examples. One occurs to me at the moment, 'equi dentes inspicere donati,' 'to look a gift horse in the mouth,' which Jerome calls 'a vulgar proverb' even in his own day (vii. p. 538, Vallarsi).

Nor is this the only instance in which the editors of Irenæus have been at fault. In *Haer.* i. praef. 2 likewise this father quotes one whom he styles in the same way (ὁ κρείττων ἡμῶν, here however rendered *melior nobis* in the Latin), and who is doubtless the same person. Here the original Greek is happily preserved, which I will write out as it ought to be written, separating the prose from the verse (without however altering a single word);

καθὼς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῶν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων [τῶν αἰρετικῶν]  
ὅτι

λίθον τὸν τίμιον  
σμάραγδον ὄντα καὶ πολυτίμητόν τισιν  
ὑαλος ἐνυβρίζει διὰ τέχνης  
παρομοιουμένη, ὅποταν μὴ παρῇ ὁ σθένων δοκιμάσαι καὶ  
τέχνη διελέγξαι τὴν πανούργως γενομένην  
ὅταν δὲ

ἐπιμυγῇ  
ὁ χαλκὸς εἰς τὸν ἄργυρον, τίς εὐκόλως  
δυνήσεται τοῦτον ἀκεραίως δοκιμάσαι;

where however for ἀκεραίως we should probably read ἀκέραιος, as the Latin has 'rudis quum sit.' Very slight alterations would bring more of the context into the verses. Thus ὁμοιουμένη might be substituted for παρομοιουμένη, and ὅταν γὰρ for ὅταν δὲ, the Latin having 'quum enim.' But this is sufficient to show that several verses are embedded in a passage which the editors print continuously as prose. Probably

'our superior' in the two last passages is the same with the 'divine elder' who writes against Marcus in the first.

The employment of verse or of rhythm for theological teaching was not uncommon in these early ages. The heretics had their own psalms, in which they propounded their favourite doctrines. From the orthodox point of view Clement of Alexandria, at the close of his *Paedagogus* (I. p. 312 sq), has written a metrical hymn in honour of Christ for educational purposes. An anonymous contemporary of Clement, who has been identified for excellent reasons with Hippolytus, is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 28) as referring to the 'numerous psalms and songs' (*ψαλμοὶ ὄσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ*) written by believers in which Christ is spoken of as God. Again; in the fourth century the notorious *Thalia* of Arius, which was sung in the streets and taverns of Alexandria, will occur to us on the one side, and the poems of the elder and younger Apollinaris on the other. More especially, where a *memoria technica* was needed, as in the list of the Canon, verse was naturally employed as a medium. In the last quarter of the fourth century we have two such metrical lists of the Scriptures—the one by Amphilochius, the other by Gregory Nazianzen.

The *Muratorian Canon* was discovered and published by Muratori in 1740 from a MS in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, originally taken from the ancient monastery of Bobbio. It contains a canon of the New Testament. It is mutilated at the beginning so that it commences in the middle of the second Gospel; and it ends in the midst of an account of certain apocryphal books. Muratori himself attributed it to Gaius, the contemporary of Hippolytus, who flourished under Zephyrius. All the necessary information respecting the text will be found in Tregelles's *Canon Muratorianus* (Oxford, 1867), and in Westcott's *History of the Canon* Appx C.

It is generally allowed that this catalogue emanated from Rome, as indeed the mention of 'the city' implies. Of its date we may say that it is ascribed by different critics to various epochs between about A.D. 160 and A.D. 220. The general opinion also is that the document was written in Greek and that we possess only a not very skilful, though literal, translation, greatly corrupted however in the course of transmission. On the other hand Hesse in his important monograph (*Das Muratorische Fragment*, Giessen 1873) maintains that Latin was the original language; and he has succeeded in convincing Caspari (*Taufsymbol* III. p. 410) and one or two others. His reasons however seem to me to be wholly inadequate. Thus he lays stress on such forms as *pania, catholica*, etc., maintaining that these are admissible in Latin.

This may be perfectly true, but proves nothing. I cannot doubt that the usual view is correct. The literature of the Roman Church was still Greek, as we see from the example of Hippolytus; even though Victor, being an African, may have written in Latin. Moreover I am quite unable to explain the phenomena of the document, if it is preserved to us in its original language. The whole cast and connexion of the sentences are Greek. In answer to this view, it is urged that on this hypothesis the document ought to lend itself easily for retranslation into Greek, and that the Greek reproduction ought to throw back light on the meaning of the Latin. To this objection the following pages will, I trust, be a sufficient answer.

But it does not seem to have occurred to anyone that the original document *was written in verse*, like the corresponding lists of Amphilochius and Gregory Nazianzen. Yet the more I study the work, the stronger does this conviction grow. Neither in phraseology nor in substance does it resemble a prose document. There is an absence of freedom and equability in the treatment. This is the more remarkable where the writer is dealing with a mere list pure and simple. It is obvious that he has to grapple with a medium which constrains him and determines what form any particular statement shall take.

The Muratorian Fragment has been translated into Greek prose by Lagarde for Bunsen (*Analecta Antenicena* i. p. 142 sq), and by Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 97 sq). Either of these translations would, as it seems to me, justify the contention that Greek was the original language of the fragment, for it reads so much more naturally than in the Latin. I had not read either of these when I made my own verse renderings; but I note with satisfaction that the last words of the fragment,

Asianum Cataphrygum constitutorem,

are translated unconsciously by Hilgenfeld into an iambic line,

τὸν τῶν Ἀσιανῶν Καταφρύγων καταστάτην,

as I had translated it, except that I should substitute *κατὰ Φρύγας* for *Καταφρύγων*, since the Montanists are always (so far as I have noticed) called in Greek οἱ Φρύγες or οἱ κατὰ Φρύγας, never οἱ Κατάφρυγες, at all events for some centuries<sup>1</sup>. But would not 'constitutor' be a strange

<sup>1</sup> They are οἱ Φρύγες in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 13, p. 605; *ib.* vii. 17, p. 605; Hippol. *Haer.* viii. præf., 19, x. 25; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 27, v. 16; but [οἱ] κατὰ Φρύγας Ps-Tertull. [Hippol.] *adv.*

*Omn. Haer.* 7 'qui dicuntur secundum Phrygas,' Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25, v. 16, vi. 20; Epiphan. *Haer.* xlviii. 12, 14, pp. 413, 416. In the title of Epiphanius we have *καταφρυγαστῶν*, but this is probably



word for a 'founder' in an original Latin prose document? Why also should these Cataphrygians be called Asiatic, except that an epithet was wanting to fill up a line?

Again: the author of *Supernatural Religion*, II. p. 385, accuses the writer of this Canon of going so far as to 'falsify' the words of S. John's First Epistle in his zeal to get evidence for the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. He was a clumsy blunderer, if this were his design; for his abridgment has considerably weakened the force of the original. But his motive, I believe, was much more innocent. He had to squeeze the language of the epistle into his own verse; and accordingly he wrote (as represented by his translator),

dicens in semetipsum quae vidimus oculis  
nostris et auribus audivimus et manus  
nostrae palpaverunt haec scripsimus vobis,

which may have run in the Greek;

λέγων  
ἐς ἑαυτόν· ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἃ θ' ἐώρακαμεν,  
κακήκοαμεν τοῖς ὠσίν, αἱ θ' ἡμῶν χεῖρες  
ἐψηλάφησαν, ὑμῖν αὐτ' ἐγράψαμεν.

Now let us see what can be made of some longer passages ;

(1)

acta autem omnium apostolorum  
sub uno libro scripta sunt Lucas obtimo Theophi-  
lo comprehendit quia sub praesentia ejus singula  
gerebantur sicuti et semote passionem Petri  
evidenter declarat sed et profectionem Pauli ab ur-  
be ad Spaniam proficiscentis. Epistulae autem  
Pauli quae a quo loco vel qua ex causa directae  
sint volentibus intelligere ipsae declarant.  
Primum omnium Corinthiis scysma heresis in-  
terdicens deinceps Galatis circumcisionem  
Romanis autem ordinem scripturarum sed et  
principium earum esse Christum intimans.

ἀλλ' ἀποστόλων  
πράξεις ἀπάντων βιβλίον ὑφ' ἐν γεγραμμένας  
Λουκᾶς κρατίστῳ Θεοφίλῳ συλλαμβάνει,  
αὐτοῦ παρόντος ὡς ἕκαστ' ἐπράττετο·

a corruption for τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας, though Monk, *Serm.* 130 (p. 1845, Migne).  
his error is older than Antiochus the

ὡς καὶ μακράν [γ' ἀπόντος ἢ σιγῇ] πάθος  
 Πέτρου προφαίνει καὶ πόλεως δ' εἰς Σπανίαν  
 Παύλου πορείαν ἐκπορευομένου σαφῶς.  
 Παύλου δ' ἐπιστολαὶ τίνες, ἐκ τίνος τόπου,  
 ἐπεστάλησαν, ἢ ποίας ἐξ αἰτίας,  
 δηλοῦσιν αὐταὶ τοῖσι βουλομένοις νοεῖν·  
 πρῶτόν γε πάντων αἵρέσεως Κορινθίοις  
 σχίσμ' ἀπαγορεύων, εἶτα Γαλάταις περιτομῇν,  
 γραφῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τάξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἀρχὴν ἐκείνων Χριστὸν ὄντα δεικνύων.

For the form and quantity of this last word there is good Attic authority (Menander in *Fragm. Comm. Graec.* iv. pp. 93, 245). As regards the martyrdom of S. Peter and the journey of S. Paul to Spain, there can be little doubt, I think, as to the meaning. As S. Luke only records what took place within his own cognisance, his silence about these two important facts is regarded as evidence that they happened in his absence. But whether or not some words have fallen out in the Latin, such as I have given in the Greek, 'semote [quum esset, silentium ejus] evidenter declarat,' I will not venture to say.

(2)

fertur etiam ad  
 Laudicensis alia ad Alexandrinos Pauli no-  
 mine finctae ad haeresim Marcionis et alia plu-  
 ra quae ad catholicam ecclesiam recipi non  
 potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con-  
 gruit.

φέρεται δὲ καὶ  
 ἡ Λαοδικεῦσιν, ἡ δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὖ,  
 πρὸς Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν πεπλασμέναι  
 ὀνόματι Παύλου· πολλά τ' ἄλλ' ἃ καθολικὴν  
 οὐκ ἀναδέχεσθαι δυνατόν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν·  
 οὐ συμφέρει γὰρ μέλιτι μίγνυσθαι χολήν,

which last line reminds us of the language of the earlier poet who wrote against the heretic Marcus.

(3)

pastorem vero  
 nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe  
 Roma Herma conscripsit sedente cathe-  
 dram urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio eps fratre

ejus et ideo legi eum quidem oportet se publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter prophetas completum numero neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest.

τὸν δὲ Ποιμένα

νεωστὶ καιροῖς ἡμετέροις ἐν τῇ πόλει

Ῥώμῃ συνέγραψεν ἐπικαθημένον Πίου

Ἑρμᾶς καθέδραν τῆσδε Ῥωμαίων πόλεως

ἐκκλησίας ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἐπισκόπου·

ὥστ' οὖν ἀναγινώσκειν μὲν, ἐν δ' ἐκκλησίᾳ

οὐ δημοσιεύεσθαι σφε τῷ λαῷ χρεών·

οὐδ' ἐν προφήταις δυνατόν οὐδὲ συντελεῖν

ἀποστόλων ἐς ἀριθμὸν εἰς τέλος χρόνων,

where I am disposed to think that 'completum numero' is a clumsy translation, perhaps corrupted by transcription, of the idiomatic Greek συντελεῖν ἐς ἀριθμόν, 'to be classed among the number'; but it would not be difficult to substitute a more literal rendering of the Latin. In this passage the repetitions 'in urbe roma,' 'urbis romae,' 'sedente cathedram,' 'ecclesiae episcopus,' lead me to suspect that we have here some surplusage introduced for the sake of foreigners, when the original document was translated into Latin for the use of (say) the African churches; but I have given them the benefit of the doubt, and retranslated them.

But if this catalogue was originally written in Greek verse, who was the poet? In a paper written some time ago (*Hermathena* i. p. 82 sq) on the 'Chronology of Hippolytus' Salmon (p. 122 sq) discussed at length the notice of the authorship of Hermas, which the *Muratorian Canon* has in common with the *Liberian Catalogue*, of which the earlier portion is attributed on fairly satisfactory grounds to Hippolytus. He there maintains that the writer's 'nuperrime temporibus nostris' cannot be too strictly pressed; that a change came over the Church after the age of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, who both quote the *Shepherd* with deference; that this change took place in the interval between the two treatises of Tertullian, *De Oratione* and *De Pudicitia*, the work being treated with respect in the former and rejected in the latter, as having been classed 'by every council of your churches among false and apocryphal books'; and that the statement in the *Muratorian Canon* was the great instrument in effecting this change. The *Muratorian Canon* on this showing therefore may be placed at the close of the first century or the beginning of the second, so that there



is no difficulty in ascribing it to Hippolytus, or at least in assuming it to have been known to him, and thus to have suggested the note which we find in the Liberian Catalogue. As however I do not see that Salmon elsewhere (Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* ss. vv. 'Hippolytus,' 'Muratorian Canon') has so ascribed it, though he still maintains the later date, I presume that he has changed his mind.

Now I should not be prepared to attribute an influence so great to this document, especially if it came from Hippolytus, who was at daggers drawn with the heads of the Roman Church. But nevertheless I am ready to accept the Hippolytean authorship. To this view I am predisposed by the fact that there was no one else in Rome at this time, so far as we know, competent to produce it. It agrees in all respects with the Canon of Hippolytus; both in its rejection of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and its acceptance of the genuineness of the Apocalypse. Moreover the language used of the Shepherd of Hermas is strongly in favour of the attribution to Hippolytus. But I seem also to see elsewhere direct evidence of the Hippolytean authorship. Among the works of Hippolytus, whose titles are inscribed on his Chair, we read  $\omega\delta\alpha\iota\iota\sigma\pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\varsigma$ . If correctly copied, this represents  $\psi\delta\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , 'odes' or 'verses on all the Scriptures.' This might represent two titles; (1)  $\psi\delta\alpha\iota$ , and (2)  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . In this case the  $\psi\delta\alpha\iota$  would only be available as showing that Hippolytus wrote metrical compositions, of which these verses on the Canon might be one; and  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  would represent his exegetical works which, as we learn from Jerome, were numerous, though it would be an exaggeration. But against this separation two objections lie: (1) In no other case in this inscription are titles of two works run together in one line (see above, pp. 325, 395). Thus  $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\omega\nu$  has a line to itself, though only one word. (2) The inscriber has already named the commentary 'On the Psalms,' not to mention the treatise on the 'Witch of Endor' ( $\tau\eta\nu$   $\xi\gamma\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$ ) and the 'Defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of John,' which might all have been dispensed with, if  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  were a comprehensive description of his commentaries and other exegetical works. What then were these 'odes referring to all the Scriptures'? Might they not describe two metrical compositions relating to the Canon of the Old and New Testament respectively, of which the latter only is preserved, being itself mutilated at the beginning? If this were not sufficient to account for the expression, the collection might, like Gregory Nazianzen's, have included poems 'On the Patriarchs,' 'On the Plagues of Egypt,' 'On the Decalogue,'

On Elijah and Elisha,' 'On the Miracles of Christ,' 'On the Parables of Christ,' etc. But this seems to me unnecessary. Before the extant leaves in the MS, which begin abruptly in the middle of the description of S. Mark, a sheet or sheets are wanting, and these may have contained the Canon of the Old Testament. This was at least as important as the Canon of the New in the eyes of the early fathers, and precedes it in almost every ancient list, e.g. in Athanasius and Epiphanius, in Amphilochius and Gregory Nazianzen. The fragment on the Canon is followed in the MS by a passage from S. Ambrose (*De Abrah.* i. 3, § 15, 16, *Op.* i. p. 289); and Jerome tells us (*Epist.* lxxxiv. 7) of S. Ambrose that he 'sic *Hexaemeron* illius [Origenis] compilavit, ut magis *Hippolyti* sententias Basilique sequeretur.' If Jerome does not treat the two works of Hippolytus *εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον* and *εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον* as one, at all events Ambrose would use the second as freely as he used the first. May we not then have here possibly (I will not say more) a passage from a Latin translation of Hippolytus, which Ambrose borrowed *verbatim*?

If Hippolytus be the author of this Canon, it was probably one of his earliest works. He seems to have died about A.D. 236, being then in an advanced age. Thus his birth may be placed about A.D. 155—160. His literary activity began early; for his *Compendium on Heresies* for various reasons which I will explain presently cannot well be placed after about A.D. 185 or 190. In this case he might say with only a natural exaggeration that Hermas wrote the Shepherd 'temporibus nostris,' according to his own view of the authorship, which may or may not have been correct.

I may add that in the above translations I have avoided many metrical licenses which Hippolytus might have used. My task would have been much easier if I had indulged in such monstrosities as we find even in cultured writers like Amphilochius and Gregory Nazianzen, writing on the same theme.

### § 7.

#### THE COMPENDIUM AGAINST ALL THE HERESIES.

A work by Hippolytus 'against all the Heresies' was widely known among early writers. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, it supplied Epiphanius and Philaster largely with materials, and it is probably quoted by the Roman Bishop Gelasius. Photius (*AR.* 32. b) has described this work, which he calls *σύνταγμα* 'a compendium,' rather fully.

He speaks of it as a little book (*βιβλιδάριον*). It comprised thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans and ending with Noetus and the Noetians. It was founded on some lectures of Irenæus (*ὁμιλοῦντος Εἰρηναίου*), in which these heresies were submitted to refutations (*ἐλέγχους ὑποβληθῆναι*). It was clear, grave, and terse in style; though it fell short of the Attic diction. It was not absolutely accurate in some respects, as for instance in stating that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by S. Paul.

When the great work of Hippolytus—the so-called *Philosophumena*—was discovered and published for the first time by Miller, who however ascribed it to Origen, several critics, who discerned the true authorship, believed that this was the identical work described by Photius. Bunsen for instance was very positive on this point; though in his later edition he speaks more circumspectly. But a careful inspection showed that the identification was impossible. In the first place Photius calls the work which he describes ‘a little book.’ Now the *Philosophumena* is a large book, even in its present mutilated condition; and when it comprised the whole ten books—of which two are lost—could not by any figure of language be called *βιβλιδάριον*. Least of all, would it be designated a ‘Synopsis,’ or ‘Compendium’; for it is even diffuse in the treatment of most heresies of which it treats at all. *Secondly*; by no feat of arithmetic can the number of heresies which it includes be summed up as thirty-two. *Thirdly*; it neither begins nor ends like the work described by Photius. The first heresy dealt with is not the Dosithean, but the Naassene; and the last is not the Noetian, but the Elchesaite. Of its relation to Irenæus I shall have to speak presently.

But though the *Philosophumena* is not the identical treatise mentioned by Photius, it recognises the existence of that treatise; and it does so in such a way as to show that the two were the work of the same author. At the commencement of this longer work the writer states (*AR.* i. a) that long ago (*πάλαι*) he had written to expose and refute the doctrines of the heretics, not minutely (*κατὰ λεπτόν*), but roughly and in their broad features (*ἀδρομερῶς*); that they had failed to profit by his moderation, and that now he must speak more plainly and warn them of their eternal peril. Here then we have a description, as having been written at a much earlier date, of the ‘Compendium’ seen by Photius.

But is this ‘Compendium’ still extant in any form or other? At the close of the *Praescriptio Haereticorum* of Tertullian is added, as a sort of appendix, a brief summary of heresies, which has long been recognised as the work of some other author besides Tertullian. As



this list begins with the Dositheans, it was a somewhat obvious conjecture that we have here a Latin translation or abridgement of Hippolytus' work. This conjecture is as old as Allix *Fathers vindicated touching the Trinity* p. 99, who is quoted by Waterland (Works v. p. 227); but to Lipsius (*Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Wien 1865) the merit is due of rescuing the theory from the region of conjecture and placing it on a solid scientific basis.

The list of the Pseudo-Tertullian contains about thirty-two heresies, one or two more or less, for it is not possible in every case to determine whether a particular designation is intended to specify a separate heresy or not. Moreover it begins, as I have said, with the Dositheans, as Photius describes the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus as beginning; but instead of ending with Noetus, it substitutes another monarchian, Praxeas. How this came to pass I shall explain presently.

But the great testimony to the identity of the Pseudo-Tertullian with Hippolytus is derived from a different source. Two later writers on heresies, Epiphanius and Philaster, have very much in common. They wrote about the same time. Epiphanius commenced his work in the year 374, and the 66th of the 80 sections was written in 376. The date of Philaster's work cannot be decided with absolute certainty, but it seems to have been written about 380. Thus there is no chronological impossibility in the common parts having been derived by Philaster from Epiphanius. But the independence of the two is shown incontestably by the two following considerations.

(1) The same thirty-two heresies which appear in the Pseudo-Tertullian run like a back-bone through the works of Epiphanius and Philaster, being supplemented in different ways by the two writers at divers points, as far as the close of the second century when Hippolytus wrote.

(2) After the close of the second century, they have nothing in common, which suggests any plagiarism on either side.

The following list of heresies in the three writers, carried down as far as the Arians, will make these phenomena plain :

## EPIPHANIUS

## PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN

## PHILASTER

Ophites  
Cainites  
Sethites

Barbarism  
Cynicism

EPIPHANIUS	PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN	PHILASTER
Hellenism :—		
Platonists		
Pythagoreans		
Stoics		
Epicureans		
Samaritans :—		
Gortheni		
Sebuæi		
Essenes		
Dositheus	Dositheus	Dositheus
Judaism :—		
Scribes		
Pharisees }	Sadducees }	Sadducees }
Sadducees }	Pharisees }	Pharisees }
Hemerobaptists		Samaritans
Ossenes		
Nazarenes		Nazarenes
( <i>Ναζωραῖοι</i> )		(Nazaraei)
		Essenes
		Heliognosti
		Frog-worshippers
		(Ranarum cultores)
		Musorites
		Musca-accaronites
		Troglodytes
		De Fortuna Caeli
		Baalites
		Astarites
		Moloch-worshippers
		De Ara Tophet
		Puteorites
		Worshippers of the Brazen
		Serpent
		Worshippers in subterranean
		caves
		Thammuz-mourners
		Baalites (or Belites)
		Baal-worshippers
		de Pythonissa
		Astar and Astaroth-worship-
		pers
Herodians	Herodians	Herodians
Simon Magus	Simon Magus	Simon Magus
Menander	Menander	Menander
Saturninus	Saturninus	Saturninus
Basilides	Basilides	Basilides
Nicolaitans	Nicolaitans	Nicolaitans
Gnostici		(isti Barbelo venerantur)
Borborians		
(Barbelites)		
		Judaïtes
	Ophites	
	Cainites	
	Sethites	
	Carpocrates	Carpocrates
	Cerinthus	Cerinthus
Carpocrates		
Cerinthus		
Nazarenes		
( <i>Ναζωραῖοι</i> )		
Ebionites	Ebionites	Ebionites

EPIPHANIUS	PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN	PHILASTER
Valentinus	Valentinus	Valentinus
Secundus }	Ptolemaeus }	Ptolemaeus }
Ptolemaeus }	Secundus }	Secundus }
Marcosians }	Heracleon }	Heracleon }
Colarbasus }	Marcus }	Marcus }
Heracleon }	Colarbasus }	Colarbasus }
Ophites		
Cainites		
Sethites		
Archontici		
Cerdon	Cerdon	Cerdon
Marcion	Marcion	Marcion
Apelles }	Lucan }	Lucan }
Lucian }	Apelles }	Apelles }
Severians		
Tatian	Tatian	Tatian
Encratites		
Cataphrygians :—	Cataphrygians :— secundum Proclum secundum Aeschinem	Cataphrygians
Montanists		
Tascodrugites		
Pepuzians		
Quintillians		
Artotyrites		
Quartodecimans		
Alogi		
Adamians		
Sampsaeans		
(Elkesaeans)		
Theodotus	Blastus Theodotus	Theodotus De Patris et Filii substantia Melchizedekites
Melchizedekites	Melchizedekites (Theodotus II)	
Bardesanes		
Noetians	Praxeas (end)	Noetians
Valesians		Sabellians (Praxeans) (Hermogenians)
Cathari		Seleucus }
Angelici		Hermias }
Epistolici		Proclianites
Sabellians		(Hermeonites)
Originaeans		Florians
Paul of Samosata		(Carpocratians)
Manichaeans		Quartodecimans
Hierakites		Chilionetites
Meletians		Alogi
		Manichaeans
		Patricians
		Symmachians
		Paul of Samosata
		Photinus
		Arians



The original treatise of Hippolytus closed with the heresy of Noetus. In place of Noetus, the Latin abridgement substitutes another monarchian, Praxeas. With this Praxeas we are chiefly acquainted through the tract of Tertullian directed against him<sup>1</sup>. He came to Rome during the pontificate of Zephyrinus (c. A.D. 199—217), with whom his doctrines found favour, as we learn from Hippolytus that he embraced monarchian views. This is the pontiff respecting whom Tertullian writes (c. 1) ‘Duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit, prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit, paracletum fugavit et patrem crucifixit.’ He moreover says that Praxeas had influenced this bishop by representing his predecessors as having maintained the orthodox doctrine (praecessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo), just as the same charge is brought against the contemporary monarchians, Artemon and others, by the author of the treatise directed against them, presumably Hippolytus. There can be little doubt therefore that Tertullian writes during the episcopate of Zephyrinus<sup>2</sup>. It seems clear also that Tertullian borrows from Hippolytus, and not conversely.

[This section was never finished<sup>3</sup>.]

### § 8.

#### THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

[See above, p. 403. Not written.]

<sup>1</sup> See the article *Tertullian wider Praxeas* by Noedechen in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* XIV. p. 576 sq (1888), in which the relations of Tertullian to Hippolytus are traced, showing that the African father is indebted to the Roman, and not conversely.

<sup>2</sup> I have stated elsewhere that Victor was the bishop attacked by Tertullian: but I am now convinced that Zephyrinus is meant.

<sup>3</sup> [For the approximate date of the *Compendium* see below, p. 426.]

## § 9.

## TABLE OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

We are now in a position to tabulate the various writings of Hippolytus by the aid of our chief authorities Eusebius, Jerome, Georgius Syncellus, Ebed-Jesu, Photius and Theodoret; and to compare the table thus obtained with the list of works inscribed on the Chair. It will be noticed that the results are fairly satisfactory. If we may consider ourselves justified in supposing that we have in the *Muratorian Canon* and in the *Liber Generationis* translations of the *Ἰδαὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφὰς* and the *χρονικὰ* respectively (see above, p. 258 sq, II. pp. 399, 405 sq), in almost every other case we can identify the works mentioned on the Chair with the help of the several lists of Hippolytus' writings, as they occur in the patristic notices of the point. Of these lists that of Jerome is the most complete. Again, extracts of some of the works themselves survive in the pages of Photius, Theodoret, etc., and throw much light on the scope and contents of the several treatises. It would be premature to conclude that an absolute identification has in every instance been established. Doubtless in the light of fresh discoveries our present results will require modification. But it is fair to say that the table given below has been worked out at an expenditure of considerable care and attention.

The writings of Hippolytus are arranged and numbered in the order given in § 5 of this chapter (see above, p. 388 sq), where the arguments for the identification of the various writings will be found stated at greater length.

WORKS	THE CHAIR	EUSEBIUS	HIERONYMUS	GEORGIUS SYN-CELLUS	EBEDJESU	OTHER SOURCES
<b>A. BIBLICAL AND EXEGETIC</b>						
1	ὅσαι εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς	εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον	<i>In Hexameron</i> <i>In Genesis</i> <i>In Exodus</i>	εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον		[ <i>Muratorian Canon</i> ]  Hieronymus ( <i>AR.</i> 8. d, g) Hieronymus ( <i>AR.</i> 8. c)  <i>αἱ εἰσορταὶ τοῦ Βαλαάμ</i> (v. 1. 'Αβραάμ) Leontius ( <i>AR.</i> 20. b) <i>εἰς τὸν Ἑλκανῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀννᾶν</i> Theodoret ( <i>AR.</i> 12. a, b)
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7	εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστριμυθον	εἰς τὸ ᾠσμα	<i>De Saul et Pytho- nissa</i> <i>De Psalmis</i> <i>De Proverbiis</i>	εἰς τὰ ᾠσματα  εἰς πολλὰ τῶν προφητῶν		Theodoret Ps. ii, xxiii, xxiv, cxix ( <i>AR.</i> 12. a, b)  εἰς τὰς παροιμίας Σολομῶντος Suidas ( <i>AR.</i> 34)
8	εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς		<i>De Ecclesiaste</i> <i>In Canticum Cantorum</i> <i>In Esaiam</i>			
9						
10						
11		εἰς μέρος τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ	<i>De Daniele</i>  <i>In Zachariam</i>	μάλιστα Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ Δανιήλ τῶν μεγάλων  εἰς ἄλλας παρτολάς παλαιάς καὶ νέας γραφάς	ἐμπνεύσαν Δανιήλ τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Σουστάννας    κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαλιταίου καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου	Theodoret ( <i>AR.</i> 12. a)  <i>Comm. in Jeremiam</i> (Assem. <i>Bibl. Or.</i> I. 607)  Hieronymus ( <i>AR.</i> 8. h); Eustratius ( <i>AR.</i> 18); Photius ( <i>AR.</i> 31. c); Eucumenius ( <i>AR.</i> 32); Suidas ( <i>AR.</i> 34)
12						
13						
14						
15		ὕπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως		ἐν οἷς καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν Πάτμῳ τοῦ θεολόγου ἀποκαλύψιν		<i>Comm. in Matthaeum</i> Hieron. ( <i>AR.</i> 8. i) εἰς τοὺς δύο ἡγοτάς Theodoret ( <i>AR.</i> 12. c) εἰς τὴν τῶν τολάντων διανομήν Theodoret ( <i>AR.</i> 12. b) Andreas ( <i>AR.</i> 14); Eucumenius ( <i>AR.</i> 32)
16						
17						
18						
19			<i>De Apocalypsi</i>			



21	πρὸς Ἑλλήνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός				περὶ τοῦ παντός, οἱ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας Hippolytus (AR. 1. k); Photius (AR. 31. a) πρὸς βασιλίδα, τινὰ ἐπιστολή Theodore (AR. 12. b, c) <i>Ad Mammacem</i> Anal. Syr. p. 87 (Lag.) περὶ θεολογίας Conc. Lat. (AR. 22); περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀφάρτης Anas. (AR. 24)
22	προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ζε- βηρεύαν				
23	περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως				
24	[περὶ οἰκονομίας]				
25					
26					
C. CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL					
27	Χρονικῶν				
28	ἀποδείξεις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ [τὰ] ἐν τῷ πύνακι	περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐν ὧ τῶν χρόνων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν κ.τ.λ.	<i>De Resurrectione de Dom. Salvatoris De Antichristo</i>	πρὸς βασιλίδα, τινὰ ἐπιστολή Theodore (AR. 12. b, c) <i>Ad Mammacem</i> Anal. Syr. p. 87 (Lag.) περὶ θεολογίας Conc. Lat. (AR. 22); περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀφάρτης Anas. (AR. 24)	περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀντιχρίστου Photius (AR. 31. c) εἰς τὰ ἄγια θεοφάνεια Lagarde p. 43
D. HERESIOLOGICAL					
29		πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἰ- ρέσεις	<i>Ratio paschae et temporum canon</i>	τὸν ἐξαυδακατηρι- κὸν τοῦ πάσχα κανόνα	Cyrril. Seyth. (?) (AR. 16) [ <i>Liber Generationis</i> ]
29*	περὶ τάχα τοῦ καὶ πάθεν τοῦ κακῶν	πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἰ- ρέσεις	<i>Adversus omnes haereses</i>	καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰρέ- σεις	πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἰρέσεις σύστημα Chron. Pasch. (AR. 21); κατὰ αἰρέσεων βιβλι- οφάντων Photius (AR. 31. b); <i>memoria haeresium</i> Gelasius (AR. 13); πρὸς Ἀρτέμωνα Photius (AR. 31. a); σμικρὸς Λαβύρινθος Theodoret (AR. 12. c) εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοήτου Lagarde p. 43
30	περὶ χάρισμάτων ἀπο- στολικῆ παράδοσις	πρὸς Μαρκίωνα	<i>Contra Marcio- nem</i>	πρὸς Μαρκίωνα	
31		πρὸς Μαρκίωνα	<i>De Pascha</i>		περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα Chron. Pasch. (AR. 21); εἰς τὸ πάσχα ἐξήγησις Conc. Lat. (AR. 22)
32		πρὸς Μαρκίωνα			Φιλοσοφούμενα, Λαβύρινθος Photius (AR. 31. a)
33		πρὸς Μαρκίωνα			

## § 10.

## EARLY AND MIDDLE LIFE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

At different points in his life Hippolytus was brought into personal contact with two great fathers of the Church, in youth or early manhood with Irenæus, and in middle age with Origen. If we are able approximately to fix these dates, we shall obtain chronological landmarks of some value, where all is uncertain.

1. The connexion of Hippolytus with IRENÆUS is obvious on all hands. To Irenæus he was largely indebted in both of his general heresiological works—in his early *Compendium*, which was avowedly founded upon the lectures of Irenæus, and in his later *Philosophumena*, in which he borrows large passages, sometimes with and sometimes without the name, from the written work of his master. Moreover it is hardly possible to read any considerable fragment of his other extant works without stumbling upon some thought or mode of expression which reminds us of Irenæus or the Asiatic elders.

When and where then was this personal communication held? Hippolytus might himself have migrated, like Irenæus, from Asia Minor in early life; and thus the instructions which he received from his master may have been given in his original Asiatic home. But his extant writings contain no indication that he was ever in the East, and we therefore look to Rome itself, or at all events not farther than the South of Gaul, for the place of his Christian schooling. We are thus led to enquire when Irenæus is known to have settled in the West, and more especially when he is known to have visited Rome.

If the story in the Appendix to the Moscow ms of the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* be correct, Irenæus was teaching in Rome at the time of Polycarp's death A.D. 155<sup>1</sup>. At all events he paid a visit of longer or shorter duration to the metropolis about A.D. 177, at the time of the persecutions in Vienne and Lyons, after which he himself became bishop of Lyons in succession to the martyred Pothinus<sup>2</sup>. But there is no reason for supposing that these two occasions exhausted his residence at Rome.

On which occasion can Hippolytus have attended his lectures? Irenæus' extant work on Heresies was written as far as the 3rd book (iii. 3. 3) during the episcopate of Eleutherus (c. A.D. 177—190) and as

<sup>1</sup> *Ignat. and Polyc.* I. p. 432 ed. 1 (I. ed. 2).  
448 ed. 2); II. p. 986 ed. 1 (III. p. 402     <sup>2</sup> Euseb. *H.E.* v. 4, 5.

he leaves the reference to this episcopate untouched (*νῦν...τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς...κατέχει κληρὸν Ἐλεύθερος*), it is a reasonable, though not an absolute, conclusion that Eleutherus was still living when the work was finally published. The earlier work however of Hippolytus, the *Compendium*, was founded on the lectures, and (as we may infer from the notice) betrayed no knowledge of any published work of his master. On the other hand the later treatise, the *Philosophumena*, quotes large passages, sometimes by name, from the extant work of Irenæus. These facts seem to show that the *Compendium* of Hippolytus was written before the publication of the latter, i.e. at all events before A.D. 190. And we should probably be right in assuming that the lectures were held not later than A.D. 177, and before Irenæus became bishop of Lyons.

2. We are told by Jerome (*AR.* 8. b) that Hippolytus held in presence of ORIGEN who was then at Rome 'a homily on the Praise of the Lord (*προσομιλία de Laude Domini Salvatoris*).<sup>1</sup> Of Origen we are told in his own language that he had 'desired to see the ancient Church of the Romans' (*ἐυξάμενος τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν*), and that accordingly he went there in the time of Zephyrinus (c. A.D. 199—217), and after staying a short time (*οὐ πολὺ διατρίψας*) he returned to Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14). It would seem from this language that it was his only visit to the capital of the world. Considering the chronology of Origen's life, who was born about A.D. 185 or 186, this visit would probably be paid towards the close of Zephyrinus' episcopate.

At this time Hippolytus must have been at the height of his activity. Before the close of the previous century, as we shall see, he was probably consecrated by his patron Victor to the episcopate with the charge of the miscellaneous population at the Harbour of Rome; and, when Origen visited the metropolis, his feud with the heads of the Roman hierarchy must have been raging.

It will be observed that, in repeating this incident, Photius (*Bibl.* 121) by a strange blunder has ascribed to Hippolytus (*AR.* 31. b) what Jerome (*AR.* 8. b) tells us of Ambrosius, and thus makes Hippolytus the 'task-master' (*ἐργοδιώκτης*) of Origen. He must have misunderstood Jerome's words 'in hujus aemulationem.'

<sup>1</sup> On the possible identity of in the list of Hippolytus' writings on the homily with a work (*περὶ οἰκονομίας*) Chair, see above, p. 398. mentioned by Ebed-Jesu, and included



## § II.

## WAS HIPPOLYTUS A NOVATIAN?

About the year 407 the Spanish poet Prudentius paid a visit to Rome. Among other sanctuaries which he visited were the basilica and cemetery of Hippolytus on the north side of the Tiburtine Road, just beyond the walls of the city, of which he has left us an elaborate description in one of his poems (*AR.* 10). Among other statements he tells us distinctly (ver. 19 sq) that Hippolytus 'had once dallied with (attigerat) the schism of Novatus'; that he was afterwards condemned to be executed; that on his way to martyrdom the crowds of Christian friends who accompanied him enquired of him, 'which was the better party' ('quaenam secta foret melior'), the Novatians or the Catholics; and that he replied, 'Flee from the accursed schism of Novatus; restore yourselves to the Catholic people; let one only faith flourish, the faith that resides in the ancient temple which Paul claims and the chair of Peter. I repent me that I taught what I did; I discern as a martyr that reverence is due to that which I once thought alien to the service of God.' It is unnecessary to enquire at present whether Prudentius in his description confuses two contemporaries bearing the same name, Hippolytus the soldier and Hippolytus the presbyter. Recent archæological discovery has shown that this charge of Novatianism belongs to Hippolytus 'the presbyter'.

Among the many archæological gains which we owe to De Rossi, not the least is the restoration of the inscription placed by pope Damasus [A.D. 366—384] in this sanctuary of Hippolytus and read by Prudentius. Though he has amplified the words of Damasus (as the exigencies of his poem suggested) the close resemblances between the two forbid us to doubt about the source of his information. Now Damasus tells us (*AR.* 7. a), likewise in verse, that 'Hippolytus *the presbyter*, when the commands of the tyrant pressed upon him, is *reported* (fertur) to have remained all along (semper) in the schism of Novatus, what time the sword wounded the vitals of our Mother (the Church)'; but that 'when as a martyr of Christ he was journeying to the realms of the saints, the people asked him whither they might betake themselves (procedere posset), he replied that they ought all to follow the Catholic faith.' So he concludes

Noster meruit confessus martyr ut esset;

Haec audita refert Damasus. Probat omnia Christus;

'Our saint by his confession won the crown of martyrdom. Damasus tells the tale as he heard it. All things are tested and proved by Christ.'

It was very natural that the discoverer and restorer of the inscription, which was the sole foundation (so far as we can see) of the story in Prudentius, should claim undue authority for its statements. To De Rossi it seems incredible that Damasus could have been mistaken about events which occurred at least some 120 or 150 years before he wrote (according as the schism of Hippolytus was Novatianism or not, i.e. according as it dated from the age of Cornelius or from that of Zephyrinus and Callistus), especially as he had been reared from childhood amidst the services of the Church. But *first* it must be observed that Damasus simply reports this as hearsay, emphasizing his fact by reiteration and leaving the conclusion to the judgment of Christ—for there is no ground for the inference that the 'hearsay' refers not to the lapse into Novatianism but only to the subsequent repudiation of it; and *secondly* we must remember that the whole history of Hippolytus was shrouded in obscurity to the Roman Christians in the age of Damasus; so much so that his much more learned but somewhat younger contemporary Jerome (*AR.* 8. b), though in possession of a large number of works by Hippolytus, confesses his ignorance respecting the name of the writer's see. This is a startling fact, and must be taken into account. Indeed the discovery of the inscription of Damasus is the more valuable, because it justifies the solution, which many had proposed on the publication of the *Philosophumena* to explain the account of Prudentius, namely that the Spanish poet had confused together an earlier outbreak of puritanism at Rome under Zephyrinus and Callistus with a later outbreak thirty years afterwards leading to the appointment of the schismatical bishop Novatian. The Novatianism of Hippolytus was a mere rumour which was circulated in Rome some four generations after his death. We are therefore entitled to weigh it on its own merits. Here two important considerations must be taken into account.

(1) The Novatian schism broke out in Rome in A.D. 250 and led immediately to the consecration of Novatian as anti-pope. A full blaze of light is suddenly poured upon this chapter in the internal politics of the Roman Church by the correspondence between Rome and Carthage preserved in the Cyprianic letters. The minor vicissitudes of the schism are there revealed; names are freely mentioned; the defections and recantations are recorded; and in short there is no period in the history of the Roman Church, until we are well advanced

in the fourth century, of which we know so much. Even the Eastern Churches of Alexandria and Antioch took an active part in the controversy, and are represented in the extant literature of the schism. Yet from first to last there is not a mention of Hippolytus, the most learned man in the Roman Church before the time of Jerome; whose lapse and repentance, emphasized still further by his martyrdom, would accentuate his position with respect to the schism. Who can believe it? Is the error of Damasus, who frankly acknowledges mere rumour as his informant, a difficulty at all commensurate to this?

But besides the documents bearing directly on the Novatian schism, there is another place where we should almost certainly have found a reference to this passage in Hippolytus' life, if it had ever occurred. The earliest western list of the bishops of Rome (given above, i. p. 253 sq) was drawn up either by Hippolytus himself or by some contemporary, and ended with the death of Urbanus and accession of Pontianus [A.D. 230, 231]. Its first continuator extends the record from Pontianus [A.D. 231—235] to Lucius [A.D. 253, 254] and must have written immediately after the death of Lucius (see i. p. 263). He starts with a notice of the deportation of Pontianus the bishop and Hippolytus 'the presbyter' to the 'unhealthy island of Sardinia,' mentioning the divestiture or resignation of the former. In the interregnum between Fabius (Fabianus) and Cornelius [A.D. 250—251] he states that 'Moyses and Maximus the presbyters and Nicostratus the deacon were apprehended and sent to prison,' and that 'at that time Novatus arrived from Africa and separated Novatian and certain confessors from the Church after that Moyses had died in prison' after a captivity of nearly twelve months. Again under Cornelius [A.D. 251—253], he mentions that during his episcopate 'Novatus outside the Church ordained Novatian in the city of Rome and Nicostratus in Africa,' and that thereupon the confessors who separated themselves from Cornelius with Maximus the presbyter returned to the Church. These are nearly all the notes which this continuator inserts in the period for which he is responsible, besides dates and numbers; and they have reference either to Hippolytus or to Novatianism (see i. p. 255 sq; comp. p. 286 sq). Why does not this contemporary writer connect the one with the other, if history had connected them by the signal fact of Hippolytus' adhesion and recantation?

(2) But *secondly*; the extension of the life of Hippolytus beyond the middle of the second century which would be required if his Novatianism were true, introduces a serious difficulty into his chronology. I have already shown (ii. p. 413 sq) that his early work, the *Com-*



*pendium on Heresies*, was probably written at all events before A. D. 190. But, if the Novatianism be accepted as true, he must have lived more than sixty years after this work was published. Moreover the last notice, which we have of any event connected with his life, is the statement given above from the Papal Chronicle, which belongs to the year A. D. 235. Yet, if he were really a Novatian and perished in the Decian persecution (A. D. 250—252), he must have been alive some sixteen years afterwards. Not to mention, that the notice itself, by dwelling on the 'unhealthiness' of the island, suggests that he perished, as Pontianus also perished, an exile in Sardinia—a too probable result of such banishment to an octogenarian.

I should add also that, though history does repeat itself, we need something more than a hearsay of the age of Damasus to convince us that the same Hippolytus should have *twice* been in schism with the rulers of the Roman Church on the same ground of puritanism, and have *twice* suffered cruel persecution from the heathen rulers, whether as a confessor or as martyr.

We may therefore safely accept the conclusion of those critics, Bunsen, Döllinger, and others, who explained the story of Prudentius by the facts related in the *Philosophumena*<sup>1</sup>—confirmed as this conclusion has subsequently been by the discovery since made that the story had no better foundation than a late rumour.

## § 12.

### THE SEE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

Hippolytus speaks of himself as a bishop. He is so designated by others. What then was his see? Rome was the sphere of his activity while living. At Rome he was commemorated after death. All his recorded actions are connected with Rome or at least with Italy. Whether history or legend be interrogated, the answer is the same. We are not asked to travel beyond Italian ground, nor for the most part beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the world's metropolis itself.

Hippolytus was by far the most learned man and the most prolific writer which the Roman Church produced before Jerome. It is therefore the more remarkable that any uncertainty should rest upon the name of his see. It is still more strange that the writers who lived

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth however (p. 158 sq) strives to maintain the accuracy of Prudentius on this and other points, and is

obliged to prolong the life of Hippolytus accordingly.

nearest to his own time and locality should most frankly confess their ignorance.

Yet this is so. Eusebius (*AR.* 3. d), who wrote within some eighty years of his death and was acquainted with several of his writings, tells us that he was a bishop somewhere or other (*ἐτέρας πον...προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας*). Jerome, who wrote a little more than half a century later than Eusebius, is equally at a loss (*AR.* 8. b). He is not dependent on this occasion, as on so many others, on his predecessor; he shows a larger acquaintance with the works of Hippolytus; he had habitually trodden the same ground, which Hippolytus trod when living. Yet he frankly confesses that he has 'not been able to find out the name of the city' of which Hippolytus was bishop. Bunsen indeed (i. p. 420) suggests that he could not tell, because he would not tell, and that his reticence in fact means 'Non mi ricordo.' For this imputation however there is no ground. The one man of all others, whose antecedents placed him in the most favourable position for ascertaining the details of the earlier history of the Roman Church and who took special pains to preserve memorials of the martyrs—among others of Hippolytus himself—Pope Damasus, the older contemporary of Jerome, says nothing about his see, but calls him simply the 'presbyter' (*AR.* 7. a), a term of which I shall have to speak presently (see below, p. 435 sq.).

At length when this silence about the see of its most illustrious writer is broken by the Roman Church, the notice betrays the grossest ignorance. Gelasius followed Damasus in the papacy after a lapse of about a century (A.D. 492—496). He refers to the Treatise on Heresies as written by 'Hippolytus bishop and martyr of the metropolis of the Arabians,' i.e. of Bostra (*AR.* 13). But this notice, though blundering, is explicable and highly instructive. Eusebius, describing the chief writers of a particular period, mentions that Beryllus was bishop of the Arabians in Bostra, adding 'in like manner Hippolytus presided (as bishop) over some other church' (*ἐτέρας πον*). In translating this passage Rufinus (*AR.* 9) drops the *ἐτέρας πον* and renders vaguely, 'episcopus hic [Beryllus] fuit apud Bostram Arabiae urbem maximam. Erat nihilominus et Hippolytus, qui et ipse aliquanta scripta dereliquit episcopus.' This might imply to a casual reader who had not the original before him that Hippolytus was a predecessor or successor of Beryllus in the same see of Bostra.

The origin of this curious blunder has thus been satisfactorily explained, and it need not therefore give us any further trouble. Nevertheless it has given rise to some modern speculation, which cannot be passed by without a mention. Le Moyne (*Varia Sacra* i.

prol. p. 28 sq, ed. 2) with much learning and ingenuity maintained that the see of Hippolytus was not the Port at the mouth of the Tiber, which he calls Portus Ostiensis<sup>1</sup>, but *Portus Romanorum* or *Emporium Romanum*, the modern Aden, on the Red Sea<sup>2</sup>; and he succeeded in persuading several writers of great repute such as Cave, Spanheim<sup>3</sup>, and others<sup>4</sup>. Latterly this view has found no supporters. Of a recent attempt by Erbes to utilise this supposed connexion with Bostra—though shown to be a blunder—in support of his own chronological theories, I have had occasion to speak already. The real value of the notice of Gelasius is the evidence which it affords, that even in his time nothing was known at Rome of the see of Hippolytus.

The general opinion however makes him bishop of Portus the haven of Rome. This view prevailed before Le Moyne attempted to transfer him from the mouth of the Tiber to the mouth of the Red Sea. But Le Moyne's attempt called forth a vigorous championship of the received view. At the instigation of Card. Ottoboni, bishop of Portus, his librarian Ruggieri, a man of learning and ability, addressed himself to the subject in a treatise *De Portuensi S. Hippolyti Episcopi et Martyris Sede*, which after many vicissitudes appeared at length as a posthumous work (Romae, 1771)<sup>5</sup>. This work has given its direction to later opinion on the question; and in our own generation, when the interest in Hippolytus was revived by the publication of the *Philosophumena*, there was a very general acquiescence on this point among those who differed most widely in other respects.

Nevertheless it must be confessed that the ancient evidence is very defective. We cannot overcome our surprise that, if his see had been within fifteen or twenty miles of Rome itself, the popes Damasus and Gelasius should have been ignorant of the fact. But the difficulty culminates in the case of Jerome. He was well acquainted with the various works of Hippolytus. His own friend Pammachius built at this very Portus a 'xenodochium'<sup>6</sup> or 'hospital for foreigners,' which

<sup>1</sup> He does not however confuse Portus and Ostia (see p. 29 sq), as Wordsworth seems to think (p. 259, note 7).

<sup>2</sup> There is however, so far as I have seen, no evidence produced to show that the place was called *Portus Romanus*, its common name being *Emporium Romanum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op.* i. p. 777, Lugd. Bat. 1701.

<sup>4</sup> Not however Tillemont (as Wordsworth says, p. 259), at least in my edition,

*Mém.* III. p. 239, 672 sq.

<sup>5</sup> The circumstances attending the history of the composition and appearance of this work will be found in Wordsworth, p. 260 sq. It is inserted in Lumper, *Hist. Sanct. Patr.* Tom. viii, and again in Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* x. p. 395 sq).

<sup>6</sup> Hieron. *Epist.* lxxvi. § 11 (i. p. 410) 'Audio te [Pammachium] xenodochium in Portu fecisse Romano,' *Epist.* lxxvii.



became known far and wide and in which Jerome expresses the greatest interest. Did Portus retain no memorial of its most famous bishop, who died a martyr only a century and a half before?

Indeed the earliest authority for placing his see at Portus appears not at Rome nor in Italy, but in Constantinople and the East, two centuries and a half later than Jerome's *Catalogus*. In the *Chronicon Paschale* [c. A.D. 630] he is described as bishop 'of the place called Portus near Rome' (*AR.* 21)<sup>1</sup>. From this time forward he is occasionally so called, as for instance by Anastasius the Apocrisiarius or Papal Nuncio at Constantinople A.D. 665 (*AR.* 23); by Georgius Syncellus c. A.D. 792 (*AR.* 28); by Nicephorus of Constantinople †A.D. 828 (*AR.* 29); and other later writers. The statements of Anastasius and of Nicephorus seem to be founded on the heading to a MS of the spurious treatise *Against Vero*, which they both quote (see above, p. 403 sq). We may indeed suspect that this Constantinopolitan MS containing an often quoted and highly important dogmatic treatise (if it had only been genuine) was the single source of the story of the Portuensian episcopate, which seems to have been derived solely through Byzantine channels. The statement is found also in catenæ and in other manuscripts containing extracts from Hippolytus.

It should be added also that, besides the defective evidence, the argument which placed Hippolytus in the see of Portus was weighted with another serious objection, which was urged with fatal effect by Döllinger. Bunsen (I. p. 422 sq, 468 sq) projected into the times of Hippolytus an arrangement of the later cardinalate, by which the bishops of the suburban sees presided as titulars of the principal churches in the City itself. Thus Hippolytus, according to Bunsen's view, while bishop of Portus, would have been likewise a member of the Roman presbytery. This solution was highly tempting; for it seemed to explain how Hippolytus, having a diocese of his own, should interfere actively in the affairs of the Church of Rome in the manner described in the *Philosophumena*. It is sufficient to say that Bunsen's view involves an anachronism of many centuries. The development in the relations between the suburban sees and the papacy is traced

§ 10 (I. p. 465), lxvii. § 10 (I. p. 466) 'Xenochium in Portu Romano situm totus pariter mundus audivit; sub una aestate didicit Britannia quod Ægyptus et Parthus noverat vere.' For an interesting account of the extant remains of this xenodochium see De Rossi *Bull.*

*di Archeol. Crist.* IV. p. 50 sq, p. 99 sq (1866).

<sup>1</sup> On the mistaken supposition that we have here the words of Peter of Alexandria, who flourished more than three centuries earlier, see above, p. 344.

by Döllinger (p. 105 sq); and the late growth and character of these relations are fatal to Bunsen's theory.

Here Döllinger was treading on solid ground. But, when he maintained that Portus was not at this time and did not become for many generations a place of any importance (p. 77 sq), he took up a position which it is impossible to hold. The rapid growth of Portus, from the time of its foundation, is sufficiently shown by the excavations of the present generation<sup>1</sup>, even if the extant notices had been insufficient. There is no *a priori* reason why it might not have been an episcopal see in the age of Hippolytus if there had been a tittle of evidence to the fact.

On the other hand Döllinger had his own solution of the difficulty, not less tempting but even less tenable. He supposed Hippolytus to have been not bishop of Portus, but of Rome itself. This was in fact the first papal schism, and Hippolytus was the first antipope.

Against this solution three serious and indeed fatal objections lie. (1) It is not justified by anything in the language of Hippolytus himself. If he had put forward these definite claims, he must have expressed them in definite terms. On the contrary he only mentions vaguely his obligation, as a bishop, to stand forward as the champion of the truth. Of his adversaries he never says that they are not the lawfully constituted bishops of Rome, but implies that by their doctrinal and practical irregularities they have shown themselves no true bishops. His very vagueness is the refutation to this solution of a rival papacy. (2) The entire absence of evidence—especially in Rome and the West—is fatal to the supposition. There were several papal schisms in the third and fourth centuries—one more especially within less than twenty years of his death. Yet in none of these controversies is there any reference to this one which (if it had existed) must have set the deadly precedent. Moreover we have several lists of the popes dating from the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, but in not one of these is there a hint of Hippolytus as an antipope. (3) The evidence, when it does come, is hardly less conclusive than the silence. It is late; it comes from the East; and it means nothing or next to nothing. The first witness quoted is Apollinaris about A.D. 370 (*AR.* 6). It is a passage in a catena, ascribed, and perhaps rightly ascribed, to this father. But we should require far stronger evidence than we possess, to justify the improbable supposition that one who had the papal lists of Eusebius before him would have called Hippolytus ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης, meaning thereby that he was bishop of the metropolis of the world. We must

<sup>1</sup> See esp. De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* iv. pp. 37 sq, 63, 99 (1866).

therefore suppose that part of the heading at all events is a later addition. After this we have no earlier witnesses than Eustratius c. A.D. 578 (*AR.* 18) and Leontius c. A.D. 620 (*AR.* 20). Considering the late date of these writers, we must regard them as absolutely valueless to prove such a conclusion; more especially as the writers would know that Hippolytus was a bishop and that he lived in or near Rome, so that ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης would occur as a loose designation, if they did not take the pains to see whether his name was actually in the papal lists.

But, though the testimony which makes Hippolytus bishop of Portus is late and valueless, the evidence connecting him with Portus is of a very different quality and much earlier in time. Prudentius, who visited the shrine of S. Hippolytus on the Tiburtine Way as we have seen soon after A.D. 400, and gives an account (doubtless imaginary in its main features) of the martyrdom, speaks of the persecutor as leaving Rome to trouble the suburban population and as harassing the Christians at the mouth of the Tiber ('Christicolae tunc Ostia vexanti per Tiberina viros'). The tyrant, he continues, 'extended his rage to the coast of the Tyrrhene shore and the regions close to sea-washed Portus.' After devoting some thirty lines to describing the punishments inflicted there, he says that an old man ('senior') was brought before the tribunal and denounced by the bystanders as the chief of the Christian folk ('Christicolis esse caput populis'). If this does not distinctly name him the bishop of Portus, it implies that he held a leading position in the Church, and that this was the scene of his clerical activity. Again after the martyrdom we are told of the disposal of his reliques;

Metando eligitur tumulto locus; Ostia linquunt:

Roma placet, sanctos quae teneat cineres.

Of his later connexion with Portus a few words will be necessary hereafter. It is sufficient to say here, that for many centuries his memory has been intimately connected with this town.

If then the see of Hippolytus was neither Portus nor Rome, what was it? But before seeking the answer, we are confronted with a previous question. Had he any see at all, in the common acceptance of the term? It is now the received theory of the Christian Church, that a settled Christian land should be covered with sees, conterminous but not overlapping one another; that each is independent of its neighbour; and that an *imperium in imperio* in an intolerable anomaly. The difficulties created at times by this theory are great. The Roman Church overcomes them by consecrating bishops *in partibus*. The Roman con-



gregations in England in our own time were ruled (owing to legal difficulties) for many years, much to the amusement of Englishmen, by a great Cardinal who was bishop of Melipotamus—a place of which they had never heard. The Anglican Church solves this difficulty in another way. Its exigencies require that there should be a bishop to superintend the English congregations of Asia and Africa; he is ‘Anglican bishop in Jerusalem and the East,’ but Jerusalem is not his see. Still more necessary is it that the congregations on the continent of Europe should have episcopal supervision. This is committed to the bishop of ‘Gibraltar.’ Here indeed Gibraltar is properly a see; but the theoretical diocese consists of a garrison and its belongings, a harbour, two or three miles of rock, and whole troops of rabbits and monkeys. The main body of the human flock, which the bishop shepherds, is scattered about Europe and the Mediterranean, and would not be found more in Gibraltar itself than in the moon. When the bishop some years ago went to Rome to confirm the English residents there, Pio Nono is reported to have said humorously that he did not know till then that he was in the diocese of Gibraltar. No doubt when Hippolytus lived, the practice of the later Church had already become general, but it cannot have been universal. Indeed from the very nature of the case, the development of the system must have been more or less gradual; though it was the ideal at which the Church would aim. Less than a century had elapsed, when Hippolytus was born, since Timothy exercised episcopal functions in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete; but they were itinerant, not diocesan bishops. Even at the close of the second century exceptional cases would be treated in an exceptional way. The harbour of Portus, now fast supplanting Ostia, was thronged with a numerous and fluctuating population, consisting largely of foreigners—sailors, warehousemen, custom-house officers, dock-police, porters, and the like. A bishop was needed who should take charge of this miscellaneous and disorderly flock. He must be conversant in the manners and language of Greece, the *lingua franca* of the East and indeed of the civilized world. Hippolytus was just the man for the place. He was probably appointed by bishop Victor (c. A.D. 190—200); for his relations to Victor’s successors, Zephyrinus and Callistus, forbid us to suppose that he owed any promotion to them, and indeed his account of Victor generally leads us to look upon this bishop as his patron. This hypothesis accords with his own language speaking of his position. He distinctly designates himself as holding the high-priestly or in other words the episcopal office; he was described either by himself or by another<sup>1</sup> as having been appointed

<sup>1</sup> Photius *AR.* 32. a; see above, p. 348.

bishop of the Gentiles (ἐπίσκοπος ἐθνῶν), thus indicating that he had charge of the various nationalities represented at Portus. This is obviously an archaic expression and may have originated in the time of Hippolytus. At all events in his extant great work, the so-called *Philosophumena*, he appeals in his concluding address (*AR.* i. 1) to 'Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldaeans and Assyrians, Aegyptians and Libyans, Indians and Aethiopians, Celts and Latins on foreign service (οἱ στρατηγούμενοι Λατίνοι), and all those who dwell in Europe, Asia and Libya' as their counsellor; where the limitation of the Latins seems to suggest that planted at Portus as his head-quarters, he regarded himself by virtue of his commission as a sort of episcopal Chaplain-general of the Forces. Moreover my theory harmonizes very well with another fact. The earliest bishop, connected with Portus after the age of Hippolytus, was present at the Council of Arles (A.D. 313); but unlike the other bishops mentioned in the same list (*de civitate Eboracensi, de civitate Utica*, etc.) he is called not *de civitate Portuensi*, but *Gregorius episcopus de loco qui est in Portu Romae*<sup>1</sup>, as if the same arrangement still prevailed, Portus being the residence of this Gregorius, but not strictly speaking his see.

Occupying this ground, Hippolytus needed nothing more. Here was a sufficient fulcrum for his ecclesiastical lever. He was senior as bishop even to his ecclesiastical superiors Zephyrinus and Callistus. He held that, as a successor of the Apostles, he had a special gift of the Holy Spirit. By virtue of his office, he was an appointed 'guardian of the Church' (φρουρός τῆς ἐκκλησίας). He was a man of fiery dogmatic and moral zeal; and, when he saw, or fancied that he saw, the occupants of the Roman see swerving both from the one and from the other, he let fly at them at once. His position is quite intelligible. There is no evidence that he regarded them as deposed and, from his puritanical point of view, himself substituted in their place. But his language implies that in some sense he looked upon them as no true bishops. Probably, if he formulated his views at all, he would have said that their doctrinal and moral obliquities had placed their episcopal office and functions in abeyance for the time.

If such was his position, we can well understand why Jerome could not discover his see. In fact he had no see to be discovered. But on the supposition that he was either a schismatical bishop of Rome or the lawful bishop of Portus, no explanation of this ignorance can be given.

<sup>1</sup> Labb. *Conc.* i. p. 1454 (ed. Coleti). The previous year a Roman synod was held under Miltiades (*ib.* i. p. 1427), in

which bishops of Terracina, Praeneste, Tres Tabernæ, and Ostia are present, but no bishop of Portus; see Döllinger, p. 90.

## § 13.

*HIPPOLYTUS THE PRESBYTER.*

Hippolytus, the famous writer, unmistakeably describes himself as a bishop. He is so called also by all those from Eusebius and Jerome downward, who were acquainted with his writings. Yet in the only contemporary Latin document—indeed the only contemporary document—he is called ‘the presbyter.’ This is the designation which he bears also in Damasus, the next Latin writer who mentions him; and from Damasus it is adopted by Prudentius. What does this title mean? The contemporary document indeed seems to accentuate the appellation. The compiler of this portion of the Liberian Chronicle (c. A.D. 255) speaks of ‘Pontianus the bishop and Hippolytus the presbyter.’

The position and influence of Hippolytus were unique among the Roman Christians of his age. He linked together the learning and the traditions of the East, the original home of Christianity, with the marvellous practical energy of the West, the scene of his own life’s labours. Not only was he by far the most learned man in the Western Church, but his spiritual and intellectual ancestry was quite exceptional. Though he lived till within a few years of the middle of the third century, he could trace his pedigree back by only three steps, literary as well as ministerial, to the life and teaching of the Saviour Himself. Irenæus, Polycarp, S. John—this was his direct ancestry. No wonder if these facts secured to him exceptional honour in his own generation.

The meaning of the word *πρεσβύτερος*, ‘the presbyter’ or ‘elder,’ must be explained by the language of the school in which he was brought up. It does not represent *office*, but it expresses venerable dignity such as is accorded to those who are depositaries of the wisdom of the past. When Papias speaks of elders<sup>1</sup>, he means the Apostles and immediate disciples of the Lord—those who were ‘fathers of the Church,’ as we should say, to his own generation. When Irenæus speaks of ‘the blessed elder,’ he means Papias or his own master Polycarp or others belonging to the generation of Polycarp and Papias, albeit their younger contemporaries. When descending a generation lower still, we arrive at Hippolytus himself, we find that his favourite designation of his master Irenæus is *ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος*. In the fragment *against Iodetius* (p. 43, Lagarde) again Hippolytus uses the same language ‘the presbyters,’ ‘the blessed presbyters.’ The idea of clerical office, if involved at all (which I very much doubt) in this use of the term, is

<sup>1</sup> See *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 145.



certainly not prominent. Assuredly Hippolytus does not confuse the presbyterate with the episcopate; still less does he deny that Irenæus was a bishop, which everyone allowed him to be. This leading conception of 'venerable authority' then seems to have been inherited by Hippolytus' own scholars and younger contemporaries in their use of the term. There was no man of his own age and surroundings who had the same claims to this title of distinction. An octogenarian, a widely learned divine, and a most laborious and influential writer, with such a spiritual pedigree—what member of the Roman Church, nay what Christian throughout the world, could compete with him?

When therefore the chronographer, who wrote less than twenty years after his death, states that in the year 235 'Pontianus the bishop and Hippolytus the presbyter were banished together,' he does not directly or indirectly disparage the latter in comparison with the former. Pontianus is 'the bishop' simply, for there was only one bishop of Rome. But Hippolytus has a title of his own, more honorable than any conferred by any office; just as Bede is called the Venerable. There are many bishops and many archdeacons, but there was only one Hippolytus and only one Bede.

But, though this was the meaning of Hippolytus' contemporaries, it does not follow that later generations understood the terms in the same sense. When nearly a century and a half later Damasus speaks of 'presbyter Hippolytus,' he probably accepted the designation as he found it, but understood it according to the usage of his own time, of the priestly office or second order of the ministry; and Prudentius followed Damasus. Neither the one nor the other knew anything, except vaguely, about the history of Hippolytus, as their statements show.

Thus therefore the use of the term in the Liberian Chronicle does not imply, as we might suspect (see i. p. 262), a denial of Hippolytus' claims to the papacy, thus supporting Döllinger's view that he was the first antipope. Still less does it imply that, though a bishop of a suburban see, he was a member of the Roman presbytery, according to Bunsen's view.

#### § 14.

#### *LATER YEARS, BANISHMENT, AND DEATH.*

The episcopate of Victor was conterminous, roughly speaking, with the last decade of the first century. Dying towards the close of the century, he was succeeded by Zephyrinus. Zephyrinus held the

episcopate for eighteen years or thereabouts; Callistus for five. After Callistus succeeded Urbanus about A.D. 230. Victor had been the friend and patron of Hippolytus. With his successors Zephyrinus and Callistus, our saint had a deadly feud. What may have been his relations to Urbanus we know not; but, as his quarrel was not with the pontificate but with the pontiffs, we may presume that harmony was at length restored. If any formal reconciliation was needed, it would now take place; and hence would arise the story of his exhorting all Christian people to unity, which afterwards was connected (as we have already seen) with his supposed lapse into Novatianism. From the accession of Urbanus we may suppose that there was a cessation of those dissensions within the Church of which Hippolytus had been the champion and ringleader.

At the same time the Church of Rome enjoyed peace from external persecution. Early in the year 222 Alexander Severus succeeded to the throne. If he was not a convert himself, he was favourably disposed towards Christianity. The ladies of his family more especially held close relations with the great Christian teachers. Not only Origen in Alexandria, but Hippolytus in Rome, corresponded with one or other of the princesses. The thirteen years of the reign of Alexander marked an epoch of progress and development for the Christian Church. With Hippolytus himself it seems to have been the most fertile period of his literary life. The peace of the Church within and without left him more leisure for literary pursuits; and the growing physical infirmities of age would direct him towards his intellectual resources, which he would be eager to turn to account for the instruction of the Church. In the first year of Alexander was published his famous work, the *Paschal Cycle*, which was afterwards chosen to decorate the Chair of his Statue, as his greatest claim to the recognition of posterity. In the thirteenth and last year of this same emperor was finished his almost equally famous *Chronicle of the World* (see I. p. 259), which must have been about the latest literary product of its author. During this same period also he must have written his now famous *Refutation of all the Heresies*, which has laid these latest generations of Christian students under the deepest debt of gratitude and which perhaps remained incomplete when he was overtaken by banishment and death. To this same time belongs also the correspondence with Mammæa.

At length this long, laborious, and troubled life was closed by banishment and death. In the year 230 or thereabouts Urbanus had been succeeded by Pontianus as bishop of Rome. In February 235 the emperor Alexander was slain at Mayence together with his mother and

chief adviser Mammæa, the correspondent of Hippolytus and Origen. His successor Maximin adopted a wholly different policy towards the Christians. The Roman bishop was banished to Sardinia; and with him was sent the venerable Christian father Hippolytus. This was in the consulship of Severus and Quintianus, A.D. 235. Those modern critics who assign the position of antipope to Hippolytus give a plausible reason for this companionship in exile. They infer that the new emperor desired at once to rid the metropolis of the two rival leaders of the Roman Church, and so to restore peace in the city. No such explanation is needed. The pre-eminent influence of Hippolytus as a Christian teacher in the Western world would alone have singled him out for this exceptional distinction conferred by the persecuting tyrant<sup>1</sup>. We should do too great honour to Maximin, if we were to attribute to him any policy of statecraft. He was a fierce, blood-thirsty soldier, whose only idea of government was coercion<sup>2</sup>. Against the friends and adherents of Alexander and his mother Mammæa he waged an implacable war. To have been a friend of Mammæa was to be the unpardonable foe of Maximin. But Hippolytus was known to have corresponded with, and been trusted by, the deceased empress-mother. To Maximin, or to his adherents anxious to secure his favour in Rome, this would be sufficient to convict him<sup>3</sup>. It was not necessary that the emperor himself should have visited Rome. There were friends at hand ready to execute, or to anticipate, his commands in this matter.

In the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. pp. 64, 145, Duchesne) the banishment of the two exiles is attributed to Alexander, the names of the same consuls being given as in the contemporary record. This is unquestionably a mistake. Maximin became emperor in March this year (A.D. 235); and the banishment was the result of the reversal of his predecessor's policy (see i. p. xciv).

Our contemporary chronicler says nothing of the subsequent fate of Hippolytus. He was concerned only with the Roman episcopate, and the mention of Hippolytus is incidental. Of Pontianus he states, that in Sardinia he divested himself of the episcopate at the close of September in this same year (iv Kal. Oct.), and that Anteros was consecrated two months later (xi Kal. Dec.) in his place. Of his subsequent fate he

<sup>1</sup> Of the persecution of Maximin see Allard *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire etc.* p. 418 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Capitolin. *Maximin* 8 'Erat enim ei persuasum nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri.'

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* 9, 'Omnes Alexandri ministros variis modis interemit: dispositionibus eius invidit: et dum suspectos habet amicos et ministros eius crudelior factus est.'



says nothing; but by describing the place of banishment as 'insula nociva', he implies that it was fatal to both exiles.

Sardinia was to Rome, what Portland is to England—a station of convicts who were condemned to hard labour in the quarries. By the irony of history, only a few years before, it had been the place of exile of Callistus, the great enemy of Hippolytus; but Callistus had been pardoned, and returned to Rome, to succeed to the papacy (*AR.* i. f). Sardinia had been a favourite place of deportation for the tumultuous Jews who troubled the peace of the city. On one occasion Tiberius had banished no fewer than 4000 to this island<sup>2</sup>. When the displeasure of the Romans was transferred from the Jews to the Christians, the place of exile remained the same. Hence Jewish and Christian Sibyllists alike denounce this dread island. With the freedom of unverifiable prophecy they foretell that it shall be overwhelmed in the sea, shall be extinguished in ashes, and so forth, at the great retribution<sup>3</sup>;

Σαρδῶ, νῦν σὺ βαρεῖα μεταλλάξῃ εἰς τέφρην.

The old Greek proverb of 'sardonic' laughter—whether originating in the hideous grin produced by the bitter herbs of Sardinia or in some other way<sup>4</sup>—receives a new force and significance on the lips of these doleful prophets. Sardinia, the exultant persecutor, shall 'laugh on the wrong side of her mouth,' when the day of vengeance comes<sup>5</sup>.

The same collection (A.D. 354), which contains the notice of the banishment of the two exiles, comprises another document (see i. p. 249 sq), certainly not later than A.D. 335, and perhaps (so far as regards the particular notice) contemporary with the reference to the exile. This latter document deals with the depositions of the popes and martyrs. From it we learn that Hippolytus was buried on the Tiburtine Way and Pontianus in the Cemetery of Callistus on the same day, the Ides of August. The close of the episcopate of Pontianus, whether by deprivation or by resignation (see i. p. 286), was Sept. 28, 235. The *Liber Pontificalis* (i. pp. 64, 145, Duchesne) places his death on Oct. 30, A.D. 236. If this date be accepted, the translation of the bones of the

<sup>1</sup> This might be true of the convict stations, but of the island generally very different language is held; Pausan. vii. 17. 2 Σαρδῶ γὰρ τὴν νῆσον εἰς τὰ μάλιστα εὐδαίμονα ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος σφίσιν ἀπέδωκεν, said of an exchange of provinces which Nero made with the Senate; see Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.* vii. 96 sq; comp. also iii. 477.

<sup>4</sup> Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 41 'Sardois amarior herbis'; see Pape-Benseler *Griech. Wörterb.* s. v. Σαρδῶ.

<sup>5</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.* i. 182 Σαρδόνιον μείδημα γελάσσετε ὅποτεν ἦξη τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. The words are put into the mouth of Noah.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 5.

two confessors must be deferred. As an imperial rescript was necessary before removing the body of an exile (see I. p. 287), the day of deposition could not be before the Ides of August 237, as De Rossi places it. But on the other hand, as I have pointed out (l. c.), the date of Pontianus' death in the *Liber Pontificalis* is open to the suspicion of confusion; and prudential reasons might have led the friends of the exiles from applying for the necessary permission during the tyrant's lifetime. Maximin was slain in April or May 238 (Clinton's *Fast. Rom.* I. p. 252). On the whole therefore Aug. 238 seems more probable than Aug. 237. The death of Hippolytus may have occurred at any time from A.D. 235 to A.D. 238.

## § 15.

## THE STATUE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

In the year 1551 a mutilated statue of a sitting figure was discovered in the Ager Veranus. The head and upper part of the body were wanting, and there was no name to identify it. Nevertheless its identification as a figure of Hippolytus was undeniable, and has never been seriously questioned. It was found in the very place where Hippolytus had his chief sanctuary; it was evidently the representation of an ecclesiastic and a divine, and (as the chair suggested) probably of a bishop; it presented on the back and sides of the chair a list of theological writings, most of them known to be the works of Hippolytus; more especially there was a *Paschal Canon* constructed in the first year of Alexander. This completed the identification.

This statue is now in the Lateran Museum, the upper part being restored. It is figured in several works relating to Hippolytus (e.g. Fabricius *Op.* I. p. 36 sq; Bunsen I. frontispiece, see pp. 333, 423 sq, 460; Wordsworth, frontispiece, see p. 29 sq; and in other books (e.g. Kraus *Die Christliche Kunst* p. 111, 187; *Real-Encycl. der Christl. Alterth.* I. p. 660). The inscription—so far as it bears on our investigations—has been given above (*AR.* 2).

But what is the date of this erection? It has been variously assigned to different epochs from the third to the sixth century. I cannot doubt however that Döllinger (p. 291) and Funk (*Theolog. Quartalschr.* 1884, p. 104 sq) and Salmon (*Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s.v. Hippolytus Romanus III. p. 96) are right in giving the earliest date. The phenomena indeed are quite inexplicable in any later century. For

(1) The statue is strictly historical. So far as it gives information,

this is borne out by what we know from other sources. But the notices of Damasus and Jerome and Prudentius show that the historical Hippolytus had disappeared in the fourth century. Those twin giants—Ignorance and Myth—had piled their Pelion on Ossa, and stormed the citadel of the Truth with only too deadly effect on this occasion. The inscription on the statue would be possible in Hippolytus' time or in the next generation; but we can hardly conceive it at a later date.

(2) The details of the inscription point to a contemporary record. The *Paschal Chronicle* is given the chief place, being evidently regarded as the chef d'œuvre of the author—his great claim to posthumous fame. The cycle is calculated for the years A.D. 222—333. But long before this latter date the Romans had been obliged to abandon this cycle, if they ever adopted it, for a more correct system of calculation. Even as early as the year 243 there is evidence that its erroneousness had become too patent to be overlooked, and that a different cycle was calculated in order to take its place. In the year 236, the probable year of its author's death, the full moon, as calculated by Hippolytus, ought to have fallen on April 5th, whereas it really took place very early in the morning of the 9th. In the course of eighty years Hippolytus' full moon would coincide with the actual new moon. See the calculations of Salmon *Chronology of Hippolytus in Hermathena* i. p. 82 sq.

(3) These arguments seem conclusive. If any archæological considerations should appear to point in the opposite direction, they must be very strong to produce conviction. But in fact none such have been alleged. Some again have supposed that an older statue—intended for some one else—had been utilised and transformed into Hippolytus. For this there is no ground. But even, if it had been so, the fact would not affect the questions with which we are concerned. The arguments remain as strong as ever for the conclusion, that it could not have been transformed into Hippolytus and set up in the Ager Veranus to represent him after the third century, and probably not after the middle of the century.

As I shall have occasion to show presently (p. 443), this parcel of ground on the Tiburtine Way, which became the Cemetery of Hippolytus was probably his own property. Thus his friends would be able to set up the statue without interference; so that there was nothing to prevent its erection during his own life-time, though probably it belongs to some date immediately after his death.

By a curious coincidence we have a contemporary representation not only of Hippolytus, but also of his great enemy Callistus. De Rossi (*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1866, pp. 17, 33) gives a contemporary pic-



ture on glass which figures this pope's head. If any reliance can be placed on the likeness, he was a person of grave and venerable appearance. At all events it is a singular phenomenon that the two earliest ecclesiastics of whom contemporary representations are preserved are these two deadly enemies. We only regret the more that the head of the Hippolytean statue is lost; but perhaps future excavations may disinter it.

### § 16.

#### *POSTHUMOUS HONOURS AND SANCTUARIES.*

We have seen that the bodies of the two martyrs who had died in Sardinia—Pontianus and Hippolytus—were brought back to find a resting place amidst the scenes of their former life and work. They were companions in their burial, as they had been companions in their banishment. The same Ides of August, presumably in the year 237 or 238, saw them both deposited with all honours in the suburban Cemeteries. But, though the day was the same, the place was different. Pontianus, the pope, was laid in the papal crypt then recently constructed in connexion with the Cemetery of Callistus on the Appian Way, but already occupied by his successor Anteros who died after occupying the papal throne a few months (A.D. 236) and thus preceded him to his grave. His companion in exile Hippolytus found his grave on another of the great roads which stretch across the Campagna—the Tiburtine Way. He was laid in a catacomb constructed on the Ager Veranus—an estate doubtless so called from some former owner.

On this way to Tivoli, not far from the Prætorian camp and less than a mile from the City gate, we are confronted, at least as early as the fourth century, with two famous cemeteries standing almost face to face, each with its proper sanctuary, on either side of the road, which here runs roughly speaking from West to East. On the southern or right side is the more famous of the two, the Cemetery of S. Cyriac connected with which stands the Basilica of S. Laurentius selected by the latest of the popes, whose long tenure of office and notable career alike single him out from the long line of his predecessors, as his last resting-place by the side of the famous deacon of Rome. On the left hand of the same road and therefore to the North, between this *Via Tiburtina* and the *Via Nomentana*, is the site of the Cemetery and Basilica of S. Hippolytus. The two Cemeteries with their respective sanctuaries are quite distinct in ancient authorities; but owing to the fact

that the shrine and Cemetery of S. Hippolytus were ruined and obscured or obliterated at a comparatively early date, and that many monuments were transferred from it to the larger and more distinguished sanctuary on the south side of the road, its memory was absorbed in the fame of the Basilica of S. Laurentius, and modern writers have inextricably fused and confused the two. The discoveries of recent years, interpreted by the archæological genius of De Rossi, have corrected the error, and established the distinction beyond dispute.

The sanctuary and cemetery of Hippolytus therefore, with which we are directly concerned, had no connexion originally with the famous basilica of S. Laurentius. Its site is on the sloping ground or 'mons,' as it is called on the left of the road, and therefore between the Cemeteries of S. Agnese on the *Via Nomentana* to the North and that of S. Laurentius (or more properly of S. Cyriac) on the *Via Tiburtina* to the South. Dated inscriptions have been found in these catacombs, ranging from the close of the third century to the beginning of the fifth<sup>1</sup>. As it appears to be called the *Coemeterium Hippolyti*, and as the genitive in such cases generally denotes the owner or founder of the place of sepulture, not the principal saint whose cultus was celebrated there, De Rossi reasonably conjectures that this cemetery was Hippolytus' own possession<sup>2</sup>. This seems highly probable for many reasons. It would account for the selection of the spot for his own grave; whereas the circumstances of his burial would have suggested some other locality, in closer proximity to Pontianus his companion alike in exile and in death. It would account, as I have already pointed out, also for the unique honour which was done to him in the erection of a statue on the spot, whether soon after his death or even during his life time, for it would be erected on his own estate. Considering his hostile relations to the heads of the Roman hierarchy during his life time on the one hand, and the persecutions to which he was subjected from the civil powers on the other, the circumstances must have been very favourable in other

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* Ser. iv. 1. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* l. c. p. 15 sq (1882); comp. *Rom. Sott.* i. p. 116 sq. The earliest notice of his burial (see above, i. p. 251) in the *Depositio Martyrum* of the Liberian Catalogue gives 'Ypoliti in Tiburtina et Pontiani in Calisti,' where according to De Rossi we should understand 'in ejusdem coeme-

terio' after 'Ypoliti.' De Rossi gives other notices indicating that the proper name of these catacombs was *Coemeterium S. Hippolyti*. In the *Martyr. Hieron.* xiii Kal. Jul. the reading of the Berne MS is 'Rome, in cimiterio Yppoliti via Tiburtina,' where the common text has 'Romae Hippolyti,' thus substituting another martyr Hippolytus for the place of burial.

respects to enable his friends to do him this honour. However great their zeal, they must have been secure from molestation on either side; and only the absolute possession of the ground could have given them this security.

Here then he was deposited on the Ides of August the same day on which he was commemorated in after ages for some centuries. But evil days soon overtook the Church of Rome. The next century was crowded with other cares and interests, and the past was forgotten. A sponge passed over the records of Hippolytus and his times; and only the confused smear remained of a once exceptionally vivid and characteristic portraiture. There were the schisms and feuds within the Roman Church itself—popes and antipopes; there were the persecutions which assailed the Christians from without, and bred endless perplexities of discipline within; there were the great dogmatic controversies which harried the universal Church from one end to the other; last, but not least, there were the first rumblings of the dark thunder-cloud in the Northern sky, the earliest inroads of those barbarian hordes who were destined before long to sweep away old Rome in desolation and ruin. At length towards the close of the fourth century on the accession of Damasus came a respite; when men could breathe again, and their interest in the past revived.

Damasus (A.D. 366—384) was a great restorer of the sanctuaries of Rome. The catacombs more especially, as the resting places of the martyrs, received his attention. In this pious work he was ably seconded by the famous calligrapher Furius Dionisius Filocalus, who describes himself as the ‘cultor atque amator’ of Damasus. Rarely if ever, in the history of the Church, has a great leader been fired with such zeal for recording the Christian heroism of the past and found so accomplished an artificer to carry out his designs. Rarely, if ever, has history stood in sorer need of such a chronicler<sup>1</sup>. Our only regret is that the knowledge of Damasus was not commensurate to his enthusiasm.

Among the many saints of the past whose memory profited by his reverential zeal, was the martyred father of the Church, the venerable Hippolytus. Already a sanctuary enclosed the remains of the saint; but it was enlarged and beautified by Damasus, when on the defeat of the rival faction which had supported the antipope Ursicinus he received the allegiance of the whole Roman Church. The inscription commemorating the event runs as follows

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the inscriptions of Damasus—their composition and calligraphy—see De Rossi in *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* Ser. iv, III. p. 7 sq.



LAETA DEO PLEBS SANCTA CANAT QVOD MOENIA CRESCVNT  
ET RENOVATA DOMVS MARTYRIS HIPPOLITI<sup>1</sup>.

It is conjectured that he received the submission of the opposite party in this very building. There would be a singular appropriateness in its selection for this purpose; since he supposed that Hippolytus had at one time favoured the antipapal schism of Novatian—a fore-runner of Ursicinus—and afterwards by an opportune recantation had recalled the people from the paths of error to the unity of the Church. This supposed incident in the saint's career he commemorated in another inscription set up in the same building, to do honour to 'Hippolytus the elder'.

But Damasus knew little or nothing beyond the fame of Hippolytus as a martyr, and probably as a writer. A confused rumour had reached his ears that Hippolytus had not been always on friendly terms with the popes his predecessors. He concluded therefore, being ignorant of the chronology of the saint's life, that he must have been an adherent of the Novatian party (see above, p. 424 sq), the chief precedent, which history recorded of rival claimants to the papal throne, before the papal schism which amidst disgraceful and murderous riots had ushered in his own elevation to the see of S. Peter.

At the beginning of the next century occurred the visit of the Spanish poet Prudentius to this shrine.

His collection of hymns entitled *Peri Stephanon* or *De Coronis*, 'the crowns of the martyrs,' consists of fifteen poems. Most of these commemorate Spanish martyrs like Vincentius and Eulalia, or martyrs already celebrated by festivals in the Spanish Church. But the largest space (2152 verses out of 3875) is devoted to four martyrs especially honoured in Rome, Laurentius, Romanus, Hippolytus, and Agnes, besides a short poem (66 lines) on the passion of S. Peter and S. Paul. Rome therefore may be said to have inspired the collection. But it will be observed that all the four were celebrated in the catacombs lying on the Tiburtine Way or near it. The celebration of the three former moreover took place at the same time of the year within five days of each other (Aug. 9, Aug. 10, and Aug. 13) and in the same locality, in the twin sanctuaries which stood *vis à vis* on the Tiburtine Way.

Of the connexion between the cultus of S. Laurence and S. Hippolytus I shall have much to say hereafter. But who was the other member

<sup>1</sup> AR. 7. b; see above, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> AR. 7. a; see above, p. 328.

of the trio? Romanus is a strictly historical person. He was a deacon and exorcist who suffered in the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303), a native of Cæsarea in Palestine or the neighbourhood, but actually martyred in Antioch and therefore unconnected originally with Rome. His fame is especially associated with a miracle, which (whatever may be the foundation of fact) is recorded by his contemporary and fellow-countryman, the historian Eusebius; he astounded the bystanders by speaking distinctly after his tongue had been cut out<sup>1</sup>.

This was unquestionably the Romanus who is celebrated in the poem of Prudentius. The poet dwells at great length on this very miracle, embellishing it with many hideous accessories. Moreover he adds the incident of a little child—a mere infant—being summoned by Romanus from among the Christian bystanders and invited by the saint to bear testimony to Christ. The child did this to the edification of the bystanders, though at the cost of its own life. The incident of this infant martyr has no place in the contemporary record of Eusebius; but it was attached to the story of Romanus at a very early date. I think I see the origin of this edifying appendage to the contemporary account of Eusebius. Some eulogist of Romanus, when he described the constancy of the saint under the threats of the tyrant, would apply to him, perhaps would put into his own mouth, the scriptural words Ps. viii. 2 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength because of Thine enemies, that Thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.' As a matter of fact S. Chrysostom, who nevertheless betrays no knowledge of the infant-martyr, uses this very text in his extant oration on Romanus<sup>2</sup>. It was only a single step to go from the abstract to the concrete, and to produce the babe in person. Accordingly another orator, apparently a younger contem-

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *Mart. Palaest.* § 9, in the form of this work attached to the *Ecclesiastical History*. See also the other recension, preserved only in the Syriac which is translated by Cureton (pp. 6, 54). The story of Romanus is told likewise in the spurious work *de Resurrectione*, preserved only in Latin and ascribed to Eusebius, *Op.* vi. p. 1097 sq (Migne). The part relating to Romanus is given also in Ruinart *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 392. Evidently this is not a genuine work of Eusebius, as is apparent (if for no other reason) from the fact that Romanus is made not a cleric, but a soldier; of which

transformation I shall have to speak presently. Nevertheless it was written originally in Greek, as it shows again and again; e.g. 'forte proferentium Judaeorum tres pueros', a literal translation of the genitive absolute (προφερόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 'the Jews alleging the case of the Three Children'), but utterly without sense in the Latin. It betrays the influence of S. Chrysostom's genuine oration (see the next note).

Theodoret (*Epist.* 130, iv. p. 1218 Schulze) mentions the name of the martyr, but nothing more.

<sup>2</sup> Chrysost. *Op.* II. p. 616 (ed. Bened.).

porary of the golden-mouthed, preaching likewise at Antioch on the Day of S. Romanus in a sermon which is wrongly ascribed to S. Chrysostom himself, makes Romanus ask that a babe (*βρέφος*) shall be brought in from the market-place, taken (it would appear) at hap-hazard; and a child is brought, testifies, and suffers accordingly<sup>1</sup>. At all events this addition to the original story must have been circulated before the age of Prudentius. Prudentius however knows nothing, or at least says nothing, about the infant's name. By later martyrologists it is called Barulas or Baralas. This name appears in the Latin Martyrologies of Ado and others.

Of the connexion of this Romanus—a Palestinian by birth and an Antiochene by martyrdom—not only with Rome but with the sanctuaries on the Tiburtine Way, we have ample proof, even if it might not have been inferred from his prominence in the collection of Prudentius. In the inscription, which was put up in the 13th century in the basilica of S. Laurence, we read

CONTINET HOC TEMPLVM SANCTORVM CORPORA PLVRA  
A QVIBVS AVXILIVM SVPPLEX HIC POSCERE CVRA.

Then, after mentioning Xystus and Laurentius with the first martyr Stephen, the inscription enumerates Hippolytus with his nurse Concordia and his family. Then follows next in order

ROMANVS MILES.

Of this inscription I shall have to say more presently<sup>2</sup>. For my immediate purpose this mention is sufficient. The time also of the festival of S. Romanus nearly coincided with those of S. Laurence and S. Hippolytus as appears from this notice in the *Old Roman Martyrology* (*AR.* 40. g), where we have in juxtaposition

- v Id Aug. Romae, Romani militis  
Vigilia sancti Laurentii.
- iv Id Aug. Romae Laurentii archidiacon. martyris et militum clxv.
- Idus Aug. Romae, Hippolyti martyris cum familia sua, et  
S. Concordiae nutricis ejus;

<sup>1</sup> *Op.* II. p. 618. The festival of S. Romanus was evidently a great day at Antioch and would give occasion to flights of Christian oratory which influenced the transmission and embellishment of the story. The oration of our pseudo-Chrysostom is one of these. Its genuineness is condemned on the ground

of style; but the Benedictine editor adds (for reasons given) 'crediderem...esse cujusdam presbyteri Antiocheni, qui sub Flaviano alternas cum Chrysostomo concionandi partes ageret'; see also Tillemont *Mém.* v. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 461 sq, 469 sq.



and we meet with similar notices in Florus-Beda and in Ado and the later Roman Martyrologists.

There can be no doubt therefore that the Romanus of Prudentius and of the Roman Martyrologists is the same person with the Romanus of Eusebius and Chrysostom. But, if so, how do we explain two differences? (1) The Romanus of Eusebius is a cleric, a 'deacon and exorcist'; but the Romanus of the Roman Martyrologists is a soldier: (2) The Romanus martyred at Antioch was commemorated on Nov. 18, but the Romanus of the Tiburtine way and of the Latin Church generally on Aug. 9, the eve of S. Laurence.

(1) As regards the profession of Romanus the testimony of Eusebius is quite distinct. This martyr was a deacon in one of the villages in the neighbourhood of his own Cæsarea; but in all authors after Eusebius his clerical status has disappeared. Even Chrysostom, who was most favourably situated as to time and place for ascertaining the truth, seems to have regarded him as a soldier. He tells how Romanus kept together the army (*στρατόπεδον*) of Christ and shifted the shame of defeat from the Christians to the heads of the foes (*τὰς τῶν πολεμίων κεφαλὰς*, p. 613). He represents the devil as desiring, by cutting out the martyr's tongue rather than depriving him of life outright, to make him a witness of 'the lapses and the disaster of his own soldiers' (*τῶν πτωμάτων καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν*, p. 614). The second passage at all events does not look like a metaphor, though we might be inclined so to interpret the first. But whatever may have been Chrysostom's own meaning, this figure of Christian warfare was doubtless the bridge of passage from Romanus the cleric to Romanus the soldier. This appears in the development of the story, when we arrive at the pseudo-Eusebius, who may not improbably have written before the close of the fourth century and whose account appears to be influenced by the eulogium of S. Chrysostom. We are there told that Romanus arriving at Antioch, and finding that 'many soldiers belonging to the Church had lapsed' (*multos milites cecidisse ecclesiae*), presented himself before the judge, and said; 'Thou shalt not depart exulting, for God has soldiers who cannot be forced to submit' (*habet enim Deus milites qui superari non possunt*). This 'soldier of the Lord' (*Domini miles*) accordingly resolves to show his own constancy by resistance. Though Romanus is not distinctly called 'a soldier' here, the language implies his military profession. To this account of the pseudo-Eusebius, which we have only in a Latin translation, the Latin Martyrologists seem from several indications to have been indebted. With them at all events he is unmistakeably a soldier.

Of the profession of Romanus the Spanish poet tells us nothing. So far as his direct language goes he might have been either a cleric or a soldier, but he describes him as a noble of ancient lineage (*vetusta nobilem prosapia*) who by his many services had won the first rank among the citizens (*meritisque multis esse primum civem*); and at the suggestion of the attendants, the offensive crowd (*noxialem stipitem*) are removed by the judge, that a man of illustrious rank might not be condemned by a plebeian sentence—a description which ill assorts with a simple deacon ministering in an obscure village of Palestine. We may reasonably assume therefore, that Prudentius too regarded Romanus as a soldier, if he had any distinct conception at all on this point. The poem on Romanus is the *pièce de resistance* of the collection. It occupies not fewer than 1140 lines, nearly a third of the whole number. It is made the vehicle for an elaborate attack on the absurdities of idolatry, after the names of the apologists, with an accompanying defence of Christianity—neither the attack nor the defence wanting in vigour and eloquence of a certain kind. We may suspect that Prudentius, having little to tell of the saint himself, poured into this poem the contents of his poetical common-place book. But the immediate impulse to the poem seems to have been given by the festival which he witnessed on the Tiburtine Way.

(2) But what shall we say of the time of the festival, Aug. 9th? Eusebius again is quite explicit as to the day of the martyrdom. His Romanus suffered at Antioch in the first year of Diocletian's persecution on the 16th Dius, equivalent to xv Kal. Dec. (Nov. 18), or the 7th (it should be the 17th) later Teshri, as given in the Syriac recension, the same day on which his fellow-countrymen Alphæus and Zacchæus were martyred at Cæsarea. Accordingly we find this day assigned to him in the ancient Syriac Calendar, which must date from the latter half of the fourth century (the extant MS bearing date 412). The festival therefore, as celebrated at Rome, must be the commemoration of some translation—probably the deposition of the reliques in this Roman sanctuary on the Tiburtine way. But the Roman Martyrologies, from the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* onward, preserve elsewhere the record of the true day of martyrdom. The fact is that the contents of the Syriac Martyrology, or of some allied Calendar, or both, were shovelled into this valuable refuse-heap of martyrological records which bears the name of Jerome, and so we find:

xv Kal. Dec. In Caesarea natalis sanctorum...Alphæi, Zacchæi, Romani.

xiv Kal. Dec. In Antiochia civitate, Romani monachi, Baralæ;

where we have a double entry of the same person. The corresponding notice in the *Vetus Romanum* is

xiv Kal. Dec. Antiochiae Romani monachi et martyris,

where the clerical character of Romanus is still preserved in 'monachus.' Again in the later Martyrologists, Ado and his companions, the notice of Romanus of Antioch appears on one of these two days in December, where he is correctly described as a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian, where the prefect's name Asclepiades is given (after Prudentius), and where the story of the child Baralas is likewise told.

We are now in a position to say something more generally about this journey of Prudentius to Rome, so fertile in its poetical results; and the investigation is not uninteresting. On his way from Spain to the eternal city he stops at *Forum Cornelii* or *Forum Syllae*, the modern Imola; and there he pays his devotions at the shrine of the local saint, to which the cathedral of Imola is still dedicated—Cassianus the school-master martyr who was beaten to death with the tablets and stabbed with the stiles of the ungrateful urchins whom he had taught. Here he saw a picture—not less vivid and doubtless not less truthful than the representation of Hippolytus' sanctuary of the Tiburtine Way which he describes afterwards—of the pedagogue done to death by the beardless monsters in revenge for the castigations of the rod which they must have richly deserved. This is the only poem in the whole collection which commemorates a martyr not connected either with his native Spain or with Rome the object of his visit. At Rome he would probably arrive before the festival of the Passion of S. Peter and S. Paul (June 29th). This indeed might have been the immediate aim of his journey, and would determine the time of his arrival in the city. He describes the unwonted stir among the Roman people,

Plus solito coeunt ad gaudia; dic, amice, quid sit  
Romam per omnem cursitant ovantque.

He pictures, though briefly, yet notwithstanding some difficulties with the vividness of an eye-witness, the two basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul on either side of the river—their position and features; he describes the 'sacerdos,' probably the Roman bishop, as busied from morning to night (so we may perhaps paraphrase the word 'pervigil'), celebrating the sacred rites, first at the one and then at the other; he speaks of himself with the rest of the crowd as hurrying from the one to the other

Nos ad utrumque tamen gressu properemus incitato,  
Et his et illis perfruamur hymnis;



and he concludes by appealing to all strangers, visitors like himself in the holy city, to profit by the occasion ;

Haec didicisse sat est Romae tibi ; tu, domum reversus,  
Diem bifestum sic colas memento.

This poem was, it would almost seem, written for the occasion. But his chief interest gathers about the three festivals celebrated in the middle of August on the Tiburtine way—those of S. Romanus, S. Laurentius, and S. Hippolytus. The poem on S. Agnes was suggested probably by its proximity ; for her martyrdom was celebrated at a different time of the year—in January. The eulogy of S. Cyprian may also have been prompted by this Roman visit ; for his commemoration was celebrated in the cemetery of S. Callistus on xviii Kal. Oct. (Sept. 15) ; but, as Prudentius himself says, Cyprian was celebrated all the world round,

Praesidet Hesperiae, Christum serit ultimis Iberis.

He was, writes the poet, though ‘*proprius patriae martyr*,’ yet ‘*ore et amore noster*.’

From this long digression on the hymns of Prudentius and more especially on Romanus, of which the motive will appear presently, I return to Hippolytus. Prudentius gives us a minute and accurate description of what he saw at the commemoration on the Tiburtine Way. There was the picture of the martyrdom over the tomb of the martyr, painted in vivid colours ; the mangled limbs scattered here and there ; the thorns and thickets stained with the vermilion blood ; the weeping friends, following in the rear and gathering the remains into their bosom ; one fondling his snow-white head, others his mutilated arms and legs ; others wiping up with their clothes or with sponges the blood-bespattered ground, that nothing might be lost of the precious remains. He then describes the sanctuary itself ; the crypt with its dark galleries, not far from the city walls ; the subterranean recesses lighted here and there with windows in the roof, so that the sun’s rays poured in. Thither the martyr’s body was brought from Ostia, where the martyrdom took place, and there deposited in a shrine gleaming with solid silver. Lining the recess were slabs of smooth Parian marble adorned with gold. From morning to night the tide of worshippers flowed in constant succession, Romans and foreigners ; kissing the precious metal and pouring fragrant ointment on it, their faces bedewed with tears. Nobles and common-folk jostled each other shoulder to shoulder ; visitors, clad in festive white, thronged from all

parts; the roads poured in their contingent from every side—from Picenum and Etruria, the rude Samnite, the Campanian from lofty Capua, the citizens of Nola—husbands, wives, and children. Wide though the space, it was all too little for the dense multitudes. But hard by there is another temple ready to receive the crowds, towering upward with its lofty walls; a double range of columns supports the gilded beams of the roof; the aisles end in curved recesses; the central nave rises to a greater height; in front is a lofty tribunal approached by steps, whence the chief priest preaches God. With difficulty does even this larger edifice receive the surging and heaving crowds, thus opening a mother's bosom to gather and cherish her children. 'If my memory serves me aright,' the poet adds, 'beautiful Rome worships this saint on the Ides of August'; and he urges his bishop, Valerianus of Zaragoza, to whom the poem is addressed, to give a place among the annual festivals to Hippolytus, as places were already given to Cyprian, to Chelidonius, to Eulalia. 'So,' he concludes, 'when thou shalt have filled the folds with milk-white lambs, mayest thou be borne aloft and join the company of holy Hippolytus.' Evidently the cult of S. Hippolytus was at its zenith, when Prudentius visited the shrine; as it naturally would be after the recent architectural and decorative splendours lavished upon it by Damasus.

Of the scene of this multifarious gathering no question can now be entertained. Recent excavations have laid open the subterranean basilica of S. Hippolytus on the north of the Tiburtine Way—the specus exceptionally spacious for underground sanctuaries of this kind, lit from windows in the roof, substantially as it was seen by the eyes of Prudentius. Of this however I shall have to speak presently. But what was the larger edifice which received the throngs too great for the cavern beneath? Was it another basilica of S. Hippolytus above ground on or near the same site? Or was it the more famous sanctuary of S. Laurence on the south side of the road? Not unnaturally critics have inclined to this latter view. The excavations in the cemetery of Hippolytus have not proceeded far enough hitherto to enable us to form a confident opinion. But it must be remembered that at that remote age only the Constantinian basilica of S. Laurence existed—not a very spacious building on any showing. The churches of Xystus III (A.D. 440), of Pelagius II (A.D. 578), and of Honorius III (A.D. 1216), were still unbuilt. The actual condition of the basilica of S. Laurence in the eye of Prudentius—a subject beset with considerable difficulties—will demand a few words of explanation presently.

But what was this picture of the martyrdom so vivid in its details

which Prudentius saw and described? The most improbable supposition of all is that it represented the actual event. 'It is more like a poet's or a painter's than a prefect's deed,' it has been truly said<sup>1</sup>, 'to tear an old Christian with horses, whether because of his own unluckily suggestive name or because of the tale of his namesake'—the hero of the ancient Greek myth. Some have supposed therefore that a classical sculpture or painting of the son of Theseus, the hero of Greek tragedy, torn to pieces by horses, was discovered in the neighbourhood (Döllinger, p. 39 sq), or removed from elsewhere and placed in the chapel of his namesake. This is a tempting explanation; but unless Prudentius has far exceeded the license of poets in his description, it will not suit the details. What are we to say of the collection of the reliques? What of the 'venerable white head' fondled in the lap of the disciples? What of the sopping and sponging up the blood? Obviously we have here not a work of Greek or Græco-roman art, but a product of Christian piety, resembling in its gross realism and bad taste, as well as its intensity and devotion, the pictures of martyrdom with which we are familiar a few centuries later. Certainly it was not a sculpture, unless it had been painted over by some Christian artist; for Prudentius speaks of the vivid colouring, the purple and vermillion, of the scene. Moreover, though we should accept this explanation of the picture on the Tiburtine Way, we have still to account for the similar painting which the poet saw on this same journey at Imola—the martyrdom of Cassianus not less realistic and described with equal vividness. The martyrdom of Cassianus at all events had no counterpart in ancient Greek legend. De Rossi thinks and gives reason for thinking<sup>2</sup>, that this representation of Hippolytus' martyrdom was painted on a very small scale—like a miniature or a Dutch work of art. This seems not improbable; though no stress can be laid on the fact that recent explorations have not as yet brought to light any traces of its existence. Even if it had been a large fresco, we could not hope to discover any vestiges remaining in a place which has passed through so many vicissitudes as the sanctuary of S. Hippolytus. The most probable explanation seems to be that, the manner of Hippolytus' death being unknown and some concrete representation being necessary, this early Christian painter selected the fate of his mystical namesake as 'a pictorial mode of writing above the shrine HIPPOLYTUS MARTYR'<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Benson *Journ. of Class. and Sac. Philol.* I. p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 73 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Benson p. 210. I should say that

this article *On the Martyrdom and Commemorations of S. Hippolytus*, which I have more than once quoted, was written without the knowledge of recent dis-



After the visit of Prudentius we find no notice of this cemetery and crypt of S. Hippolytus for nearly a century and a half. Then, during the papacy of Vigilius (A. D. 537—555) a record is preserved of its restoration by one Andreas a presbyter, in an inscription of which fragments have been found on the spot itself and of which the concluding lines are<sup>1</sup>

PRAESVLE VIGILIO SVMP[SERVNT] ANTRA DECOREM  
PRAESBYTERI ANDREAE CVR[A] PEREGIT OPVS.

It was a season of great trouble and disaster to the Roman Church in many ways. Rome stood two sieges from the barbarians during this single episcopate, the one from Witiges in A. D. 537, 538, the other from Totila in A. D. 546, 547. The suburban churches and cemeteries were devastated and laid in ruins. It must have been on one of these occasions that the renovation of which the inscription speaks took place.

As the writer apparently speaks of a 'second' devastation (ITERVM), it would seem to have been after the invasion of Totila that these repairs were undertaken<sup>2</sup>. This accords with the language above quoted which gives only the name of Vigilius as dating the epoch ('praesule Vigilio'); whereas in another case, when the restoration took place presumably after the former siege by Witiges, we are told that pope Vigilius himself 'hostibus expulsis omne novavit opus'.<sup>3</sup> Vigilius was absent from Rome during the last years of his life. The writer in his account of these restorations under Vigilius mentions the skylights in the roof admitting the sun, which were a special feature of this subterranean church and which Prudentius had described a century and a half before—here specified as three in number—'trinum stupuit per specula lumen.'

Connected with this group of saints commemorated in August on the Tiburtine Way was the cultus of S. Genesius, the Roman actor of pantomimes who is said to have suffered in the persecution of Diocletian. He is mentioned in the medieval itineraries in the entourage of Hippolytus as lying near Concordia, between Triphonia and Cyrilla. He must therefore have been buried in the cemetery of Hippolytus<sup>4</sup>.

coveries, when it was still possible to maintain that the original Hippolytus of the Ager Veranus was not a cleric, but a soldier.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 59 sq, where the inscription is given in its correct form. The lacunæ were incor-

rectly supplied in an earlier number, *ib.* 1881, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 61 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Comp. ib.* 1873, p. 46 sq; 1876, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 23

His day was viii Kal. Sept. (Aug. 25th). Nearly two centuries later than the above mentioned restorations of Vigilius, we find a successor of Vigilius, Gregory III [A. D. 731—741], restoring the roof of the Church of S. Genesius, and erecting an altar of the Saviour there (AR. 15 A b). This was presumably some above-ground building erected in honor of Genesius within the precincts of the cemetery of Hippolytus, but we have no adequate information.

Again there is silence for some centuries respecting the basilica of S. Hippolytus; but meanwhile important works were carried out on the opposite side of the Tiburtine Way in the more famous sanctuary of S. Laurentius, which in course of time had a fatal influence on the decadence and obliteration of the humbler cemetery and shrine. As the fate of the two is ultimately connected together, and as some account of the history of the Church of S. Laurence is therefore necessary for the appreciation of my particular subject, this will be a convenient point for a very few words of explanation.

The honour paid to S. Laurence, the deacon of Sixtus III, who perished with his master in the Decian persecution, dates from the earliest times. He was the Stephen of the Western Church. 'Quam non potest abscondi Roma,' says Augustine, 'tam non potest abscondi Laurentii corona<sup>1</sup>.' 'De beati solemnitate Laurentii,' says the prayer in the oldest Roman sacramentary, 'peculiaris prae caeteris Roma laetatur; cujus nascendo civis, sacer minister, dedicatum nomini Tuo munus est proprium' (*Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. p. 398, Muratori). His festival had a special vigil, which was celebrated from the earliest times—a peculiar honour bestowed on few saints besides. His name appears in calendars which can hardly date more than a generation after his death. It is no marvel then that the aureole which encircled the

sq; comp. *Rom. Sott.* i. p. 178. There were two martyrs of this name; (1) A notary of Arles who suffered under Diocletian, A.D. 303; (2) A pantomime actor of Rome who suffered in this same year or (as some think) A.D. 285 or 286. They are both celebrated on the same day viii Kal. Sept. (Aug. 25) in Ado and the Latin Martyrologists; or on successive days, Aug. 24 and Aug. 25. De Rossi (l. c.) says that the Genesius of the Ager Veranus was the actor. It would seem to me difficult to say that there was no confusion between the two. In the *Mar-*

*tyrologium Vetus* both the two are named on the same day Aug. 25, 'Genesius minus' and 'Genesius Arelatensis'; in the old *Carthaginian Calendar* only the former. In Prudentius (*Peristeph.* 4), who was fresh from the Ager Veranus, Genesius of Arles is mentioned (ver. 36) among other martyrs at Cæsaraugusta (Zaragoza). Was there only one Genesius after all—first notary and then actor; just as there was only one Romanus and only one Hippolytus (see p. 462 sq, p. 460 sq)?

<sup>1</sup> *Serm.* 303, *Op.* v. p. 1233, ed. Bened.

heads of other neighbouring saints and martyrs—even of the famous Hippolytus himself—should have paled in the light of his unique splendour.

How much truth there may be in the current story about the mode of S. Laurence's martyrdom, we need not stop to enquire. His day was the fourth before the Ides of August, three days before the commemoration of S. Hippolytus. As the deposition of Hippolytus on the opposite side of the Tiburtine Way probably took place some years before his death, we must regard the circumstance which brought them into close connexion in time as well as place, as a mere coincidence. But it was fraught with momentous consequences to his posthumous fame.

The architectural history of the basilica of S. Laurence is strangely complicated; and the problems have only been solved (not yet completely) in our own generation. The accounts given by Bunsen<sup>1</sup> and older writers are altogether erroneous. The excavations of recent years, interpreted by the archæological knowledge of De Rossi and others, have gone far to solve the problem<sup>2</sup>.

The original basilica of Constantine stood over the tomb of the martyr. It occupied, roughly speaking, the same site as the present chancel, i.e. as the basilica of Pelagius II. It was orientated in the same way—the apse being at the West end, and the narthex at the East. At the same time that this pope built this church over the tomb, he adorned the crypt itself, in which the body lay, with exceptional splendours and endowed it with costly gifts. Damasus adorned his altar with gifts which he commemorated in an inscription on the spot

HAEC DAMASVS CVMVLAT SVPPLEX ALTARIA DONIS  
MARTYRIS AEGREGII SVSCIPIENS MERITVM<sup>3</sup>.

Before the close of the century [c. A.D. 400] we read of some works executed by one Leopardus, a priest—not unknown to us for his zeal on behalf of other sanctuaries—and commemorated by an inscription<sup>4</sup>.

Towards the middle of the next century, the reigning pope Sixtus III

<sup>1</sup> *Beschreibung der Stadt* III. Pt ii. p. 312 sq. The error of these older writers in connecting this basilica with the name of Galla Placidia and thus throwing the architectural chronology into confusion is explained by De Rossi, *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1864, p. 43; *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See especially De Rossi *Bull. di Ar-*

*cheol. Crist.* 1864, p. 42 sq; 1876, p. 22 sq; and the important notes of Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* I. p. 197 sq, 235 sq, 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. pp. 82, 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1867, p. 53 sq; comp. *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 155.



(A. D. 432—440) made a highly important addition to the buildings on this ground (*AR.* 15 B b). He not only adorned the existing confession of S. Laurentius with columns of porphyry and in other ways, the previous work of Constantine having probably suffered in the pillage of A. D. 410 under Alaric; but he built an entirely new and more spacious basilica to the West of the Constantinian church, so that the apses of the two buildings—the old and the new—stood back to back. This building of Sixtus corresponds with the nave of the existing basilica. Its apse was at the East end, and its narthex at the West. This basilica was termed ‘*Dei genetricis*,’ ‘of the Mother of God’; a designation which would seem especially appropriate at a time when the Nestorian controversy was agitating the Church. This is the ‘*basilica major*,’ which in the Itineraries of the seventh century is distinguished from the ‘*basilica ubi ipse modo requiescit*’ (*AR.* 38 b). It bears this name in two inscriptions of the fifth century found on the spot [IN B]ASSILICA MAXIO[RE], IN BASILICA MAIORE AD DOMNV LAVRENTIVM<sup>1</sup>.

Again Pelagius II [A. D. 579—590] enlarged, raised, and generally rebuilt, the smaller basilica to the East, which rose over the body. The *Liber Pontificalis* I. p. 309 (Duchesne) speaks of this work as ‘*basilicam a fundamento constructam*,’ and the existing building shows this language to be hardly an exaggeration. Owing to its superior splendour, when thus renovated by Pelagius, this building is described as ‘*basilica speciosior*,’ ‘*basilica nova mirae pulchritudinis*,’ in the Itineraries (*AR.* 38 a b) to distinguish it from the larger basilica—the erection of Sixtus III to the West. We are told moreover that Pelagius dedicated his building to S. Sixtus, S. Laurentius, and S. Hippolytus. But there is reason to think that this threefold dedication is earlier than Pelagius. When Sixtus III built his new basilica ‘*Dei Genetricis*,’ he would naturally turn his attention to the dedication of the older building, which likewise owed new splendours to his munificence, and in which he himself was ultimately buried. What more natural then than that he should have associated in the dedication his martyred predecessor and namesake Sixtus II, who had been associated with S. Laurentius in his life and in his death? If so, Pelagius only accepted the triple dedication as he found it. But he commemorated it in a remarkable way. Over the arch of the apse he placed a mosaic representing the Saviour seated in the centre, while right and left of him were the two Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, and the three saints of the dedication, with himself PELAGIVS EPISC. the builder of the church somewhat in the

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1876, p. 22 sq.

background. The point to be observed is that *sc̄s* *ypolit*, as here represented, has not yet lost his proper personality. Though associated with S. Laurence, he still remains the priest with the clerical tonsure, not the soldier with the military cloak; the doctor of the Church, not the warder and convert of S. Laurence.

The last and greatest change was yet to come. Hitherto there were two basilicas, back to back; the larger—the building of Xystus—facing westward, and the smaller—the original erection of Constantine as rebuilt by Pelagius—facing eastward. In 1216 Honorius III broke through the apses and fused the two. Thus the building of Sixtus became the nave, and the building of Pelagius the chancel, of the combined basilica, as it still exists. The orientation therefore now conforms to our northern type, the chancel being at the East end and the vestibule at the West. Accordingly the mosaic set up by Pelagius, though undisturbed in its main features, no longer looks down the church according to the original design, but looks inward towards the east end.

But, while the basilica of S. Laurence thus grew to greater magnificence, the basilica of S. Hippolytus dwindled from small to less. In the middle of the eighth century the Lombards under Astolph swept over the land, extinguished the exarchate of Ravenna, and besieged Rome itself. The invader dug up and carried off the bodies of the saints and martyrs, as trophies, into his own country. What could the Romans do to meet these successive desecrations of the sanctuaries? The siege of Astolph was in A.D. 756. Of the succeeding popes some, like Paul I (A.D. 756—767) and Paschal I (A.D. 817—824) and Leo IV (A.D. 847—855) pursued the more timorous, but safer course of removing the sacred reliques from the suburban cemeteries to the churches within the city. This was only a more respectable form of body-snatching than the Lombard plundering itself. On the other hand Hadrian I (A.D. 772—795) and Leo III (A.D. 795—816) adopted the bolder policy of restoring the extra-mural sanctuaries. Of Nicolas I (A.D. 858—867) it is recorded that he made a visitation of the churches and cemeteries ('sanctorum ecclesias ac coemeteria circuibat')<sup>1</sup>; but whether this resulted in any definite policy with respect of the smaller suburban sanctuaries, we have not, so far as I know, any information. We read of this same pope as making certain gifts to the church of S. Laurence without the walls<sup>2</sup>.

These vicissitudes of the papal policy were felt in the cemetery of

<sup>1</sup> See *Rom. Sott.* I. p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. Pont.* II. p. 166 (Duchesne).

S. Hippolytus. Paul I, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 761, founded the church and monastery of S. Silvester in Capite, so called from the head of S. John the Baptist which was its most precious relique—opened several suburban tombs, and transferred to his new foundation the bodies of the saints and martyrs<sup>1</sup>. In the portico of the church he affixed two tablets containing respectively the names of the male and female saints thus translated; among whom are several from the cemetery of Hippolytus, more especially the body of Hippolytus himself. Those parts of the inscriptions which refer to the saints buried in the Ager Veranus, will be found above (*AR.* 37 b).

On the other hand in the Life of Hadrian I (A.D. 772—795) we are informed that this pontiff 'restored the parts of the cemetery of S. Hippolytus which had fallen into decay from ancient times', and likewise 'the church of S. Stephen close to the aforesaid cemetery' (*AR.* 15 A c). It is not clear what building is meant by this last designation—whether the basilica of S. Hippolytus itself called the church of S. Stephen for some unknown reason or some chapel annexed to this basilica and dedicated to S. Stephen<sup>2</sup>. At all events it must be distinguished from the church of S. Stephen in the cemetery of S. Cyriaca on the opposite side of the Tiburtine way; for the restorations of the two several churches of S. Stephen are mentioned separately in the Life of Hadrian (*Lib. Pont.* 1. p. 508, 511), and the situation of each is described<sup>3</sup>.

Again; under Leo IV (A.D. 847—855) the policy of translation is substituted for the policy of restoration. This pontiff, having restored, enlarged, and beautified the basilica of the Quatuor Coronati on the Cœlian, in order to invest it with greater honour, deposited under the altar the body of Hippolytus and his family with others (*AR.* 15 A e). This is the *second body of S. Hippolytus*, the first having already been translated by Paul I to S. Silvester.

Lastly; at some later date, whether when Honorius III carried out his works in the basilica of S. Laurentius (A.D. 1216) or at some earlier point of time, the reliques in the cemetery of S. Hippolytus seem to have been swept wholesale into the church of S. Laurentius, probably because their own proper resting-place had now fallen hopelessly into ruin. An inscription, though probably a later (13th cent.) copy of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 37 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 1882, p. 23 sq, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> The church of S. Stephen connected with S. Laurence was built by Simplicius

[A.D. 468—483] *Lib. Pont.* 1. p. 249. On the two churches of S. Stephen see *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 43 sq, p. 52 sq.



earlier monument, was read by the pilgrims of the 13th and 14th centuries (*AR.* 37 a), which enumerates these precious treasures and among them is a *third body* of Hippolytus.

Thus our saint and doctor appears as

forma tricorporis umbrae

even in Rome itself; while, as we shall see presently, other bodies of Hippolytus were laid in other cities of Europe. I need not stop to enquire how far this multiplication of bodies was due to the practice of calling any limb of a saint the 'body,' even though it might be only a small portion, and how far it arose from the zeal which led to the eager identification of any remains which lay near the supposed place of sepulture with the saint who was the object of search.

But, while the body of S. Hippolytus was undergoing this process of multiplication, his personality also was being subjected to a transformation. Baronius accused even an early writer like Prudentius of confusing together the personalities of three distinct namesakes (p. 412): (1) the divine and father of the Church; (2) the martyr of Antioch; (3) the soldier and gaoler of S. Laurence. He supposed that the Spanish poet had borrowed the Novatianism from the second, and the connexion with the Ager Veranus from the third, and had falsely attributed both the one and the other to the first, thus rolling the three into one. Other later writers also have adopted this view, with or without modifications. Possessing information which was not within the reach of Baronius, we are able to exculpate Prudentius from both these robberies. The attribution of Novatianism, as we now find (p. 424 sq), is much older than Prudentius; and, as a matter of fact, is attributed to the Roman divine some centuries before it is attached to the Antiochene martyr, so that the robbery is on the other side. Again, the supposed appropriation of the sepulchre in the Ager Veranus has arisen from an entire mistake; which it will be worth while now to explain.

De Rossi has shown satisfactorily that the supposed confusion of Hippolytus the doctor and divine with Hippolytus the gaoler and convert of S. Laurence is not a *confusion* at all but a *substitution*. In fact they do not *co-exist*. We find no traces of Hippolytus the gaoler in connexion with the Ager Veranus—or indeed, any traces of his existence at all—till the 7th century at least. With Damasus and Prudentius the Hippolytus of the Ager Veranus is a priest. On the sarcophagus of Apt (see below, p. 467), which may date from the fourth or fifth century, though connected with S. Sixtus, he is not only a priest, but a writer. He is a priest still in the mosaics put up by Pelagius,

when this pope restored the basilica of S. Laurentius (c. A.D. 580); for he is clad in priestly robes. He is so represented likewise in other contemporary works of art, for instance in the mosaic in S. Apollinaris at Ravenna. The earliest work of art to which De Rossi can point as departing from this mode of representation is the Celimontane picture of the time of Formosus (A.D. 891—896), where he is clad in the military chlamys<sup>1</sup>.

What is the meaning of all this? As the basilica of S. Hippolytus dwindled into insignificance and fell into ultimate ruin, the cultus connected with it was transferred to the imposing church of S. Laurence on the opposite side of the way, while the bodies of the saints and martyrs, or such as still remained in the cemetery of Hippolytus, were transferred thither. Hence the desire to connect with S. Laurence historically those who were connected with him locally; and the various Acts of the Laurentinian Cycle started into being. Of these the most famous was Hippolytus himself, who had the chief place assigned to him in these Acts; while the other members of his entourage, such as Concordia, though originally they may have had no historical connexion even with Hippolytus himself, yet were woven into the story, owing to the fact that they were buried in the same cemetery. In the Martyrology of Ado († A.D. 874) we have embedded great part of the *Passion of S. Sixtus, S. Laurentius, and S. Hippolytus*, which included likewise the martyrdoms of these minor saints grouped around them, and seems to have served as a guide book for the pilgrims to this Ager Veranus<sup>2</sup>.

But how was this transformation from the cleric to the soldier effected? What was the main instrumentality which brought it about? I seem to myself to be able to answer this question with a reasonable degree of probability.

At an earlier point in this investigation (p. 446 sq) I discussed the honours paid to the martyr Romanus in the Ager Veranus, though himself connected with Cæsarea and Antioch. I there pointed out that, though known to have been a cleric on contemporary authority, he was transformed into a soldier within two or three generations of his death; that some reliques were possessed or supposed to be possessed in the basilica or cemetery of S. Laurence; and that he was one of the group of martyrs celebrated in the Ager Veranus in August. His day was the eve of S. Laurence, as it appears in the *Martyrologium Vetus* (A.R. 40 g);

v Id. Aug. Romae, Romani militis  
Vigilia sancti Laurentii,

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> A.R. 38; see below, p. 473.

but in a list of the reliques on an ancient tablet found in S. Laurence (*AR.* 37 a), we read

POST HOS IPOLITUS COLLIS RE  
LIGATUS EQUORVM  
CUM NUTRICE SUA CUM CUNC  
TA PLEBE SUORVM  
ROMANUS MILES,

where the proper name would be easily overlooked and explained 'a Roman soldier' as descriptive of Hippolytus. Though this actual tablet is probably not older than the 13th century, it is apparently a copy of an earlier inscription; and at all events the same connexion of names would appear in other documents relating to these martyrs. Thus, having himself been transmuted from a cleric into a soldier, Romanus handed on the same transmutation to Hippolytus.

I am the more encouraged to believe that this is the real account of the change, because I find that in all essential respects Hippolytus the soldier is the mere double of Romanus the soldier. Both the one and the other suffer under Decius; both the one and the other belong to the band guarding Laurence; both the one and the other are cut to the quick by the good confession of the martyr-deacon, and seek baptism at his hands; both the one and the other are put to death; both the one and the other are buried by Justinus in the Ager Veranus. Only in the manner of their death there is a difference. While Romanus suffers in a common-place way, being beheaded, Hippolytus in accordance with the picture of the martyrdom seen by Prudentius is torn to pieces by horses.

Moreover, there is much confusion about the day. The day of Romanus is first given by Ado as the eve of S. Laurence (p. 322), and he is mentioned in direct connexion with Hippolytus in the scenes immediately preceding the martyrdom of S. Laurence (p. 324). Then again he is stated (p. 325) to have suffered 'on *the very day* (ipso die) on which the blessed Laurence suffered.' This confusion is not insignificant.

Then again; there is a notice in the account of Hippolytus' martyrdom, which seems to be a faint echo of the transformation undergone by Hippolytus. Decius orders him to be 'stripped of the dress which he wore as a Christian' ('veste qua induebatur habitu Christiano') and 'to be clothed in the soldier's dress which he wore as a Gentile' ('vestiri militari veste qua gentilis utebatur'). 'Be our friend,' says the emperor



to him, 'and in our presence resume the profession of a soldier which thou didst always follow' (in conspectu nostro utere militia pristina quam semper habuisti)<sup>1</sup>. These Acts seem to have been written as I have said, specially for the use of pilgrims to the Ager Veranus; but in the church of S. Laurence the mosaic of Pelagius might still be seen, where Hippolytus was represented as a tonsured priest. Did not this discrepancy need some such reconciliation as the words here ascribed to Decius suggest?

Connected with the transformation of the priest into the soldier is the 'familia,' notably his nurse Concordia, who were martyred with him in the later form of the legend. The earlier calendars and liturgies speak of Hippolytus alone. In later documents and in later MSS of the older documents, he is surrounded by his companion martyrs<sup>2</sup>.

After the close of the ninth century we read nothing more of the basilica or cemetery of S. Hippolytus. Mention indeed is made of the 'Mount of S. Hippolytus'; the hill at the back of the cemetery in the 11th century; but it is mentioned simply as a locality, without any reference to the sanctuary which once existed there. When Martin V in 1425 gave permission for the removal of slabs and stones from the desolate suburban catacombs to construct the pavement of S. John Lateran<sup>3</sup>, the cemetery of S. Hippolytus was one of those rifled for this purpose, as the stones now embedded in the Lateran pavement show (see above, p. 329); though it is not mentioned by name. Yet the rifling was not complete; for the lower part of the statue of Hippolytus was discovered on the spot in 1551. At the revival of learning the individuality of the cemetery of Hippolytus had so entirely disappeared, that the basilicas and cemeteries on the two sides of the Tiburtine Way were hopelessly confused by historians and archæologists under the general name of the 'Ager Veranus'; and so long as this confusion existed, no satisfactory results were possible. This hopeless state of things continued for more than three centuries. Only in our own generation was this confusion dissipated by the archæological discoveries, interpreted by the antiquarian penetration and learning of De Rossi. The excavations more especially, which have been made since the year 1880, have furnished a final answer to the main questions.

On this Ager Veranus, to the left side of the Tiburtine Way, to one journeying from Rome to Tivoli, had been discovered three centuries

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 358 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See the illustrations given by De Rossi  
*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 31 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 42;  
comp. *Rom. Sott.* 1. p. 161 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* 1881, p. 39 sq; 1882, p. 42.

ago, as we have seen, the actual statue of Hippolytus. Here also, at a later date, was found an inscription REFR[*I*][GERI[*O*]. TIBI. DOMNVS. IPPOLITVS. SID (sit)<sup>1</sup>. Hence also probably came later still a sepulchral stone bearing the words AT. IPPOLITV. SVPER. ARCOSOLIV, which found its way into the Vatican Museum<sup>2</sup>. At length in 1881 the excavations were commenced on this site in right earnest<sup>3</sup>, and resulted not only in the discovery of the inscriptions recording the works of Damasus (A.D. 366—384) and of Vigilius (A.D. 537—555), as mentioned already (pp. 328 sq, 424, 454), but in the actual disinterment of the subterranean basilica of Hippolytus, as described by Prudentius and as repaired by Vigilius. It is much larger than such subterranean chapels to the Catacombs generally, as the description of Prudentius would lead us to expect. It exhibits the isolated altar on the bema of the apse, as described by this same poet. It shows traces of the three windows overhead 'trinum per specula lumen,' as specified by Vigilius, so as to throw a flood of light into this under-ground church, a feature which impressed Prudentius, though he does not mention the actual number of these lights. It is obviously however not in the state in which it was left by Damasus, but bears traces of the subsequent repairs of Vigilius. Thus inscriptions of the age of Damasus, and later, no longer stand in their original position, but have been displaced, so that in some instances they are partly concealed. One such Damasian inscription TIMOTEVS. PRESBYTER in the true Filocalian character (see above, p. 444) must have stood originally in the front of an 'arcosolium.' It is now used to construct one of the steps to the bema<sup>4</sup>. Again the walls, as seen by Prudentius, were lined with glistening white marble; they are now covered with plaster<sup>5</sup>.

Three other sanctuaries of S. Hippolytus in Rome and Italy deserve a passing notice.

(1) During the papacy of Siricius (A.D. 384—399) one Ilicius a presbyter erected all the buildings which were to be seen in connexion with the church and monastery of S. Pudentiana along the Vicus Patricius (now the Via Urbana), beginning with the MEMORIA SANCTI

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 56 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 68, Tav. I, ii.

<sup>5</sup> This Timotheus must have been a person of some importance in the history of the Church. Our first impulse is to

identify him with the Timotheus of Ostia, whose 'depositio' is Aug. 22 (xi Kal. Sept.) in the Liberian list. He would thus add another to the saints of the Ager Veranus celebrated in August. This Timotheus however is stated by Ado (and the same is implied in the Liberian list) to have been buried in the Cemetery of Ostia.

MARTYRIS IPPOLYTI<sup>1</sup>. This was the period, as we have seen (p. 452), when the fame of Hippolytus reached its zenith owing to the devotion of Damasus; and Siricius, the next successor of Damasus, was the very man to give further encouragement to it, since it is especially recorded in his honour on his tomb that the malcontents of the anti-Damasian faction were at length united under him<sup>2</sup>. The same reason therefore which had led Damasus to show his reverence for Hippolytus in the sanctuary on the Tiburtine Way, as the champion of unity in the Church in the midst of schism, would lead Siricius also to heap additional honours upon him. But why the selection of the Vicus Patricius and the church of S. Pudentiana for this *memoria*? De Rossi (*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 16) answers that Hippolytus probably lived in the Vicus Patricius or gathered a Christian congregation there for worship. This must be taken as a mere conjecture, like the similar conjecture respecting the house and *memoria* of Clement which I have dealt with elsewhere (I. p. 94). But the connexion of the suburban cemeteries on the Tiburtine way with the priests of the 'title' of this (the third ecclesiastical) region—on the Esquiline including S. Pudentiana and S. Praxedis—from the fifth century at least is a matter of certainty. These priests seem to have served these cemeteries, and grants of graves were made by them or their prior. Thus we have mention in a sepulchral inscription dated A. D. 491 of a grave acquired by one Fausta in the cemetery of Hippolytus A. PRB. TIT. [P]RAX[SEDIS]<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere in this same cemetery was found belonging to the year 528 the grave of one HILARVS. LICTOR (lector). TT. PVDENTIS<sup>4</sup>; and again another of the PB. PRIOR<sup>5</sup>, whose name is mutilated and who doubtless belonged to this same region and title. It is probable therefore that the presbyter Andreas, who under Vigilius (see above, p. 454) repaired the basilica of Hippolytus, was the prior of this title<sup>6</sup>.

(2) The next Italian sanctuary, which claims a mention in connexion with Hippolytus, is Portus, the haven of Rome. From what I

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1877, p. 15; 1882, p. 15 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Duchesne *Lib. Pont.* I. p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 65

<sup>4</sup> *Resoconto dei Cultori di Archeologia Cristiana* 1883, April 1, (Roma 1888).

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* I. c.

<sup>6</sup> On the connexion of the cemeteries on the Tiburtine Way with the 'tituli' of this region see *Rom. Sott.* III. p. 516 sq.

Of pope Simplicius (A.D. 468—483) we are told that he arranged respecting the service at 'regio III ad sanctum Laurentium' among other similar arrangements in other 'regiones'. On the tituli 'Praxedis' and 'Pudentis' (or 'Pudentianae') see also Duchesne *Notes sur la Topographie de Rome au Moyen Age* p. 22 sq (Rome 1887), extracted from the *Milanges d'Archéologie*.



have said already and shall have to say hereafter, it will be apparent that, whether he was actually bishop of Portus or not, no other place—hardly even the Ager Veranus—is more closely identified with his name by history and tradition alike. The tower of a ruined church in Portus—a landmark seen afar over the surrounding waste—still bears his name. Of Leo III (A. D. 795—816) we are told that he gave certain cloths to the ‘basilica beati Yppoliti martyris in civitate Portuense,’ one to cover his body (super corpus ejus), and another for the great altar (*Lib. Pont.* II. p. 12, Duchesne). Whether it is mentioned at an earlier date, I know not. The ruins are said to belong to the eighth century. The well is also shown, in which according to the Portuensian version of the legend his body was drowned. It is in the *Isola Sacra*<sup>1</sup>, the island made by the original mouth of the Tiber and by the channel cut for the works of Claudius and Trajan at the new Port. Of the identification of Hippolytus with an early Portuensian martyr Nonnus, and of his association with the virgin Chryse in the spurious Acts of the latter, I shall have to speak presently (see below, p. 474 sq.).

Though events were preparing the way, as I have shown, for a bishopric at Portus in the age of Hippolytus, the permanent see seems not to have been established till the next century. In the middle ages and afterwards it ranked second of the suburbicarian sees, Ostia taking the precedence.

(3) At the ancient *Forum Semproni*, the modern *Fossombrone*, in the valley of the Metaurus on the Flaminian Way about 165 miles from Rome, there exist to the present day two castles called respectively by the names of S. Hippolytus and S. Laurence—the same two saints who were celebrated on the Tiburtine Way in the middle of August. Now we find in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*<sup>2</sup> under Feb. 2nd

iv Non. Feb. Romae Foro Sinfronii, via Flaminia, miliario ab urbe centum septuaginta quatuor Laurentii, Hippolyti,

and again under Aug. 6

viii Id. Aug. Laurentii, Hippolyti, et militum centum sexaginta duorum,

in the common text, or as it is otherwise read ‘militum clxv.’ Comparing these notices one with another and with the actual fact relating

<sup>1</sup> For the ancient works at Portus see Lanciani *Ancient Rome in the light of Recent Discoveries* p. 231 sq. For the Christian remains esp. De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1866, p. 37 sq. For the

medieval and later condition comp. Nibby *Analisi* II. p. 602 sq, and see Benson *Journ. of Class. and Sac. Philol.* I. p. 202 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 356.

to Fossombrone, we cannot doubt that De Rossi is right in reading 'milliario' for 'militum' in the second passage, the word having been contracted into 'mil'; and in the first passage we should probably substitute clxiii for clxiiii. Indeed the 165 soldiers cannot be explained otherwise; for they have no relation to the more modest 'familia' of 18 or 19 persons which forms the entourage of our S. Hippolytus in the later form of the legend. With this correction the earlier notice (Feb. 2) will in all likelihood represent the anniversary of the dedication of the sanctuary of these two saints at Fossombrone, whither probably the oil or some other relique of them was taken, while the latter (Aug. 6) represents the annual celebration of their proper festival in the Ides of August celebrated likewise at Fossombrone, as it was celebrated at Rome. In fact both these notices seem to have been introduced into the Hieronymian hodge-podge from some Umbrian or North Italian document.

The reverence paid to this saint outside of Italy need not occupy us long. We have seen (p. 452) that Prudentius recommended his own superior, the Archbishop of Zaragoza, to introduce the cultus of Hippolytus; but whether the advice was taken we do not know. At all events he has a place in a Carthaginian Calendar of the fifth or sixth century, where the usage was closely allied to that of the Spanish Church; and in the Gothic Missal, which exhibits the liturgical practice of the Visigoths in Spain in the seventh or eighth centuries (*AR.* 39, 40). In France the remarkable sarcophagus at Apt near Avignon is proof of the spread of his fame<sup>2</sup> in the fifth(?) century. Again we find at Arles an early church dedicated to him. In the year 973 one Theucinda petitions the archbishop of Arles to be allowed to 'rebuild and restore' ECCLESIAM IN HONORE BEATI YPOLITI DEDICATAM, which must therefore have been in existence long before<sup>3</sup>. But his greatest fame in this country is connected with the great Abbey of S. Denis near Paris. About the year 764 Fulrad Abbot of S. Denis brought the bones of S. Hippolytus from the Ager Veranus and laid them for a time in his newly founded abbey Fulrado-Villiers, thence called St Hippolyte or St Bilt; whence they were translated shortly after his death (c. 785) to S. Denis. Hippolytus was here celebrated as at Rome on the Ides of August, and his martyrdom was represented as in the picture seen by Prudentius in the Ager Veranus. But he was no longer the cleric, but the soldier,

*Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 36.  
*ib.* 1866, p. 33 sq; 1882, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See De Rossi *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* II. p. 267.

no longer the doctor of the Church but the convert of S. Laurence; for the transformation had already been made. About the year 1159 pope Alexander III visited S. Denis and, on enquiring whose bones a certain reliquary contained, was told those of Hippolytus. 'I don't believe it, I don't believe it,' said the pope bluntly, 'I supposed that he lay still in the City.' He had only too much reason for his scepticism; for he might have known that Rome itself contained no less than three bodies of S. Hippolytus, one in S. Silvester, a second in the Quatuor Coronati, and a third in S. Laurence. The saint himself however would stand no trifling. His bones rattled and rumbled in the reliquary, like the roar of thunder, till the pope cried out in terror, 'I believe it, my lord, I believe it, my lord; do keep quiet.' The pope made his peace by erecting a marble altar in the oratory of the saint<sup>1</sup>.

Nor was this the only body of Hippolytus outside Rome. There was, or is, another in the church of S. Julia at Brescia; and another in S. Ursula at Cologne; besides heads and limbs here and there elsewhere.

### § 17.

#### SPURIOUS ACTS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

The only Acts of Hippolytus which can pretend to retain even a faint echo of genuine history are those given in the poem of Prudentius (see p. 332 sq); and even at this early date as we have seen fact is choked by fiction. The later Acts have no historical value at all; but they throw some light on the legendary Hippolytus.

These later Acts belong to two separate cycles; (1) *The Laurentian*; (2) *The Portuensian*. The connexion with the true Hippolytus is in both cases local, not historical. In the former the link is the Ager Veranus, the site of Hippolytus' burial place; in the latter it is the Port of Rome, the site of his practical activity while living.

#### (i) *Acts of the Laurentian Cycle.*

We have seen already (p. 458 sq) that owing to the decadence and ruin of the basilica and cemetery of S. Hippolytus the chief memorials of the saints and martyrs once existing there were transferred to the

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanct. Bolland. Aug. III. p. 9; 1. p. 191.*  
comp. *Journ. of Class. and Sac. Philol.*



neighbouring sanctuary of S. Laurentius. The effect of this transference made itself felt on the legend. Henceforward Hippolytus became more than ever a companion and attendant of S. Laurentius, while at the same time he was gradually transformed from a cleric into a soldier.

The extant inscription in the Church of S. Laurentius (*AR.* 37) is an instructive comment on this developement. The enumeration of the sacred reliques there deposited begins with the names of the three persons to whom the church was dedicated by Pelagius (see above, p. 457) together with S. Stephen the first deacon and prototype of S. Laurence. It ends with the popes who were buried there, Hilarus, Zosimus and Sixtus III,<sup>1</sup> together with Pelagius who built the enlarged basilica. Of these it is not necessary to say anything more. Our concern is with the intermediate names ;

Ipolitus collis religatus equorum ;  
 Cum nutrice sua cum cuncta plebe suorum  
 Romanus miles, Triphonia, Virgo Cirilla,  
 Et quadraginta quos passio continet illa,  
 Justinusque sacer defunctos qui tumulabat,  
 Ciriace vidua quae sanctos clam recreabat,  
 Cujus matronae fuit haec possessio cara,  
 Ipsius nomen specialiter optinet ara,  
 Martir Ireneus qui tecum, martir Abundi,  
 Decedens sprevit fallacis gaudia mundi.

The ancient itineraries show us that of the persons here named, Concordia and the supposed 'familia'—the 'cuncta plebs suorum'—were originally buried in the crypt of Hippolytus, as were also Tryphonia and Cyrilla, the reputed wife and daughter of Decius Cæsar (*AR.* 38 b). On the other hand, Romanus and Justinus, Abundius and Irenæus, lay in the cemetery on the opposite side of the way in which stood the basilica of S. Laurence, as did also Cyriace who, as here stated, was probably the original possessor of the ground and gave her name to this cemetery.

Of those buried in the cemetery of Hippolytus, Concordia, as we learn from the itineraries, lay 'ante fores,' i.e. of the crypt or chamber where Hippolytus himself lay. In another chamber ('altero cubiculo'), lay the two martyrs, Tryphonia the wife and Cyrilla the virgin daughter of Decius—both done to death by this tyrant's command. Thus the pulchre of Concordia was between the vault of Hippolytus and that

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1881, p. 86 sq.

of the two royal martyrs—'between the two,' as one of the itineraries says (*AR.* 38 b, where read 'inter utroque'). Concordia is commonly called the nurse ('nutrix'), but in the earliest of the itineraries the wife ('mulier') of Hippolytus. These date from the 8th century. As no record is found in history of any wife and daughter of Decius (whichever Decius is meant), who bore the names Tryphonia and Cyrilla, it has been proposed to read 'ancillae mulieris' for 'mulieris' in the Martyrologies: so as to bring the statement within the range of probability; but we are dealing with romance, not with history, and in romance such conjectures are futile as well as unnecessary. Who Concordia may have been, we have no means of ascertaining. It is not probable that she had any other connexion with Hippolytus except the double proximity of the place of sepulture and the time of celebration. This local and temporal neighbourhood would be sufficient to suggest the historical connexion, of which there seem to be no traces before the eighth century. But what shall we say of the 'familia' xviii (or xviii) in number? The attachment of this 'familia' to Hippolytus seems to be later—though probably not much later—than his connexion with Concordia herself; for it occurs in the *Old Roman Martyrology*. In the earliest of the itineraries, where she is the 'mulier' of Hippolytus, the 'familia' is not mentioned at all. Even in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*—the great storehouse of martyrological notices, historical and legendary, early and late—it has not yet found a place. The number was originally xviii (= xix) and not xviii, as appears not only from the oldest of the itineraries in which it is mentioned, but also from Ado and others. A figure would be easily dropped by transcribers. I believe that I see the origin of this number xviii (xix). The next day to Id. Aug. is xix Kal. Sept. But the Ides of August is the day of Concordia, as well as of Hippolytus. What if the 'familia' of Hippolytus has originated in some calendar for August set up either in the Ager Veranus or elsewhere, which ran thus

ID. AVG. HIPPOLYTI ET CONCORDIAE ET FAMILIAE EIVS . XIX.  
KAL. SEPT. EVSEBII PRESBYTERI ET CONFESSORIS etc.

the next important celebration being the festival of Eusebius on xix Kal. Sept. at least in some calendars, e.g. the *Old Roman* (*Patrol. Lat.* cxxiii. p. 166, Migne), and the xix has got detached from the following words and appended to the preceding? I should add that I cannot lay the same stress as De Rossi on the notice in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, which gives under viii Kal. Mart.

Romae via Tiburtina ad sanctum Laurentium natalis sanctae Concordiae,

as though this gave the original day of S. Concordia<sup>1</sup>. It seems to me that the confusion of the cemetery of S. Laurence with that of S. Hippolytus shows the comparatively late date of this notice and therefore deprives it of any special value. Whoever she may have been, her original connexion seems to have been with the Hippolytean cemetery on the Tiburtine Way; and there she was celebrated on the Ides of August. I suppose therefore that we have in the Hieronymian Martyrology a confused notice of some translation of Concordia similar to those which we have already considered in the case of Romanus (p. 449) and of Hippolytus himself (p. 439 sq). Even if De Rossi were right about her proper 'natal day,' my explanation would hold equally well: since it depends solely on the date of her celebration on the Tiburtine Way, about which there can be no doubt.

Whoever Tryphonia and Cyrilla were, they need give us no trouble. Their days are respectively xv Kal. Nov. (Oct. 18) and v Kal. Nov. (Oct. 28) in the Calendars and Martyrologies, e.g. Ado. They may perhaps have suffered in the Decian persecution about the same time with S. Laurence; though there is some confusion between Decius and Claudius (Gothicus) in the notices of the persecuting tyrant (as for instance in Ado); but their connexion with the Hippolytean legend is due to the fact of their graves being situated near the chambers of Hippolytus and Concordia.

Nor need I spend any time on investigating whether the saints buried on the right side of the Tiburtine Way in the cemetery of Cyriace were historically connected with S. Laurence. Of Romanus I have spoken already (p. 446 sq).

The full-blown legend of S. Laurence and S. Hippolytus is found in Ado, and runs as follows:

On the 10th of August (iv Id. Aug.) S. Laurence suffered. Sixtus on his way to martyrdom had entrusted all the treasures of the Church to him. A certain widow Cyriace, living on the Coelian, had hidden several clerics and others in her house from the persecution and with her he deposited the treasures, at the same time healing her miraculously of many pains in the head. In the Vicus Canarius he found many Christians congregated in the house of Narcissus; he distributed money among them; and he restored his sight to one Crescentio who was blind. Decius, hearing of these hidden treasures in the keeping of Laurence the archdeacon of Sixtus, hands him over to Valerian the prefect, who puts him in charge of one Hippolytus as warder. Hippolytus, seeing him work a miracle on another blind man, one

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1882, p. 24 sq, p. 32.



Lucillius, is converted and baptized. Meanwhile Valerian presses Laurence to give up the treasures. Asking for time, he gathers together the almsmen and almswomen of the Church, and tells Valerian that these are the treasures. He is beaten and otherwise tortured by Decius for his effrontery. Then he is restored to the keeping of Hippolytus. One of the soldiers, Romanus by name, seeing the conduct of S. Laurence, believes and is baptized. He is beaten and beheaded by order of Decius on v Id. Aug., the day before S. Laurence. S. Laurence himself is then brought before Decius; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures is roasted to death on a gridiron. In early morning Hippolytus carries off the body, wraps it with linen cloths and spices, and delivers it to Justinus the presbyter. The two go by night to the Tiburtine Way to the farm of Cyriace in the Ager Veranus—the same widow with whom Laurence had been at night—and lay him there on iv Id. Aug.

The same day at Rome one hundred and sixty-five soldiers suffered. Then were martyred Claudius, Severus, Crescentio, and Romanus, on the same day as S. Laurence, the third day after the passion of S. Sixtus.

On the Ides of August suffered Hippolytus under Decius the emperor and Valerian the prefect. This Hippolytus the 'vicarius' had been baptized as already stated by S. Laurence. Returning home after the burial he was seized and carried before Decius. Here he was compelled to strip off his Christian garment and put on 'the military dress which he wore as a Gentile.' Then Valerian rifled his house of its treasures and dragged out 'all his Christian family.' He and his household were led outside the walls on the Tiburtine Way. The latter were beheaded—male and female—nineteen in number. Hippolytus himself was yoked to untamed horses and thus dismembered. They were all buried by Justinus the presbyter in the same plain 'juxta nympham' by the side of the Ager Veranus.

At the same time perished Concordia, the nurse of Hippolytus. She was put to death by the same Valerian, and her body thrown into the sewer. Thirteen days after her death a soldier, Porphyrius by name, came to Irenæus the sewer-keeper ('cloacarius'), who was secretly a Christian, and told him where the body might be found having jewels or gold concealed about it, as he supposed. No such treasure however was discovered; but Irenæus, assisted by a Christian Abundius, took the body to Justinus, who buried it by Hippolytus and the others.

<sup>1</sup> 'Juxta nympham' refers to the springs of waters in the neighbourhood, which were found infiltrating the soil in the recent excavations; see *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* p. 19, p. 52; comp. *Rom. Sott.* 1.

p. 190. They were near the Nomentan Way and were called *S. Petri*, because S. Peter was reported to have baptized there.

On vii Kal. Sept. (Aug. 26) Irenæus and Abundius were ordered by Valerian to be themselves enclosed in a sewer ('incloacari') and so perished. They were buried by Justinus 'in the crypt near S. Laurence.'

On xv Kal. Nov. (Oct. 18) died Tryphonia the wife of Decius Cæsar. Overawed by the divine vengeance which had overtaken her husband after his murder of S. Sixtus and S. Hippolytus, she with her daughter Cyrilla had sought baptism at the hands of Justinus. She was buried 'near Hippolytus in the crypt.'

On viii Kal. Nov. (Oct. 25) 48 soldiers were baptized together by pope Dionysius [the successor of Sixtus, A.D. 259—268]. They were beheaded by command of the emperor Claudius [A.D. 268—270] and buried by Justinus the presbyter and John on the Salarian Way 'in clivum Cucumeris'; also other 121 martyrs. Among these were Theodosius, Lucius, Marcus, and Petrus, who asked the honour of being beheaded first. The record is found, adds Ado, in the 'Passio sanctorum martyrum, Sixti, Laurentii, et Hippolyti.'

On v Kal. Nov. (Oct. 28) perished Cyrilla the daughter of Decius by order of the emperor Claudius. She was buried by Justin the presbyter with her mother near S. Hippolytus.

On xv Kal. Oct. (Sept. 17) died Justinus, who had buried so many martyrs. His place of sepulture was on the Tiburtine Way near S. Laurence. Laurence had come to him to the 'crypta Nepotiana' in the Vicus Patricius, and asked him to distribute the treasures committed to him by S. Sixtus to the poor. He won renown by the glory of his confession in the persecutions of Decius, Gallus, and Volusianus.

It is clear that Ado takes this account of these martyrs from a written document, the Passion of S. Sixtus, S. Laurentius, and S. Hippolytus, to which he refers. It contained not only the Acts of the three principal martyrs, and of others belonging to the Tiburtine Way; but also of others who perished and were buried on the Salarian Way. These latter seem to have been added, simply because they were reputed to have been buried by the same Justinus.

These Acts quoted and probably abridged by Ado are doubtless the document which is called PASSIO ILLA in the inscription of the 13th century found in the basilica of S. Laurence (AR. 37). It seems to have served as a sort of guide book to the pilgrims in the Ager Veranus.

The Acts, printed by Lagarde (p. xiii sq) from the MS *Brit. Mus.* 11880 of the ninth century and bearing the same name, are much briefer. An abstract of them is given above (AR. 45). The two seem

not to have anything in common except the main outlines of the story of the connexion of Laurence with Sixtus and of Hippolytus with Laurence. Perhaps however they may both have been founded on some very simple earlier Acts; but the characteristic of the Adonian account—the working up of the history of the saints and martyrs buried in the Ager Veranus into a single narrative—is entirely wanting.

(2) *Acts of the Portuensian Cycle.*

These Acts are quite independent of the Laurentian, and centre about the person of one Chryse or Aurea, a virgin martyr and princess of royal blood. Hippolytus only plays a very subordinate part, and (as we shall see presently) his name seems to have been introduced as an afterthought. So far as there is any historical background at all, it consists of a group of Portuensian martyrs. No longer the Ager Veranus, but the Port of Rome, is the centre of interest. Moreover the personal surroundings of Hippolytus are all different, being largely clerics.

The persecutors are Claudius, 'the impious tyrant,' and the 'vicarius' Ulpianus Romulus. Our first impulse is to identify the persecuting emperor with Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268—270), because this identification reduces the anachronism to a minimum. But this sovereign is not known to have been guilty of any persecution. Moreover Censurinus, one of his victims, is represented as saying that Jesus Christ 'condescended to come from the Father *in his own times* (*ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις καιροῖς*) and to be born of a virgin's womb.' It would appear therefore that Döllinger (p. 42) is right in supposing that the hagiologist intended the first emperor of this name; or that, if he did not, he confused the earlier Claudius with the later. The name Alexander in place of Claudius in some recensions of the Latin copies seems to be a substitution to conform to the tradition of the more popular Laurentian Acts.

Censurinus, a leading man of the magistracy (*τῆς τοῦ μαγιστορίου ἐξουσίας*), is first apprehended and imprisoned at Ostia. There he is fed and cared for by Chryse; and receives the ministrations of the presbyter Maximus. Several of his guards, whose names are given—among these Taurinus and Herculanus—seek baptism. Then the bishop Cyriacus comes by night, 'seals,' and anoints them. We have then the story of a certain shoe-maker (*σκυτεὺς*), whose son is raised from the dead, baptized under the name Faustinus, and carefully tended by Chryse. For this offence she is accused of magic, and subjected to the wheel and other tortures. Then Archelaus the deacon, Maximus the



priest, and Cyriacus the bishop suffer. At this point of the narrative we hear again of the soldiers, who had been converted by the ministrations of Maximus. They are condemned to death and suffer. Of all the rest, who are not here again mentioned by name, we are told that their bodies were laid near the sea on the Ostian Way on vi Id. Aug.; but of Taurinus and Herculianus we are informed that they were buried in 'the Port of Rome.' Chryse's turn comes at length. After being beaten to no effect, as she only received fresh accessions of strength, she was drowned in the sea with a heavy stone about her neck. At this point, when the narrative is more than three-fourths over, the name of Hippolytus first occurs. Her body floated to the shore, was gathered up by 'the blessed Nonus, also surnamed Hippolytus' (Νόνος ὁ καὶ μετονομασθεὶς Ἰππόλυτος), and buried 'on her own estate, where also she lived, outside the walls of the city of Ostia, on the ix Kal. Sept.' Then the torture of Sabinianus the procurator is related for not revealing her concealed treasure; whereupon Hippolytus provokes the wrath of the persecutor by his denunciations, and is condemned to death for this inopportune interference. He is sunk in the pit of the haven called Portus (εἰς τὸν βόθυνον πόρτον τὸν ἀναγορευόμενον Πόρτον) on xi Kal. Sept. At his death the voices of infants are heard for the space of a whole hour giving thanks to God.

The remaining paragraphs of the story recount the martyrdom of Sabinianus and his burial by Cordius (Concordius).

Now in the earliest extant Western Martyrology, which is embedded in the work of the Liberian Chronographer (A. D. 354) and which itself cannot be later than A. D. 335 (see above, I. pp. 248, 250), we have this notice, which throws a flood of light on the Acts of Chryse:

Non. Sept. (Sept. 5th)

Aconti, in Porto, et Nonni et Herculani et Taurini.

These were doubtless genuine martyrs of Portus, though whether they suffered in the Decian persecution or later we cannot tell. But the notice had lost the first name by mutilation before it reached our hagiologist; and the three other names only are utilized. Whence the story of Chryse herself was derived, I need not stop to enquire; nor is it worth my while to spend time on the other adornments of these Acts.

The real interest gathers round Nonnus. Whether this was the Latin word Nonus (like Septimus, Decimus, etc.) or the Greek word Nonnus or Nunnus, we may question. Probably it was the latter, but anyhow the meaning of the Greek word would attach itself to it, and it

would suggest a cleric. Originally, as is quite evident, the notice had nothing to do with Hippolytus, and the connexion required some explanation ὁ καὶ μετονομασθεῖς or (as it is in the corresponding Latin) 'qui et iam Ypolitus nuncupatur.' But the great cleric connected with Portus, the patron saint of the place, was Hippolytus the theologian. Hence Nonnus must be Hippolytus. Moreover he is ὁ πρεσβύτερος; for Portus knew nothing of Hippolytus the soldier, but only of Hippolytus 'the elder.'

The remains of an ancient sarcophagus, ascribed to the fourth or fifth century and commemorating Taurinus and Herculanius without any mention of Nonnus<sup>1</sup> have been found, which seems to show that these two were buried in a separate locality; as indeed the Acts might lead us to expect.

Of the other martyrs mentioned in these Acts some are recognized in the *Martyrium Hieronymianum*, where we have the notices

xi Kal. Sept. Et in portu Romano peregrinorum martyrum.

x Kal. Sept. In portu urbis Romae natalis sancti Hippolyti qui dicitur Nunnus cum sociis suis. In Ostia natalis sancti Quiriaci, Archelai,

Hippolytus himself having likewise been mentioned on a previous day (xiii Kal. Sept.), but without the description 'qui dicitur Nunnus' (see *AR.* 40 f).

The Greek Acts were first published by S. de Magistris, from whom Lagarde has taken them. The Latin Acts will be found in *Act. Sanct. Bolland.* Augustus IV. p. 757 sq. The Greek seems certainly to be the original; the story would probably be compiled in this language for the sake of the foreigners frequenting Ostia and Portus. In the Latin the exordium more especially is expanded, so as to give Chryse the principal place on the canvas.

The *Menæa* borrowed some features from the Laurentian Acts; others from the Portuensian. They are brief, but they show a late development of the legend.

We may follow the growth of the legend a step further. In the middle of the fifth century there lived a more famous Nonnus, bishop of Edessa or of Heliopolis or of both, to whom is due the credit of having converted the courtesan Pelagia. S. Peter Damianus (c. A. D. 1060) fuses this Nonnus with Hippolytus (*AR.* 45). He makes this conversion of Pelagia the crowning feat of Nonnus-Hip-

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1866, p. 49.

polytus after bringing 30,000 Saracens over to the faith of Christ. Then he resigns his bishopric, leaves Antioch his native country, and retires to the mouth of the Tiber. His glorious martyrdom there consummated, and the miraculous voices of the infants giving thanks to God, are a proof that the resignation of the episcopate may on occasions be possible without offending God.

The caprices of tradition would not be complete, unless supplemented by the conceits of criticism. Baronius (p. 411) surmised that Callistus would not suffer so valuable a man as Hippolytus to return to Arabia, but created him bishop of Portus, that he 'might have him ever close by his side as an adviser in perplexities', thus bestowing upon him 'a see of no great labour (*modicæ curæ*) but of amplest dignity.' Strange irony of fate!

I have thus attempted to trace the marvellous vicissitudes of this strange eventful career—marvellous in life, and still more marvellous after death. The appearances of this one personality in history and in legend are as manifold and varied as the transformations of his name; Hippolytus with the Greeks and Romans, Iflites with the Syrians and Chaldæans, Abulides with the Copts and Æthiopians, Polto with the Italians, Bilt with the French.

*πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφῇ μία.*





# APPENDIX.

*A. SAINT PETER IN ROME.*

[This excursus is printed in the incomplete state, in which it was left at Bishop Lightfoot's death.]

*B. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.*

[Found among the Bishop's miscellaneous papers. The essay is undated, but it was apparently written before the publication of Gebhardt and Harnack's edition.]



## A.

# SAINT PETER IN ROME.

THE subject which I purpose discussing in the present Appendix is essentially mixed up with controversy; but I hope to treat it as little controversially as possible. It would be impossible to overlook the momentous inferences which depend, or have been thought to depend, on the results of the investigation; but I shall pursue it, as far as possible, as a historical study. Where it is not a question of history it is a question of exegesis. The purely theological aspects, however important, have no place here. The first section, which has the closest bearing on theological controversy, seemed necessary as an introduction to the rest, because it sets forth the incidents which form the basis of discussion.

## § I.

### *THE PROMISE AND THE FULFILMENT.*

Even a cursory glance at the history of the Apostles, so far as it appears in the Gospel records, reveals a certain primacy of S. Peter among the twelve. He holds the first place in all the lists; he has a precedence of responsibility and of temptation; he sets the example of moral courage and of moral lapse. Above all he receives special pastoral charges.

The latest of these is the threefold injunction to feed the flock of Christ. He is appealed to by his patronymic the son of Johanan, the son of God's grace (S. John xxi. 15, 16, 17). In the other evangelists his father's name appears under its more familiar abridgement Jonas or Jona, thus being commonly confused with the ancient prophet's name

‘the dove’; but in this latest command, as given by S. John, the name appears in full, Johanan, the grace of God, because our Lord would remind him that he bears about with him in his very name the obligation to the pastoral charge and the promise of grace to fulfil the same, though here again transcribers have substituted the more usual form, thus obscuring the significance.

The case is somewhat similar in the earlier charge to S. Peter, with which I am directly concerned, ‘Thou art Cephas, and upon this rock will I build My Church.’ Here also the Apostle’s name involves a prophecy, which should be unfolded in the future history of the Church. It is important therefore to enquire in what sense the Church of Christ shall be built upon the rock.

Patristic interpretations of the earliest and last ages are mainly twofold.

(1) The rock is Christ Himself. This was the opinion to which S. Augustine, the great theologian of the Latin Church, inclined. Having frequently, as he confesses, explained the ‘rock’ of S. Peter himself, as his master S. Ambrose had done before him in a well-known hymn, he took occasion in his after-thoughts to express his misgivings as to this explanation. The passage is sufficiently important to deserve quotation in full (*Retract.* i. 21, Op. i. p. 32).

In quo dixi in quodam loco de Apostolo Petro quod in illo tamquam in petra fundata sit ecclesia; qui sensus etiam cantatur ore multorum in versibus beatissimi Ambrosii ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait

Hoc ipsa petra ecclesiae  
Canente culpam diluet;

sed scio me postea saepissime sic exposuisse quod a Domino dictum est *Tu es Petrus...meam*, ut super hunc intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus dicens, *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi*; ac sic Petrus ab hac petra appellatus personam ecclesiae figuraret, quae super hanc petram aedificatur, et accepit claves regni caelorum. Non enim dictum est illi *Tu es petra*, sed *Tu es Petrus*; petra autem erat Christus quem confessus Simon, sicut eum tota ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus. Harum autem duarum sententiarum, quae sit probabilior, eligat lector.

Here, though he gives the alternative, he himself evidently leans to the interpretation which explains the rock of Christ Himself. This is likewise the view of Cyril of Alexandria, who commenting upon Isaiah xxxiii. 16, ‘His place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; bread

shall be given him; his waters shall be sure,' writes, 'And it is probable that our Lord Jesus Christ is named a rock for us in these words; in Whom like a cave or like some sheepfold the Church is meant, which has its permanence in prosperity sure and unshaken; for *Thou art Peter*, says the Saviour, *and on this rock I will found My Church*' etc., the bread and the water being spiritual sustenance<sup>1</sup>.

(2) The rock is connected with S. Peter, being either his confession or his faith or some other moral or spiritual qualification, capable of being shared by others.

This alternative has already appeared in the exposition of S. Augustine. The most explicit declaration of it, however, is found in the typical passage of Origen *Comm. in Matt.* [xvi. 13] Tom. xii. § 10. 'But if we also, like Peter, say, *Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God*, flesh and blood not having revealed it to us, but the Spirit from heaven having illumined our heart, we become a Peter and it would be said to us by the Word, *Thou art Peter* and so forth. For every disciple of Christ is a rock, from whom all they that partake of the spiritual rock which follows did drink; and upon every such rock the whole doctrine of the Church and the polity in accordance therewith is built...But if thou supposest that the whole Church is built by God on that one Peter alone, what wouldest thou say concerning John the Son of Thunder, or any one of the Apostles? Otherwise shall we dare to say that against Peter especially the gates of hell shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the remaining Apostles?... Are then the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone and shall none other of the blessed Apostles receive them?... Many therefore shall say to the Saviour, *Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God*...and if any one saith this to Him, flesh and blood not revealing it, but the Father which is in heaven, he shall obtain the promises (τῶν εἰρημένων), as the letter of the Gospel says, to that particular Peter, but as the Spirit teaches, to every one who becomes like that Peter. For all become namesakes (παρώνυμοι) of the rock who are imitators of Christ the spiritual rock, etc....and so forth as far as *shall not prevail against it*. What is 'it'? Is it the rock on which Christ builds His

<sup>1</sup> Cyril. Alex. *In Isai.* Lib. iii. Tom. III., p. 460 εἰκὸς δὲ δὴ πού καὶ πέτραν ἡμῖν ὠνόμασθαι διὰ τούτων τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, ἐν ᾧ καθάπερ τι σπήλαιον ἢ καὶ προβάτων σηκὸς ἢ ἐκκλησία νοεῖται ἀσφαλῇ καὶ ἀκράδαντον ἔχουσα τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι διαμονήν. Σὺ

γὰρ εἰ Πέτρος κ.τ.λ. Yet only a little later in the same work he gives a somewhat different interpretation, 'the unshaken faith of the disciple', *In Isai.* Lib. iv. Tom. II., p. 593 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ θεμελιώσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· πέτραν οἶμαι λέγων τὸ ἀκράδαντον εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μαθητοῦ.



Church ; or the Church itself, for the expression is ambiguous ; or the rock *and* the Church, being one and the same thing ?

With more to the same effect ; where nothing could be fuller or more explicit than the language.

This with some modification is the universal interpretation of the fathers for many centuries with those few exceptions represented by S. Augustine's after-thoughts, who explain it of Christ the rock. They understand it to mean S. Peter's confession or S. Peter's faith or S. Peter's firmness. In other words it is some quality or action in the Apostle at this crisis, which calls forth the Lord's promise, and to which the same promise attaches wherever it is found in others. Thus Chrysostom says (*In Matth. Hom.* liv. p. 548 A, II. p. 108, Field) ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τούτεστι, τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Thus again Cyril of Alexandria, as we have seen, explains πέτραν... λέγων τὸ ἀκράδαντον εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μαθητοῦ.

The lesson which the great Alexandrian father, Origen, draws from the Lord's promise to Peter is recognised also by his contemporary, the great African father, Cyprian. He too distinctly states that nothing is given to Peter here which is not given to all the Apostles ; but he superadds another inference. From the fact that a single Apostle is the recipient of the general promise he derives the further lesson of the unity of the Church. Writing on this special subject (*De Unit. Eccl.* 4, p. 212 *ed.* Hartel), he explains

'The Lord speaketh to Peter : *I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it...I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven.* He builds His Church on one, and although He gives equal authority to all His Apostles after His resurrection (et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat) and says, *As My Father sent Me, so send I you. Receive the Holy Spirit ; whosoever sins ye remit they shall be remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain they shall be retained ;* yet, that He might declare the unity, He arranged the origin of the same unity to begin from one by His authority (tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit). The rest of the Apostles verily were what Peter was, endowed with an equal partnership of honour and power (pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis), but the beginning proceeds from unity (exordium ab unitate proficiscitur) that the Church of Christ may be shown to be one, which one Church also the Holy Spirit in the Song of Songs defines and says *My dove is one, etc.*'

This statement however was very unsatisfactory to a later age; and the sentence 'et quamvis apostolis etc.' is interpolated thus

et quamvis apostolis omnibus parem tribuat potestatem, unam tamen cathedram constituit et unitatis originem [atque] orationis suae auctoritate disposuit; hoc erant utique et ceteri quod Petrus, sed primatus Petro datur ut una ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur: et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur etc.

Again after the words 'exordium ab unitate proficiscitur' comes another interpolation

et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur, et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus consensione pascatur.

Cyprian also elsewhere (*Epist.* lxxv. 16, p. 820, *ed.* Hartel) has recourse to the same argument.

Qualis vero error sit et quanta caecitas ejus qui remissionem peccatorum dicit apud synagogas haereticorum dari posse nec permanet in fundamento unius ecclesiae, quae semel a Christo super petram solidata est, hinc intellegi potest quod soli Petro Christus dixerit: *quaecumque ligaveris super terram erunt ligata et in caelis, et quaecumque solveris super terram erunt soluta et in caelis*, et iterum in evangelio [quando] in solos apostolos insufflavit Christus dicens: *Accipite Spiritum sanctum; si cujus remiseritis peccata remittentur illi; et si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur*. Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.

But, though for controversial aims there is little to choose between the two interpretations which divided patristic opinion for many centuries, we cannot let the matter rest here. An essential difference lies at the root of the two explanations. We are fain to ask, Is Christ the rock, or is Peter the rock, on which the Church is built (however we may explain the latter alternative)? Exegetically they have nothing in common.

Now there are two arguments which mainly weigh with those who explain the rock of Christ, (1) the one from the *etymology*; (2) the other from the *imagery*.

(1) The *etymological* argument is based on the different form of the words *πέτρα*, *πέτρος*, the rock, the stone. The one should signify the whole mass; the other the detached piece. Hence the one appropriately denotes Christ the body; the other Peter the member.

The force of this argument however is altogether shattered on two considerations; (i) S. Peter's name was Aramaic כִּיפָא, before it was Greek Πέτρος, and in the Aramaic form the one word serves for 'a rock' and 'a stone'; (ii) When Grecized, the proper name became perforce Πέτρος, a masculine form being necessary, just as it would have been Πέτρα, if a woman's name had been wanted.

(2) The *imagery* supplies, or seems to supply, another potent argument. In the Old Testament the Lord Jehovah is the rock on which His people Israel is built. In the New, Christ is in like manner the solid basis on which the Christian Church rests. More especially is this the case when the image takes the definite form of a building. Should we not expect, that the same application of the image would be carried out here?

As a question of fact, however, Scriptural analogy does not subject us to the tyranny of one application of the image. The relation of Christ to His Church, regarded as a building, is represented in two different ways.

(i) He is the *foundation* (θεμέλιος 1 Cor. iii. 12). The Evangelist is the architect who must erect his building on this, that it may stand. In this sense He is not only the foundation, but the only palpable foundation.

(ii) He is the *chief-corner stone* (ἀκρογωνιαίος Ephes. ii. 20) which binds the parts of the building together (ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη κ.τ.λ.). In the latter sense the Apostles and prophets of the Christian ministry are themselves regarded as the θεμέλιος on which the edifice is built (ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν).

This latter is the application in the Apocalypse (xxi. 14) where the Church is not a house, but a city, and its twelve foundations are the twelve Apostles. It appears also in S. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 4 sq) where stress is laid on Christ as the chief corner-stone, though the corresponding function of the Apostles as θεμέλιοι is not mentioned.

It will be seen then that Scriptural analogy leaves us quite free in the application of the image; and our only guide is the logical connexion of the passage. But here there can be little doubt that the sense points not to Christ the speaker, but to Peter the person addressed, as the rock. After the opening sentence, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven,' which only then obtains its full significance, when we remember (as I have already pointed out) that Barjona, as interpreted by the form in the parallel passage in S. John



means Bar-johanan, Son of the Grace of God, the words which follow are directed with all the force which repetition can give them to the person addressed. 'And I say unto *thee* (καὶ γὰρ δέ σοι λέγω) that thou art Peter (ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος), and upon *this* rock (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ) I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give *thee* (δώσω σοὶ) the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,' etc.

The promise must therefore, as I understand it, describe some *historical manifestation* which sprang from S. Peter himself, 'not from a confession or a faith or a constancy such as thine, but from *thy* confession, *thy* faith, *thy* constancy.' As a matter of exegesis, it seems to be more strictly explained *not* of Peter himself; for then we should expect ἐπὶ σοὶ rather than ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ; but 'on this constancy, this firmness of thine, to which thy name bears witness, and which has just evinced itself in thy confession.'

Though it denotes a certain primacy given to S. Peter, yet the promise is the same in kind—so far Origen is right—as pertains to all the faithful disciples, more especially to all the Apostles. It is said of Peter here; but it might be said, and is said elsewhere, of the other Apostles. They too are the θεμέλιοι (Ephes. ii. 20, Rev. xxi. 14); they too have the power of the keys (John xx. 22 sq.).

But still it is a primacy, a preeminence. There is a *historical*, as well as a *numerical* value, in the order πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος (Matt. x. 2) in the list of the Apostles. In what does this primacy consist?

Obviously Peter cannot be the rock, in any sense, which trenches upon the prerogative of Christ Himself. His primacy cannot be the primacy of *absolute sovereignty*: it must be the primacy of *historical inauguration*. When we turn to the Apostolic records, we find that this work of initiation is assigned to him in a remarkable way in each successive stage in the progress of the Church. The same faith, the same courage, which prompted the confession and called forth the promise of Christ, follows him all along, leading him to new ventures of faith.

But, lest we should misinterpret the position thus assigned to him and attribute to it a continuity and permanence which does not belong to it, he vanishes suddenly out of sight; another more striking personality assumes the chief place, and achieves conquests which he could not have achieved; his name is hardly ever mentioned. He has fulfilled his special mission, and his primacy is at an end.

I ventured to say above (p. 481) that the primacy of S. Peter was manifested not only in the preeminence of his faith and courage, but in the preeminence of his lapse and fall. Of the eleven faithful Apostles he exhibited the most disastrous failure of faith, a failure which was aggravated by the circumstance that it followed immediately upon his confident assertion of fidelity (Matt. xxvi. 35).

In the Christian dispensation the redemption is the sequel to the fall. In the individual believer the sense of weakness must precede the gift of strength. 'When I am weak, then am I strong.' Strength is made perfect out of weakness. Peter is warned by the Master beforehand (Luke xxii. 31) that he must 'be sifted as wheat' by temptation. This is the price to be paid, that when at length converted (*σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας*) and not till then, he may 'strengthen the brethren.' Hence his fall. Not till after his fall the threefold charge is given him (John xxi. 15—17) to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ's flock. The charge is given specially to him, because he bears a special love to Christ.

Then comes the resurrection. The Lord is removed, the Apostles meet together with Peter at their head (Acts i. 13). At the first meeting of the general body of disciples he takes the initiative, and the vacant place in the college of the Apostles is filled up (i. 15 sq.). On the day of Pentecost he addresses the multitudes of Jews and strangers, but it is especially mentioned that he was not alone responsible (*σὺν τοῖς ἑνδεκά*, ii. 14). As with the appeal, so with the response. The conviction and the conversion of the assembled crowd is communicated not to Peter alone, but to Peter and the rest of the Apostles (ii. 37, *πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους*), though Peter is necessarily the spokesman.

So Peter asserts his primacy in the foundation of the Christian Church. For a long period it remains a strictly Hebrew Church, as the Israelites were a strictly Hebrew people. Here not unnaturally Peter takes the initiative at all the great crises of its development. The first occasion when it exercises its miraculous power of grace and healing Peter is the chief agent (iii. 1 sq.). Yet even here he is not allowed to act alone. The solidarity of the Apostolate is vindicated in the Apostolic record. The association of John with him is emphasized with almost irksome reiteration at each successive stage in the incident (iii. ver. 1 *Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον*, ver. 3 *ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην*, ver. 4 *ἀτενίσας δὲ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἶπεν* *Βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς*, ver. 11 *κρατοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην*, iv. ver. 19 *ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀποκριθέντες*). After the first gift of grace, comes the first

visitation of anger in the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira. Peter asserts his primacy here also (v. 3 sq); and the guilt is punished.

Between Judaism and Heathendom is a great border-land. There are the Samaritans, who can hardly be classified with the one or the other. These must be drawn within the fold. It is a fresh venture of faith, and Peter has the courage to push the frontier forward into the enemy's country. But here again he does not act alone. The mission to Samaria, which gives its sanction to Philip's action, is the mission of the whole apostolate, and here again John is associated with him (viii. 14 οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι...ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην). But this new conquest involves a new difficulty. The Christian Church in the early centuries was assailed by two opposite forms of heresy in diverse modifications, Ebionism and Gnosticism, the aberrations of Judaic and Gentile thought respectively. The first beginnings of both these conflicts are discerned in the infant Church; and in both Peter stands in the van of the fight as the champion of the Church. He had confronted the leaders of the Jewish hierarchy (iv. 18 sq, v. 28 sq); and he was now brought face to face with Gnosticism in the person of Simon Magus, 'the father of the Gnostics.' Thus his primacy was vindicated in the conflict with heresy also.

But the great conquest of all still awaited him. The Church must become a world-wide Church. A thousand religious fences must be broken down; a thousand prejudices of convention and tradition must be sacrificed; a thousand cherished safeguards, which had hitherto been the life and the purity of the nation, must be abandoned. Who would have the courage to face a change so mighty? By virtue of his primacy Peter is chosen as the recipient of this revelation of revelations. He is taught by a special vision to regard nothing as common or unclean, whereas the law divinely imposed on his country had regarded very many things as common and unclean. Yet unhesitatingly he obeys the command. Cornelius the heathen is baptized; and at one stroke all the privileges of the Christian Church are laid before the whole heathen world. Do we marvel that this vision, which was attended by consequences so momentous, was emphasized at the time by a triple repetition (x. 16 τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς), and that the recorded vision itself is enforced upon ourselves in the reiteration of the historian (x. 10 sq, xi. 4 sq)?

Thus the Lord's promise is fulfilled: the primacy is completed; the foundations are laid on the rock, whether of Peter's confession or of Peter's courage or of Peter's steadfastness. From this time forward the work passes into other hands. The 'wise master-builder' piles up the



later storeys of the edifice, for which his manifold gifts and opportunities had fitted him—his Hebraic elementary training, his Greek academic culture, his Roman political privileges. Paul completes what Peter had begun. The silence of the later Apostolic history is not less significant than the eloquence of the earlier as to the meaning of Peter's primacy. In the first part he is everything ; in the subsequent record he is nowhere at all. He is only once again mentioned in the Acts (xv. 7), and even here he does not bear the chief part. Where the Church at large, as an expansive missionary Church, is concerned, Paul, not Peter, is the prominent personage: where the Church of Jerusalem appears as the visible centre of unity, James, not Peter, is the chief agent (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18, Gal. ii. 9, 12). Peter retains the first place, as missionary evangelist to the Hebrew Christians, but nothing more.

Moreover, when S. Paul appears on the scene, he is careful to declare emphatically his independence and equality with the other Apostles. 'I reckon,' he says in one place, 'that I fall short in no whit of the very chiefest Apostles' (2 Cor. xi. 5 *μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων*); then again while devoting two whole chapters to recording the achievements of his Apostleship, he repeats almost the same words, 'I am become a fool ; ye have compelled me ; for I fall short in no whit of the very chiefest Apostles, even though I am nothing' (2 Cor. xii. 11). Accordingly he claims all the privileges of an Apostle (1 Cor. ix. 5). Moreover especially, he asserts his absolute equality with Peter (Gal. ii. 7 sq); and he gives practical proof of his independence by openly rebuking Peter, when Peter's timidity endangered the freedom and universality of the Church. If there was any primacy at this time, it was the primacy not of Peter, but of Paul.

## § 2.

### THE ROMAN VISIT OF PETER.

The work of the primacy being completed as I have described it in the last section, and S. Peter being miraculously delivered from prison, we are told that having sent a message to James and the brethren he went out and departed to another place (Acts xii. 17 *ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*). This has been supposed to mark the crisis when he transferred his residence to Rome and his labours to the far west.

There is nothing in the language itself, except its mysterious vagueness, which could suggest such an inference, which is quite inconsistent with known facts. The simple interpretation is doubtless the correct

one, that he retired out of the way of Herod. Indeed so important a fact as his visit to the metropolis of the world would not have been slurred over in this way. When we meet with him again he is still in the East; at the Council of Jerusalem about A.D. 51 (Acts xv. 7); and at Antioch a little later (Gal. ii. 11). Indeed his recognised position as the Apostle of the Circumcision would suggest Palestine as his headquarters and the East as his sphere of action. Whether within the next few years he paid a visit to Corinth or not (1 Cor. i. 12, 2 Cor. i. 19, x. 12 sq) I need not stop to enquire. A personal visit is not required to explain the power of his name with a certain party at Corinth; and the silence of S. Paul, though not conclusive, is unfavourable to any visit to Greece.

One thing seems quite certain. The departure from Jerusalem during the persecution of Herod took place about A.D. 42; the Epistle to the Romans was written about A.D. 58. During this period no Apostle had visited the metropolis of the world. If silence can ever be regarded as decisive, its verdict must be accepted in this case. S. Paul could not have written as he writes to the Romans (i. 11 sq, xv. 20—24), if they had received even a short visit from an Apostle, more especially if that Apostle were S. Peter.

Nevertheless reasons exist—to my own mind conclusive reasons—for postulating a visit of S. Peter to Rome at a later date, on which occasion he suffered martyrdom there. If these reasons are not each singly decisive, the combination yields a body of proof, which it is difficult to resist.

(1) In S. Peter's First Epistle, he sends a salutation at the close (v. 13) to his distant correspondents in Asia Minor; 'The fellow-elect (lady) in Babylon greeteth you, and so doth Marcus my son.' Who or what is meant by 'the fellow-elect'? On turning to the opening of the Epistle, we find that it is addressed 'to the elect sojourners of the dispersion (*ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς*) in Pontus, Galatia, etc.' and this suggests that 'the fellow-elect' at the close is the Church from which he writes. Indeed there is no individual woman, for whom we can suppose such a salutation appropriate, for we can hardly imagine S. Peter's wife, if she were still living, placed in this prominent position. Nor again is the context *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτῇ* natural as the description of a person. I should add also that several early authorities (including 8) add *ἐκκλησία*; and that the figurative expressions in this epistle (i. 1 *παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς*, comp. ii. 11) are in character with this interpretation.

The Second Epistle of S. John presents a close parallel. A saluta-

tion is sent in the opening verse to the elect lady (ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ); at the close is a message 'the children of thine elect sister (τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς) salute thee.' The intermediate language shows that we have here the personification of the communities. It is not an interchange of greetings between individuals, but between Churches; see for instance ver. 4, 'I have found some of thy children walking in the truth;' ver. 6, 'this is the commandment which ye heard from the beginning;' ver. 8, 'look to yourselves' after the warning of Antichrist; ver. 10, 'if any one cometh to you and bringeth not this doctrine.'

But what is this fellow-elect congregation in Babylon? Can we doubt that it is the Church in Rome? It cannot be the Egyptian Babylon, which was a mere fortress (Strabo xvii. p. 807). If therefore it was not the Great Babylon, it must have been Rome. To this latter more especially the mention of Mark points; for Mark is designated by a very early tradition as S. Peter's companion and interpreter in Rome. This appears from Papias and the Elders, whose traditions are reported by him (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39); from Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 1. 1); from Clement of Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15), and from Origen (*Op.* iii. p. 440 Delarue; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), the writing of his Gospel being connected with the preaching of Peter in Rome. This tradition is in full accordance with the latest notices in the New Testament (Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 11), which represent him either as staying in Rome or journeying towards Rome.

Nor was Babylon a new name for Rome, dating from the Neronian persecution. It had been a mystical name for this world-wide power with the Jews before it was inherited by the Christians. As such it appears even in the early *Sibylline Oracles* (v. 158).

Καὶ φλέξει πόντον βαθὺν αὐτὴν τε Βαβυλῶνα  
 Ἰταλίας γαῖαν θ' ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ ὄλοντο  
 Ἑβραίων ἄγιοι πιστοὶ καὶ ναὸς ἀληθής.

(2) The prophecy in John xxi. 18 'When thou shalt grow old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands and another shall gird thee,' this He said signifying by what death he should die,' has always been explained of the crucifixion of S. Peter; and it is difficult to see what other explanation can be given. Nothing, it is true, is here said about the place of martyrdom. But the crucifixion of S. Peter is always connected by tradition with Rome, and with no other place. It would be arbitrary therefore to separate the locality from the manner of martyrdom. Unless we accept the Roman residence of S. Peter, we know nothing about his later years and death.



(3) The reference in the Second Epistle of S. Peter (i. 14) has much the same bearing as the last; 'Knowing that the putting-off of this tabernacle is at hand, as the Lord Jesus Christ also declared unto me.' It may be said indeed that grave doubts are thrown on the genuineness of this document. If it were otherwise than genuine it would express from another quarter the belief of the early Church respecting S. Peter's death; for it certainly belongs to the primitive ages.

(4) The Epistle of the Roman Church to the Corinthians, by the hand of CLEMENT OF ROME, belongs to the year 95 or 96. The writer, turning aside from the Old Testament worthies, of whose heroism he had spoken, directs the attention of his readers (c. 5) to the examples of Christian athletes who 'lived very near to our own times'. He reminds them of the Apostles who were persecuted and carried the struggle to death (ὡς θανάτου ἠθλήσαν). There was Peter, who after undergoing many sufferings became a martyr and went to his appointed place of glory. There was Paul, who, after enduring chains, imprisonments, stonings again and again, and sufferings of all kinds, preached the Gospel in the extreme West, likewise endured martyrdom and so departed from this world. If the use of the word *μαρτυρήσας* in both cases could leave any doubt that they suffered death for the faith, the context is decisive. But why are these two Apostles, and these only, mentioned? Why not James the son of Zebedee? Why not James the Lord's brother? Both these were martyrs. The latter was essentially 'a pillar,' and his death was even more recent. Obviously because Clement was appealing to examples which they themselves had witnessed. Paul was martyred in Rome, as is allowed on all hands. Is not the overwhelming inference that Peter suffered in this same city also? This inference is all the more certain, when we find that outside this testimony of Clement tradition is constant in placing his death at Rome.

(5) Some ten or twenty years later, in the early decades of the second century, IGNATIUS (*Rom.* 4) on his way to martyrdom writes to the Roman Church: 'I do not command you, like Peter and Paul; they were Apostles, I am a condemned criminal; they were free; I am a slave until now.' Why should he single out Peter and Paul? He is writing from Asia Minor; and the locality therefore would suggest John. He was a guest of a disciple of John at the time. He was sojourning in the country where John was the one prominent name. The only conceivable reason is, that Peter and Paul had been in a position to give directions to the Romans, that they both alike had visited Rome and were remembered by the Roman Church.

(6) PAPIAS of Hierapolis may have been born about A.D. 60—70, and probably wrote about A.D. 130—140. He related on the authority of the presbyter John, a personal disciple of the Lord (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) that Mark, not being a personal disciple of the Lord, became a companion and interpreter (*ἐρμηνευτῆς*) of S. Peter, that he wrote down what he heard from his master's oral teaching, and that then he composed this record.

I have no concern here whether this is or is not the Second Gospel, as we possess it. For my immediate purpose this notice suggests three remarks; (i) When Mark is called *ἐρμηνευτῆς* 'the interpreter' of Peter, the reference must be to the Latin, not to the Greek language. The evidence that Greek was spoken commonly in the towns bordering on the Sea of Galilee, and that S. Peter must therefore have been well acquainted with it, is ample; even if this had not been the necessary inference from the whole tenour of the New Testament. (ii) This notice seems to have been connected by Papias with 1 Pet. v. 13, where Mark is mentioned in connexion with the fellow-elect in Babylon, presumably the Church of Rome. Papias was acquainted with, and quoted from, this Epistle of S. Peter; for Eusebius tells us that he 'employs testimonies' from it: and it is plain also from the context of the passage cited by Eusebius that Papias had spoken at greater length about the connexion of Mark with Peter, 'as I said (*ὡς ἔφην*)'; (iii) Papias was so understood by writers like Irenæus, who had his book before them. It seems a tolerably safe inference therefore that Papias represented S. Peter as being in Rome, that he stated Mark to have been with him there, and that he assigned to the latter a Gospel record which was committed to writing for the instruction of the Romans.

(7) DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH, from whom Eusebius gives an extract (*H. E.* ii. 25), writes as follows:—

'Herein ye also by such instructions (to us) have united the trees of the Romans and Corinthians, planted by Peter and Paul (*τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρον καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γενηθείσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε*). For they both alike came also to our Corinth and taught us; and both alike came together to Italy, and having taught there suffered martyrdom at the same time (*κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*)'.

This letter was written about A.D. 170 in answer to a communication from the Romans under his contemporary bishop Soter (see i. p. 369). I need not stop to enquire whether the correct reading is *φυτεύσαντες* or *φουιτήσαντες*. The statement may be taken as representing the belief of both Churches. The expression *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν* need not be pressed to mean the same day or the same year.

(8) IRENÆUS about A.D. 190 is still more explicit (*Hæc.* iii. 1. 1):—

‘Matthew published also a written Gospel (γραφὴν εὐαγγελίου) among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome. Again after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also handed down to us in writing the lessons preached by Peter.’

A little later he says (*Hæc.* iii. 3, 2, 3); ‘The greatest and most ancient Churches, well known to all men, the Churches of Rome founded and established by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul [hand down] announced to mankind that tradition and faith, which it has from the Apostles reaching to our own day through its successions of bishops. So having founded and built up the Church the blessed Apostles entrusted the ministration of the bishopric to Linus.’

Irenæus spent some time in Rome about A.D. 177, and appears to have paid repeated visits.

(9) The MURATORIAN CANON is generally placed about A.D. 170. I have given reasons already (II. p. 405 sq) for surmising that it may have been an early work of Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenæus, in which case it may date twenty years later. The writer explains that S. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles only records incidents which took place in his presence, and that therefore his silence about the Martyrdom of S. Peter, or the journey of S. Paul to Spain, evidently shows that he was not present on either occasion. Though the actual text is not certain in all points, there can be no reasonable doubt that this is the meaning of the words.

(10) The testimony of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (A.D. 193—217) in the *Hypotyposes* appears from Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14). He stated that ‘when Peter had preached the word publicly in Rome and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, the bystanders being many in number exhorted Mark, as having accompanied him for a long time and remembering what he had said, to write out his statements, and having thus composed his Gospel, to communicate it to them; and that, when Peter learnt this, he used no pressure either to prevent him or urge him forwards.’ See also *Adumbr.* p. 1007 (Potter).

(11) The testimony of TERTULLIAN is chiefly of value as showing the prevalence of the tradition in another important branch of the Church at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century. The passages need no comment.

*Scorpiace* 15.

‘We read in the lives of the Cæsars, Nero was the first to stain the



rising faith with blood. Then Peter is girt by another, when he is bound to the cross; then Paul obtains his birth-right (consequitur nativitatem) of Roman citizenship, when he is born again there by the nobility of martyrdom.'

*De Baptismo* 4.

'Nor does it matter whether they are among those whom John baptized in the Jordan or those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber.'

*De Praescriptione* 32.

'The Church of the Romans reports that Clement was ordained by Peter.'

*De Praescriptione* 36.

'If thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, whence our authority also is near at hand. How happy is that Church on whom the Apostles shed all their teaching with their blood; where Peter is conformed to the passion of the Lord, where Paul is crowned with the death of John, where the Apostle John, after being plunged in boiling oil without suffering any harm, is banished into an island.'

(12) GAIVS the Roman presbyter, of whom I have had something to say already (see above, II. p. 377 sq), lived under Zephyrinus and was a contemporary of Hippolytus [c. A.D. 200—220] if not actually identical with him. Arguing against the Montanists of Asia Minor, who asserted the precedent of Philip's daughters for their special views about prophecy, he claims for his own Church the authority of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, whose martyred bodies repose in Rome:—

'But I can show you the trophies (the reliques) of the Apostles. For if thou wilt go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, thou wilt find the trophies of those who founded this Church.'

This shows that at least at this early date the sites of the graves of the two Apostles were reputed to have been the localities where now stand the basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul.

(13) ORIGEN in the 3rd volume of his *Explanation of Genesis* (as reported by Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 1; comp. Orig. *Op.* II. p. 24 Delarue) related that Peter 'appears to have preached in Pontus and Galatia and Bithynia, in Cappadocia and Asia; when at last he went to Rome and there was gibbeted head downward, having himself asked to suffer so'; and that Paul 'having fully preached the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem as far as Illyricum, afterwards suffered martyrdom in Rome in the time of Nero.'

(14) LACTANTIUS.

*Instit. Div.* IV. 21.

'He disclosed to them all things which Peter and Paul preached at

Rome, and this preaching remained in writing for a record: wherein among many other marvellous things, this also etc.'

But when shall we suppose that this visit to Rome took place? We have seen (see above, II. p. 491) that as late as A.D. 58, when S. Paul wrote to the Romans, his claim to Rome as virgin soil so far as regards any Apostolic ministrations is fatal to a prior date for the visit. For the next four or five years we have sufficiently precise information in the Apostolic records to preclude this period also. S. Paul spends two years in captivity at Cæsarea, and in the autumn of A.D. 60 he sets sail for Rome, arriving there in the spring of 61. In Rome he is detained two whole years a captive, and then presumably in 63 he is released.

His release is not dependent on any one consideration, but is inferred from several. (i) Early tradition speaks of his paying the intended visit to Spain, of which he speaks in the Epistle to the Romans (xv. 28); (ii) He tells the Philippians that he looks forward to being released shortly (i. 25, ii. 24), and he is so hopeful that he bids Philemon prepare a lodging for him (ver. 22); (iii) The phenomena in the Pastoral Epistles cannot in most instances be placed during the period included in the Acts; (iv) The date given for his martyrdom by the best authorities is the last year of Nero, which was three or four years after the fire which led immediately to the persecution of the Christians.

But, if he was released, it must have been before the outbreak of the persecution, since so prominent a leader of the Christians could hardly have escaped, if he had still been in the hands of his Roman masters. During the period then of his first and second captivities, i.e. between A.D. 63—67, we are led to find a place for S. Peter's visit. Thus it will not clash with S. Paul's relations to the Romans, and might well have taken place without our finding any notice of it either in the narrative of the Acts or in the letters of this Apostle.

S. Peter would then arrive in Rome in the latter part of 63 or the beginning of 64. The Neronian persecutions broke out soon afterwards, and he would be one of the most prominent victims. This accords with the ancient tradition of the different places of sepulture of the two Apostles. Gaius the Roman tells us, that whereas Peter was buried in the Vatican, Paul found his resting-place on the Ostian Way. The Vatican gardens were the scene of the hideous festivities, in which the victims of the fire suffered, and among these (we may assume) was S. Peter (A.D. 64). On the other hand an isolated victim who was put

to death some years later (say A.D. 67), as was presumably S. Paul's case, might meet his death anywhere.

On the occasion of this visit to Rome, as we have seen, S. Peter wrote his Epistles. As I am desirous of avoiding controverted documents, I shall say nothing about the Second—nor indeed is it necessary for my purpose—but confine my attention to the First. Do we find then in this First Epistle any confirmation of the view here suggested of the date of S. Peter's visit?

(1) It was written during a season of persecution. No other book of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse, is so burdened with the subject. The leading purport of the letter is to console and encourage his distant correspondents under the fiery trial which awaited them. Nothing in the previous history of the Church answers to the conditions. It was no isolated, capricious attack, but a systematic onslaught. Though it raged chiefly at Rome, its effects were felt in the provinces also. More especially was this the case in Asia Minor, which S. Peter had in view. The letters to the Seven Churches in the Apocalypse are evidence of this; and the mention of the martyr Antipas (ii. 13) emphasizes the fact. The emperor's example had let loose the dogs.

'Now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness by reason of manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith being more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ' (i. 6, 7).

'Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speak against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation' (ii. 12).

'If ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye; and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled.....having a good conscience, that whereas they speak evil of you as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ; for it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing' (iii. 14, 16, 17).

'Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings' (iv. 12, 13).

'If ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you; on their part He is evil spoken of, but on your part He is glorified...If any man suffer as a Christian let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf' (iv. 14, 16).

'Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God' (v. 6).



'Whom resist, stedfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren which are in the world' (v. 9).

These passages point to the crisis, when the persecution had already broken out, or was imminent, and therefore were probably written not earlier than the summer of 64.

(2) The date thus suggested agrees with other indications. With two Epistles of S. Paul more especially the writer shows a familiar acquaintance—the Epistle to the Romans and the Epistle to the Ephesians. The one was written to Rome; the other from Rome. They both partake of the character of circular letters. They are therefore just the two Epistles which would be most accessible to a person in S. Peter's position. The Epistle to the Romans was written in A.D. 58, but the Epistle to the Ephesians not till A.D. 63.

The following are the parallels to the Epistle to the Romans, and the reader may satisfy himself as to their pertinence.

Romans iv. 24	i Pet. i. 21
vi. 7	iv. 1, 2
vi. 18	ii. 24
viii. 18	v. 1
viii. 34	iii. 22
ix. 33	ii. 6 sq
xii. 1	ii. 5
xii. 2	i. 14
xii. 3—8	iv. 10, 11
xii. 9, 10	i. 22, ii. 17
xii. 14—19	iii. 8—12
xiii. 1—7	ii. 13, 14

The parallels to the Epistle to the Ephesians are equally striking.

We have seen that the oldest tradition, as recorded by Gaius, represents S. Peter as buried in the Vatican and S. Paul on the Ostian Way. But it says nothing about the martyrdom of the two Apostles being synchronous. Dionysius of Corinth states that they were martyred *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*, but the expression must not be too rigorously pressed, even if the testimony of a Corinthian could be accepted as regards the belief in Rome. On the other hand Prudentius (*Peristeph.* xii. 5) and others represent them as suffering on the same day, though not in the same year. This highly improbable statement must have had some foundation in fact. What was it? In the list of depositions incorporated by the Liberian chronographer (A.D. 354) we find

iii Kal Jul. Petri ad Catacumbas

et Pauli Ostense Tusco et Basso cons. [A.D. 258].

Now at one time the bodies of the two Apostles were lying in the Cemetery on the Appian Way, properly called 'Ad Catacumbas,' in a 'loculum bisomum,' which may be seen to this day and over which Damasus (A.D. 366—384) placed the inscription

Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,  
nomina [limina?] quique Petri pariter Paulique requiris;  
discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur:  
sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti  
aetherios petiere sinus et regna piorum.

Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives;

by which he simply meant that the East gave these two Apostles to Rome, where they became Roman citizens. It is in fact the same which Tertullian expresses in a passage quoted above (*Scorp.* 15). 'Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.' But being strangely misunderstood it gave rise to the legend that the Greeks attempted to carry off the bodies of the two Apostles, but being pursued threw them down in the Catacombs<sup>1</sup>. Plainly however the day, the 29th of June, was not originally regarded as the day of martyrdom of the two Apostles, but the day of their deposition on some occasion. What then was this occasion?

The mention of the consulship happily fixes the year. This must refer to the temporary deposition of the bodies in the catacombs of S. Sebastian; and the notice probably ran originally

iii Kal. Jul. Petri et Pauli ad Catacumbas Tusco  
et Basso cons.

but the chronographer of 354 or some intermediate copyist knowing that S. Paul's body lay in his time on the Ostian Way altered it accordingly, inserting 'Ostense' after the name of this Apostle<sup>2</sup>. This was a few weeks before the martyrdom of Xystus II, who suffered Aug. 6, A.D. 258. The two bodies, we may suppose, were deposited in S. Sebastian for a time, while their permanent memoriae were being erected, which were afterwards developed into the basilicas of S. Peter's at the Vatican and S. Paul's on the Ostian Way. But this temporary deposition fixed the festival of their common celebration in Rome and gave rise to the story that they were martyred on the same day<sup>3</sup>. On the

<sup>1</sup> See a good article *Das Alter der Gräber u. Kirchen des Paulus u. Petrus in Rom* by Erbes in Brieger's *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* VII. p. 1 sq (1885).

<sup>2</sup> This is the explanation of Erbes, p. 28, and it is accepted by Lipsius

*Apocr. Apostelgesch.* II. 1. p. 392 sq.

<sup>3</sup> It is actually entered in Ado, under June 29, 'Romae natalis beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, qui passi sunt sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus.' See Erbes, *l.c.* p. 30.

other hand the true tradition of their suffering in different years survived to the time of Prudentius, albeit he assumed that it referred to successive years. In connexion with this temporary deposition we may place the notice said to be found with exceptional uniformity in all the MSS of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* on Jan. 25

Romae translatio Pauli Apostoli

which would probably be the day of the restoration to his permanent resting-place, but which was ordered at a later date to be celebrated as the day of his conversion.

§ 3.

THE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS' EPISCOPATE.

The twenty-five years of S. Peter's episcopate had at one time a sentimental and might almost be said to have a dogmatic value. It was unique in the history of the papacy. Though the records of certain periods in its career, more especially its earlier career, are scanty, we know enough to say with certainty that no later bishops of Rome held the see for a quarter of a century until our own day. Now however all is changed. The papacy of Pio Nono has been unique in many ways. It has seen the declaration of papal infallibility: it has witnessed the extinction of the temporal power; and, last of all, it has exceeded by more than a year the reputed term of S. Peter. The twenty-five years therefore have ceased to have any dogmatic or sentimental importance; and, in dealing with them critically, we need have no fear lest we should be doing violence to any feelings which deserve respect.

But there is a still prior question to be settled before we discuss the length of S. Peter's episcopate. Was he bishop of Rome at all? He might have been founder or joint founder of the Church there, without having been regarded as its bishop. No one reckons S. Paul as first bishop of Thessalonica or Philippi, of Corinth or of Athens, though these Churches owe their first evangelization to him.

Now I cannot find that any writers for the first two centuries and more speak of S. Peter as bishop of Rome. Indeed their language is inconsistent with the assignment of this position to him. When Dionysius of Corinth speaks of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul as jointly planting the two Churches of Corinth and of Rome, he obviously cannot mean this; for otherwise he would point to a divided episcopate. The language of Irenæus (iii. 3. 3) again is still more explicit. He describes the Church of Rome as founded by the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, who



appointed Linus bishop. After him came Linus; after Linus, Anencletus; after Anencletus 'in the *third* place from the Apostles Clement is elected to the bishopric,' and the others, when any numbers are given, are numbered accordingly, so that Xystus<sup>1</sup> is 'the sixth from the Apostles,' and Eleutherus the contemporary of Irenæus 'holds the office of the episcopate in the twelfth place from the Apostles.' This is likewise the enumeration in the anonymous author of the treatise against Artemon (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28) probably Hippolytus, who numbers Victor 'the thirteenth from Peter.'

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<sup>1</sup> See on this passage the remarks in I. pp. 271, 284. For the discrepancies in the text of Irenæus see the note on I. p. 204.

## B.

# THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

THE Epistle, which bears the name of Barnabas, stands alone in the literature of the early Church. The writer is an uncompromising antagonist of Judaism ; but, beyond this antagonism, he has nothing in common with the Antijudaic heresies of the second century. These later heretics, Gnostic and Marcionite, took their stand on a dualism in some form or other. They postulated an opposition between the Old Testament and the New. In Marcionism, which flourished about the middle of the second century, this doctrine assumes its extreme form. The Old Testament—so Marcion affirmed—was the work of the Demiurge, whose tyranny over mankind Jesus Christ, the son of the Good God, came to destroy. The antagonism was absolute and complete ; the warfare was internecine. Of such a doctrine the Epistle of Barnabas exhibits not the faintest trace. On the contrary, the writer sees Christianity everywhere in the Lawgiver and the Prophets. He treats them with a degree of respect, which would have satisfied the most devout rabbi. He quotes them profusely, as authoritative. Only he accuses the Jews of misunderstanding them from beginning to end. He even intimates that the ordinances of circumcision, of the Sabbath, of the distinction of meats clean and unclean, as having a spiritual or mystical significance, were never intended to be literally observed, though on this point he is not quite explicit.

Who then was the writer of this Epistle? At the close of the second century Clement of Alexandria quotes it profusely, ascribing it to 'the Apostle Barnabas' or 'the Apostolic Barnabas' or 'the Prophet Barnabas' ; and, lest any doubt should be entertained as to the identity of the person bearing this name, he in one passage describes the author

as 'Barnabas who himself also preached in company with the Apostle (i.e. S. Paul) in the ministry of the Gentiles<sup>1</sup>.' Yet elsewhere<sup>2</sup> Clement himself refers anonymously to the explanation which our Barnabas gives of the prohibition against eating the flesh of 'the hare and the hyena,' and criticizes it freely. He declares his acquiescence in the symbolical interpretation, but he distinctly repudiates the statement on which our author founds it as a physical impossibility. It seems clear therefore that notwithstanding his profuse and deferential quotations he does not treat the book as final and authoritative. A few years later, Origen also cites this work with the introductory words, 'It is written in the Catholic (i.e. General) Epistle of Barnabas.' The earliest notices however are confined to the Alexandrian fathers; and elsewhere it does not appear to have been received with any very special consideration. Altogether the position, which it occupies in the Codex Sinaiticus, may be taken to represent the highest distinction to which it ever attained. It is there placed, not with the Catholic Epistles, which would have been its proper rank, if it had been regarded as strictly canonical, but after the Apocalypse, in company with the Shepherd of Hermas, as a sort of Appendix to the sacred volume.

This prominence it doubtless owed to the belief that it was written by Barnabas the Levite of Cyprus, the companion of S. Paul. Later criticism however, with very few exceptions, has pronounced decidedly against this view, which indeed is beset with many difficulties. But on the other hand this work is in no sense apocryphal, if by apocryphal we mean fictitious. There is no indication, direct or indirect, that the writer desired to be taken for the Apostle Barnabas. On the contrary, when he speaks of the Apostles, his language is such as to suggest that he was wholly unconnected with them; and he merely addresses his 'sons and daughters,' as a teacher who had important trusts to communicate. How the name of Barnabas came to be attached to the Epistle, it is impossible to say. An early tradition, or fiction, represents Barnabas as residing at Alexandria; but this story might have been the consequence, rather than the cause, of the name attached to the letter. Possibly its author was some unknown namesake of this 'Son of Consolation.'

At all events we can hardly be wrong in ascribing to it an Alexandrian origin. Its mode of interpretation is Alexandrian throughout; and its

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 7 (p. 447 *ed.* Potter), 20 (p. 489), v. 10 (p. 683).

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 10 (p. 220, 221 *ed.* Potter). It is true that the reference

is not beyond the reach of doubt. See also *Strom.* ii. 15, p. 464, where Barnabas is mentioned by name.



earliest reception, as we have seen, is connected with this Church. The beginnings of Christianity at Alexandria are wrapped in obscurity. It would be as rash to reject confidently, as to adopt confidently, the tradition which represents Mark, the 'cousin' of Barnabas, as its evangelist. But on the other hand it seems certain that the Alexandrian Church was a flourishing community at an early date. Doubtless Apollos was not the only 'learned Jew of Alexandria,' who was brought to the knowledge of the Gospel during the lifetime of S. Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews is steeped in the learning of Alexandria, and was probably written by a member of this Church. When Hadrian visited this city in the autumn of A.D. 130, he found the Christian Church an appreciable influence in society, extending itself and proselytizing in all directions. 'I have become familiar with Egypt, which you praised to me,' he writes to his brother-in-law Servianus afterwards; 'it is fickle, uncertain, blown about by every gust of rumour. Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those are devoted to Serapis who call themselves bishops of Christ. There is no ruler of a synagogue there, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack. The patriarch himself, whenever he comes to Egypt, is compelled by some to worship Serapis, by others to worship Christ' (*Vopiscus Vita Saturnini* 8). No stronger testimony to the growing power of the Christian Church could be desired than these sarcasms of the sceptical emperor. The Epistle of Barnabas may be regarded as a product of these conflicts between Jews and Christians which Hadrian here describes. The antagonism between the discordant elements which made up the population of Alexandria, is a matter of history; and in the general *mêlée* the feuds between Jews and Christians for some generations bore no insignificant part.

The birthplace of this Epistle then seems tolerably certain; but its date is more open to dispute. It was certainly written after the first destruction of Jerusalem under Titus to which it alludes, and it was almost as certainly written before the war under Hadrian ending in the second devastation, about which it is silent, but to which it could hardly have failed to refer, if written after or during the conflict. The possible limits therefore are A.D. 70 and A.D. 132. It would be mere waste of time to discuss any theories which go beyond these boundaries. But within this period of sixty years various dates have been assigned to it. Among the advocates of an earlier date we may single out Weizsäcker, who places it under Vespasian (A.D. 69—79); while Volkmar, who throws it forward to the time of Hadrian (A.D. 119—138), may be taken to represent the champions of the late date. Of the intermediate

position, occupied by several critics of reputation, Hilgenfeld may be regarded as a typical champion, who dates it during the reign of Nerva (A.D. 96—98).

The conclusion depends mainly on the interpretation of two passages in the Epistle itself.

The first is the more important. The writer warns his readers that 'the last scandal, or offence, is at hand,' in other words that the great and final conflict, which is destined to try the faith of the believers, is fast approaching, and he calls their attention to the signs of the last days, as foretold in Daniel, in the following words:—

'And so also says the prophet; *Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth, and after them shall rise up a little king, who shall lay low three of the kings in one* (τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων). In like manner Daniel saith concerning the same; *And I saw the fourth beast wicked and strong and untoward beyond all the beasts of the earth, and how that ten horns sprang up out of it, and out of them a little horn (as) an offshoot* (παραφυάδιον), *and how that it laid low three of the great horns in one* (ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων). Ye ought therefore to understand' (§ 4).

The first passage is taken from Daniel vii. 24; the second from an earlier verse in the same chapter. But, like the Old Testament citations in this writer generally, they are quoted with a degree of freedom which is, or ought to be, highly suggestive when we come to deal with evangelical quotations in the earliest fathers.

Of the interpretation the so-called Barnabas says nothing. He is evidently referring to the Roman emperors, and common prudence therefore gags his lips, when he would speak of their overthrow. He leaves the solution to the intelligence of his hearers.

When we attempt to read the enigma, we must remember that the writer applies to his own times language which was intended to describe something wholly different. We may therefore expect to find some wresting of the imagery to adapt it to contemporary events. But on the other hand it must have exhibited coincidences sufficiently patent to strike the ordinary mind. Otherwise the writer would not have ventured to leave the application of the prophecy to his readers. He must have discarded the prophecy as unfit for his purpose unless it had told its own tale, if he did not venture to expand it. And again; we may look for the key to the exposition in those modifications of the original words which the writer introduces. The most important of these is the twice-repeated expression ὑφ' ἐν—'in one' or 'at once.' The original prophecy contains no hint that the three kings shall suffer at once or are closely connected together. Lastly; the little horn in the original

prophecy is plainly the Antichrist; for he is described as making war against the Saints and prevailing against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High; and the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom (vii. 21, 22). This fact was too patent to be overlooked, and is recognised in all patristic interpretations of the prophecy. It is impossible therefore to suppose that our Barnabas could have interpreted the little horn in any other way. Bearing these conditions of the problem in mind, we may proceed to investigate three solutions of the enigma which have been offered.

1. In the first place then Weizsäcker reckons the ten Cæsars from Julius to Vespasian continuously, Vespasian being the tenth. So far he adopts the simple and natural reckoning. But he supposes Vespasian to be the little horn, and the three kings humbled by him to be Galba, Otho, Vitellius. These identifications must be discarded for several reasons. In the first place Vespasian is made the little horn, while at the same time he is one of the great horns. Next; Vespasian, though he humbled Vitellius, can in no sense be said to have humbled Galba and Otho. Indeed, so far was this from being the case, that Vespasian throughout identified himself with the cause of Galba, and the first measure of his reign was the vindication of the memory of this prince (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 6, iv. 40). Lastly; this interpretation altogether sets aside the distinctive character of the little horn as the Antichrist. Vespasian was never so regarded by the Christians. During his reign they had an entire immunity from persecution, and so rapidly did their influence grow that they even made converts in the imperial family itself. To a strongly Antijudaic writer, like Barnabas, more especially Vespasian, the scourge of the Jews and the instrument of God's vengeance on a rebellious people, must have been regarded in a directly opposite light.

2. Hilgenfeld reckons Domitian as the tenth king. He omits Julius as not having been an emperor strictly so called, and Vitellius as never having been recognised in Egypt. The little horn according to his solution is Nerva, a feeble and insignificant prince, who subverted the dynasty of the three great emperors of the Flavian family—Vespasian, Titus, Domitian. But this theory again is open to very serious and (as it seems to me) fatal objections. In the first place there is no parallel elsewhere to this mode of reckoning, which makes Domitian the tenth, and not the twelfth of the Cæsars. Whatever might be said in favour of excluding Julius from the enumeration, the exclusion of Vitellius is indefensible. It is a mistake to maintain that



he was never recognised by the Alexandrians. True, his name does not occur, or at least has not yet been discovered, on the hieroglyphic monuments of Egypt; but, as his reign only lasted a few months, this proves nothing. His name is equally conspicuous by its absence in the Latin Inscriptions of Asia, of Greece, of Thrace and Illyricum, of Cisalpine Gaul, of Spain, of Britain, and throughout the whole collection of Greek Inscriptions. On the other hand, as an evidence that he was recognised in Egypt, we have coins of this reign struck at Alexandria. And in the Sibylline Oracles, which in some cases at least emanated from this country, he has his proper place<sup>1</sup>. The lists of the Roman 'kings' which they give begin with Julius and include Vitellius, according to the ordinary practice. As Vitellius, like Otho, was duly acknowledged by the Senate, and took possession of the Capital, no one at a subsequent period would have disputed his claim to appear in the list. This sanction gave to Otho and Vitellius a position in history which was never accorded to pretenders like Civilis.

Moreover this theory fails, like the last, in not recognising the little horn as the Antichrist. The persecution, which had harassed the Christians under Domitian, ceased under Nerva, for whose memory in consequence they always had a kindly regard, as their benefactor. Hilgenfeld is therefore obliged altogether to ignore the Antichrist in his interpretation. Nor again could Nerva be said without excessive straining of language to destroy the three kings 'in one' or 'at once.' Vespasian, the earliest, and Titus the next of the Flavii, died in their beds seventeen and fifteen years respectively before the accession of Nerva.

3. The solution of Volkmar is exposed to still greater objections than the two theories which have been considered hitherto. Like Hilgenfeld, he omits Julius and Vitellius, so as to reckon Domitian the 10th king; but he takes the three kings to be the three successors of this last-named emperor, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. They are said to be three in one, because Trajan was adopted by Nerva, and Hadrian by Trajan. The writer therefore, living in the time of Hadrian, looks forward to the appearance of the Antichrist in the person of Nero or Domitian *redivivus*, who shall crush Hadrian and end the dynasty. This theory has the merit of seeing the Antichrist in the little horn; but this is its only advantage. Its enumeration of the Cæsars is exposed to the same objection as the last; and its explanation of the three kings in one seems altogether impossible. Nerva had been already dead for twenty or thirty years on this

<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sibyl.* v. 35, VIII. 50, XII. 95.

hypothesis, and yet the writer is looking forward to the advent of a conqueror who shall smite and humiliate him. Again; the connexion of these three emperors was very slight, the adoption of the successor in each case having been made shortly before the death of the predecessor. And though this seems to be a less serious objection than the preceding, the three kings are enumerated over and above the ten, whereas the language suggests that they were in some sense comprised in the ten.

The solution, which I venture to offer, has not, so far as I am aware, been given before. We enumerate the ten Cæsars in their natural sequence with Weizsäcker, and we arrive at Vespasian as the tenth. We regard the three Flavii as the three kings destined to be humiliated, with Hilgenfeld. We do not however with him contemplate them as three separate emperors, but we explain the language as referring to the reigning sovereign, Vespasian, associating his two sons Titus and Domitian with himself in the exercise of the supreme power. At no other point in the history of the imperial household do we find so close a connexion of three in one, until a date too late to enter into consideration. And lastly; we interpret the little horn as symbolising the Antichrist with Volkmar, and we explain it by the expectation of Nero's reappearance which we know to have been rife during the reign of Vespasian. No other epoch in the history of the Cæsars presents this coincidence of the three elements in the image—the ten kings, the three kings, and the Antichrist—so appropriately. For these reasons we are led to place the so-called Barnabas during the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 70—79).

The enumeration of the ten kings speaks for itself; but the significance of the three kings requires some illustration. When Vespasian assumed the supreme dignity, the power of the empire was sustained by Titus among the legions, while it was represented by Domitian in the capital (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 84, iv. 2, 3). The three were thus associated together in the public mind, as no three persons had been associated before in the history of the Empire. Immediately on the accession of their father the two young men were created Cæsars by the Senate and invested with the title of 'Principes Juventutis.' The first act of Vespasian was to associate Titus with himself as colleague in the consulship, while Domitian was made prætor with consular power. Several types of coin, struck during this reign, exhibit the effigy of the reigning emperor on the obverse with figures of Titus and Domitian on the reverse in various attitudes and with various legends. An extant inscription, on a marble (Eckhel *Doctr.*

*Num.* vi. p. 320 sq), which has apparently served as a base for three busts, commemorates the emperor and his two sons in parallel columns, Vespasian's name and titles occupying the central column. 'Along this path (to glory)', says the elder Pliny (*N. H.* ii. 5) 'now advances with godlike step, accompanied by his sons, Vespasianus Augustus the greatest ruler of any age.' The association of Titus with his father's honours was close and continuous. He was seven times colleague to the emperor in the consulate during the ten years of Vespasian's reign. He was associated in the Pontificate, the Censorship, and the Tribunician Power, which represented respectively the religious, the moral, and the political authority of the sovereign. From the moment of his return to Rome after his Eastern victories 'he never ceased,' we are told, 'to act the part of colleague and even guardian of the empire<sup>1</sup>.' The title *Imperator* itself was conferred upon him<sup>2</sup>, so that the language of the elder Pliny is perfectly correct, when he speaks of '*imperatores Caesares Vespasiani, pater filiusque*' during the lifetime of the father<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand the relations of Vespasian towards his younger son were never cordial. But the good nature and generosity of Titus interposed to prevent any open breach between the two. He represented to his father that the safety of the empire was dependent on the harmony of the imperial household; and the baseness of Domitian was in consequence overlooked. Coins were struck, which had on the obverse the two sons of Vespasian, with the legend *TVTELA . AVGVSTI*<sup>4</sup>. At the triumph after the close of the Judaic war, 'Vespasian,' says one who witnessed it, 'preceded in a chariot, and Titus followed, while Domitian rode on horseback by the side, himself splendidly habited and mounted on a horse which was a sight to see<sup>5</sup>.'

Here then were the very three kings of whom the prophecy spoke. It is true that the obvious interpretation of the words pointed to three several kings belonging to the ten who are mentioned just before, whereas the so-called Barnabas found the three combined in one of the ten together with his sons and colleagues in the kingship. But this manipulation was forced upon him by the stubbornness of contemporary facts; and he calls attention to it by repeating the expression 'three in one,' which has no place in the original.

But what will be the end of this threefold kingship? It would be

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Tit.* 6 neque ex eo destitit participem atque [etiam] tutorem imperii agere. Compare Plin. *Paneg.* 2.

<sup>2</sup> But not as a prænomen, Eckhel vi. 361 sq. See Pliny *N. H.* vii. 50; com-

pare *N. H.* ii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> So Titus himself is called Titus Imperator Caesar, *N. H.* ii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Eckhel vi. 329.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 5. 5.



treason to give utterance to the thought which was passing through his mind. He therefore leaves the riddle to the intelligence of his readers. And this he might safely do. Ever since the reported death of Nero, expectation had been rife on the subject of his reappearance. He was thought to live retired beyond the Euphrates, where he was watching his opportunity to swoop down upon the Roman Empire and avenge himself on his enemies<sup>1</sup>. The wish was father to the thought. For Nero, monster though he was, possessed some popular qualities which made him a favourite with the masses. One after another pretender took advantage of this expectation. One false Nero started up immediately under Galba. He was caught at Cythnus and put to death; but it was thought necessary to take his body to Rome that the public mind might be disabused<sup>2</sup>. A second appeared about A.D. 80 under Titus, gathered followers on the banks of the Euphrates, and ultimately fled for refuge to the Parthians<sup>3</sup>. A third, if he be not the same with the last mentioned, threatened the peace of the Roman Empire under Domitian about A.D. 88<sup>4</sup>. Even in the early years of the second century Dion Chrysostom could still write, 'To the present time all men desire him to be alive, and the majority even trust that he is<sup>5</sup>.' This belief chimed in with the Christian expectation of the speedy coming of Antichrist and the end of all things. This persecutor of the disciples, this prodigy of wickedness and audacity who outraged humanity and defied nature, the son who murdered his mother, the engineer who would sever the Isthmus and join the two seas—who could he be but the very man of sin, the Antichrist, or the forerunner of the Antichrist? Accordingly in an early apocryphal writing, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, it is said that in the last days Belial shall appear 'in the form of a man, of the king of unrighteousness, of the matricide,' and shall 'persecute the Church<sup>6</sup>.' In this respect Christian anticipation only kept pace with Jewish. Two Sibylline Oracles, which date about A.D. 80—both apparently Jewish, and one of them written in Egypt—dwell on this expected return of the matricide, this final scourge of the human race, which shall precede the advent of Messiah's reign; and from these earlier Sibylline Oracles it is transmitted to the later. The belief indeed lingered on for several centuries. In the age of Jerome and Augustine some were still found to entertain this opinion. Even S. Martin of Tours himself is credited with it by a contemporary and

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 57.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Zonaras xi. 18 (p. 578).

<sup>4</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 57.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Chrysost. *Orat.* xxi (p. 504 *ed.* Reiske).

<sup>6</sup> iv. 2 sq (p. 17 *ed.* Dillmann, 1877).

friend. But it was during the continuance of the Flavian dynasty that the expectation was at a white heat.

Here then was the little horn of Daniel. What more appropriate? The little horn is represented as springing up from the ten, and yet not counting as one of the ten. It is in fact an offshoot, an excrescence. Hence our Barnabas, with his own interpretation of the prophecy in his mind, unconsciously quotes this word 'excrescence' (*παραφνάδιον*), as if it were part of the text.

# INDICES.



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# I.

## INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES.

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